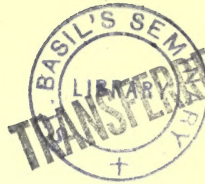


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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME XV.—1894.

“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

‘ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

JULY, 1894

PRÊTRES-ADORATEURS

READERS of French newspapers are occasionally, indeed all too frequently, horrified by such items of news as these :—At Notre-Dame de Paris, on Holy Saturday, several hundred consecrated Hosts were sacrilegiously stolen at eight o'clock in the forenoon. A few days before a similar sacrilege was committed in the Church of St. Ferdinand des Ternes. The Church of St. Egrève, near Grenoble, was sacked during the night of Sunday, March 25th. The sacerdotal vestments, sacred vases, &c, were stolen, and a golden ciborium, the most precious possession of the church. The Sacred Hosts were found on the road of Fontenil. The *Clarion des Alpes* publishes with expressions of regret a series of horrible sacrileges against the Most Holy Sacrament. The *Eclair* of Montpellier gives an account of a sacrilege of a peculiarly atrocious kind in a local church.

An unspeakable sacrilege was committed on Monday, the 13th of March, in the Lyceum at Douai. A student approached the holy table, secreted the sacred Host, and afterwards submitted it to the most revolting outrages, mutilating and breaking it, to see "if blood would flow." And his companions, far from being shocked, applauded, and envied him.

It is now well known that all this outrage is systematized under a Satanic propaganda, which has for its direct object the enthroning of Lucifer and the dethroning of Christ.

Within a radius of one mile around the Pantheon in Paris no less than twenty-three altars are raised to the personal worship of Satan. He has his priests and priestesses, his ritual, his ceremonies; Friday is his Sabbath; the serpent, as in the ancient occultisms, is his emblem; and the destruction of the Christian religion, and direct insults to its divine Founder, especially in the Sacrament of His love, the object of this new and infernal system. No wonder that a priest opens his list of ghastly sacrileges by the words, "Parce Domine!" and closes it with this appeal:—

"O Priests-Adorers, let us close in our ranks about the tabernacle! Let us watch with jealous care over this divine treasure committed to our charge. Let us weep and mourn before the Lord Jesus, so cruelly outraged in the Sacrament of His supreme love. May our ceaseless acts of reparation appease the divine anger, and disarm the awful vengeance of God! Let us multiply our hours of adoration, let us bring our faithful people to the foot of the altar, and on our knees repeat: 'Parce Domine, parce populo tuo!'"

For France, France of the saintly traditions, has called upon its magnificent reserve of holy traditions and inspirations, and, alive to the awful magnitude of this latest evil, has established a guard of honour around the tabernacles of the Christian world, by banding together in one body the Christian priesthood, the bond of unity being their unceasing adoration before the Hidden Guest on our altars. In 1856, Père Eymard founded in Paris this Association of Priests-Adorers. The spirit of this work, as explained by its saintly founder, is—

"That priest-associates of the Most Holy Sacrament should live the eucharistic life of Jesus Christ, which consists, above all, in self-denial and self-sacrifice. That they should remember that it is their duty to devote themselves to propagate and defend the eucharistic reign of our Lord, they are dispersed over the world to kindle the fire of His love. They should direct their studies, zeal, and piety towards the Eucharist. They should bear in mind that their *first duty* is that of *personal adoration*, *nos autem orationi instantes erimus*. In one word, let them be united in all their acts, and in all their functions, to Jesus Christ, the eternal Priest, Pattern, and Glory of the Priesthood."

Such is the spirit of the work. The conditions for

admission, and the gaining of the many indulgences attached to the Association, are few and simple:—

“1. To be a priest, or, at least, to have entered Holy Orders.

“2. To have their names and Christian names inscribed in the registers of the Association.

“3. To make every week *one continuous hour of adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament, either exposed or shut up in the tabernacle*. The day and hour are left to the choice of the associates, who can vary them each week according to the duties imposed upon them by their sacred ministry. They must not perform, during this hour of adoration, any other duty from another cause obligatory, such as the recital of the office. Associates enjoy the liberty of opening the sacred tabernacle during their hours of adoration, provided there be six wax tapers lighted on the altar.

“4. To recite on the day of their admission an act of consecration to the Most Holy Sacrament.

“5. To return regularly, at the end of each month, to the seat of Association, the monthly *libellum*, or ticket of adoration.

“6. To celebrate every year, once only, and, if possible, during the Octave of All Saints, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the associates deceased during the past year, and anteriorly.

“7. The annual contribution to defray the expenses of the work, and for the publication of the *Annales*, consists of two shillings for each priest-adorer.”

In March, 1892, the Association of Priests-Adorers numbered 21,000 priests, spread throughout the whole world, and taking in all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. There were then forty-eight bishops and three cardinals associated. More than one hundred bishops have approved of the work. Seventy dioceses in France have a diocesan director, nominated or accepted by the ordinary. In March of this year, 1894, the number of associates had increased to close upon 29,000 members, giving an increase of nearly 8,000 members during the past two years. In Rome, the centre of Catholicity, the Association has been approved, and canonically erected by his Eminence Cardinal Parocchi; and Pope Pius IX., and our present Sovereign Pontiff have deigned to grant the Association their pontifical sanction and blessing. In America the organization has spread so widely, that eucharistic congresses are regularly held in the large cities by priests associated in this sodality; in Australia it has taken deep root; and even from far-away Tasmania

we learn that the venerable patriarch of Australasia has established it in his diocese, and has given it the high sanction of his name and approbation. During the month of April, this year, two hundred and forty-two new associates were enrolled, thirty-six from France, seventy-six from Germany, eighty-one from Austria, four from Belgium, twelve from Canada, twelve from the United States, two from Holland, nine from Italy, three from Switzerland, three from Ireland, and one from Poland.

It will thus be seen that already this great work of the priesthood is established in Ireland, notably in the diocese of Meath. The Primate of Armagh, the Bishops of Cork, Meath, and Waterford, have written warm letters of approbation; and it is with the view of introducing it more widely to the notice of the Irish priesthood, that these pages, thanks to the courtesy of the Editor, have been penned for the *I. E. RECORD*. For when, a month ago, the writer had the pleasure of an interview with the Director-General for Ireland, Father Charles Spieser, Wilton, Cork, and the vast importance and sublimity of this work were explained to him, he undertook, without reluctance, the task of being the humble apostle of this most sacred and salutary devotion; and he felt the truth of what was so strongly urged upon him, that it only needed an introduction to the notice of the Irish priesthood to become a great and widespread devotion, and as strong a bond of union amongst them as their common faith. And it would seem that this devotion has a most special claim on the acceptance of Irish priests; for, unlike the priesthood of all other European countries, we have the inestimable privilege of being not only the custodians, but the very hosts and domestic companions, if we may so speak, of the Incarnate Word. Under our roof He dwells; a bare partition separates His room from ours; we pass Him by every moment of the day; in the watches of the night, when we slumber, from our little oratories, where He keeps His sleepless vigils, He protects us; when at midnight we are called to the bedside of the sick, we need not go to the church, but, passing from one room to another, we bid Him rise up, and come with us; and from the hushed silence of

His little chamber a divine influence goes forth every moment of the night and day, such as melted the hearts of the disciples at Emmaus, when they knew Him in the breaking of bread.

Apart, therefore, from the general reasons that should make this devotion so attractive to priests, there are very special reasons why we should take particular interest in practising and propagating this devout system of adoration and reparation. And lest these feeble words of mine should detract from the importance which I should desire to attach to this great spiritual work, I shall keep silent, and let a gifted and saintly prelate, whose name is not unknown in Ireland, speak. Writing to one of the directors of this Association on Christmas Day, 1887, Mgr. Perraud, Bishop of Autun, says :—

“Bishops, as judges and guardians of the faith, are often asked to testify to the dogmatic and moral worth of a book by writing to the author a letter which will enable him to appear with confidence before the public. You have asked of me, Rev. Father, a like favour on behalf of the pious association of which you are the zealous director. I could very lawfully have made you answer that it is quite superfluous to recommend a work that bears on the face of it the highest titles of recommendation, and of whose excellence no one can doubt. Does not this especially hold of the Confraternity of Priest-Adorers of the Most Holy Sacrament? And does it not suffice to make its existence known to the clergy, to be assured of finding in their ranks numerous adherents? I cannot, however, refrain from citing some of the motives which have made it for me a labour of love to promote its propagation amongst the priests of the diocese of Autun during the ecclesiastical Retreats in the month of September. Priests, enrolled in this Association, undertake the obligation of passing every week, on a day that suits their own convenience, *one continuous hour* of adoration before the Blessed Sacrament. At first sight, this practice seems, perhaps, of little account; and it may be asked if it is worth the trouble of making it the object of a special association. But after a little reflection one is not long in perceiving that the weekly visit during a continuous hour can easily become in the life of a good priest the grain of mustard-seed, which rapidly shooting up, extends its branches and fruits on every side. To begin with, is not our fidelity in discharging this hour of adoration a guarantee of the exactness with which the daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament will be made, at least within the limits of the time devoted to it by the

pious customs of our ecclesiastical colleges? For my own part, I feel firmly convinced, that many associates after having experienced the joys and blessings of the complete hour of adoration, shall find very short the visits of a quarter of an hour assigned to the other days of the week. If they cannot always by reason of the duties of the sacred ministry prolong the duration of those visits, they will ingeniously devise means of multiplying them; they will feel the necessity, the habit will grow upon them, of profiting by certain spare moments to hasten and present themselves anew, were it only for a few minutes, before the Divine Guest of our Tabernacles, in order to greet Him, and to recommend to Him in a more direct way such a work, such an undertaking, or some other anxious care of our pastoral labour. It is told of St. Thomas of Aquin, that despite his mighty genius, finding himself at a loss to solve certain theological difficulties, he betook himself to the Church, and addressing our Divine Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, humbly implored of Him the light desired. A similar incident is narrated in the life of St. Vincent de Paul, that he was in the habit of treating directly with Jesus Christ, hidden under the veil of the Eucharist, about the many details of his charitable creations . . .

“Up to the present I have considered this devotional exercise only in its relations with the other practices of sacerdotal piety: it is now time to study it in itself, and weigh its intrinsic excellence. I shall endeavour to do so by setting forth some reflections suggested to me by the text from Ecclesiastes: ‘It is a great depth, who shall find it out?’ (Eccl. vii. 25.) Is it not too often true that after having read such and such a spiritual book, or heard such or such a sermon, we feel constrained to confess that the subject has not been sufficiently treated. Hence, the reason why so many writings and discourses only produce a superficial and passive impression. From their nature they are able for a moment to dazzle the intellect or move the heart; but to-morrow these emotions will be half effaced, and totally forgotten the day after. The thoughts which they called forth did not flow from the inmost depths of the soul, into which a profound meditation alone can penetrate. Following this train of thought, I come upon the kernel of our subject; it is quite a different thing to spend before the Blessed Sacrament four quarters of an hour, separated from one another by studies, by occupations, by pastoral cares, however legitimate in themselves, and from uniting them without a break, so as to secure an uninterrupted hour during which the thoughts, desires, affections, and resolutions can, under the action of the immediate presence of Jesus Christ, be concentrated in a single point, and penetrate the soul to its most profound depths. I confess I would be very much surprised if on the day on which he passed his entire hour before the Holy

Sacrament, the priest who would be called either to ascend the pulpit, or to hear confessions, or to visit the sick or dying, did not, as if in spite of himself, betray the secret of a closer intimacy with Jesus Christ, by accents more persuasive, by a charity more abounding, by a more decisive and lasting influence upon souls. If such be the case, what priest desirous of exercising a faithful, a useful and truly regenerative and sanctifying ministry, would not desire to avail himself of a means which its facility renders universally accessible?

“But are there not some priestly lives that are consumed by a multiplicity of the most pressing cares? During these days that are devoted almost interruptedly to the service of our neighbour, there can be no difficulty in finding one continuous hour during which priests can be sure of not being called, and during which they can obtain the advantages of the lengthened time of recollection, silence, and prayer, without detriment to the duties of their state, and plunge themselves at leisure into the abysses of the Eucharistic Mystery. Moreover, is it not a matter of experience that the more one is obliged to devote himself to others, the more need he has of taking heed to himself, and to speak as our Lord, of refreshing himself and being refreshed—*Ego reficiam vos*, that he may ever be prepared to perform the duties of his Apostolic ministry? The more a priest devotes himself to the service of the Church and of souls, the more he has need of the graces of meditation and interior recollection attached to this hour of adoration.

“But, you will show me your daily distribution of time, and you have no trouble in persuading me that from your thanksgiving after Holy Mass until evening, you are just able to secure the indispensable quarter of an hour to visit the Blessed Sacrament after midday. I am convinced: I do not mean to discuss it. But, unhesitatingly, tell you: Select some day in the week on which you will rise an hour earlier; this hour you will spend before the Blessed Sacrament; and you will even be able to employ it in making your meditation. I assure you, your work not only that day, but even during the rest of the week, will betray the influence of this blessed hour. *Because of it you shall do more, and you shall do better.*

“I wish to all my brethren in the priesthood, as well as to myself, that fulness of faith, of conviction, of charity, and zeal, which will be for us the blessed fruit of our visits during the hour with Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament; a fulness, which, in its turn, will overflow on the souls of those with whom our ministry will put us in contact, and in all the undertakings confided to our care.”

Such is the language of this great prelate concerning this sacred priestly work—language which anticipates and

answers every possible objection that may be launched against it.

But I hear someone say :—Why multiply devotions? Already they are almost innumerable, and we are bewildered in the choice we ought to make, and weary in the undertaking of responsibilities which were almost forced upon us. That objection might hold for the laity ; but we think it hardly applies to priests. And even if it did, the one simple answer is, that for every reason devotion to the Most Blessed Sacrament must be the great, central, all-absorbing interest of the priest's life, to which every other exercise of piety must be regarded as complementary and ancillary. The whole sacerdotal ministry converges directly or indirectly towards the Holy Eucharist : “Ordo,” says St. Thomas, “prout est sacramentum imprimens characterem, ordinatur *specialiter* ad Sacramentum Eucharistiae, in quo ipse Christus continetur, quia per characterem ipsi Christo configuramur.” And again : “Ordinis Sacramentum ad Sacramentum Eucharistiae ordinatur quod est Sacramentum Sacramentorum . . . Quia potestas ordinis aut est ad consecrationem ipsius Eucharistiae aut ad aliquod ministerium ordinatum ad hoc Sacramentum Eucharistiae.”

The question is hardly debateable, and so we leave it, with the remark, that long before modern confraternities and sodalities were introduced for the edification and spiritual succour of the faithful, the Confraternity of the Most Blessed Sacrament was, fifty years back, well known to the Irish hierarchy, and strongly recommended to the faithful, and even its erection in each parish ordered and enforced, as a glance at our statutes will testify. It is quite possible that even in our day, we may have the privilege of witnessing a grand revival of devotion to the great hidden mystery of our faith. Already, in some dioceses in Ireland, priests-adorers have gathered around them in their weekly adoration large numbers of the faithful who can also be associated. And we feel confident that this great work will go on from day to day, animating the fervour of our Catholic people, and calling down from the throne of grace incalculable blessings on the Irish Church. Behind the daily labour of our priests,

a secret power will be working for their success, and the hearts of all will be turned towards the silent tabernacle where dwells that God-Man whose presence constitutes our strength here and our hope hereafter.¹

P. A. SHEEHAN.

FATHER MARSHALL AND THE "GODLESS COLLEGES"

1851-1853

THE subject of the present notice was well known in Ireland during those critical years which were signalized by the erection of the Queen's University, the publication of the decrees of the Synod of Thurles, the arrival of Cardinal Newman in Ireland, and the foundation of its Catholic University. Before Cardinal Newman's voice was heard, I do not think it is too much to say that Father Marshall was the most outspoken, and perhaps the most prominent, assailant of the Queen's University in Ireland. This "gigantic scheme of Godless education"² was an attempt to introduce into Ireland the materialistic principles of Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, which had given birth to the London University, and which, doubtless, Father Marshall had learned to measure and despise under the inspiration of the great chief of Christianity at Oxford, who in 1841 had given them a severe blow in his letters to *The Times* entitled,, "The Tamworth Reading Room."³ In England the defenders of rational and civilized education were supported by the Christian traditions of her great

¹ The central bureau of the Association is 27 Avenue, Friedland, Paris. The Director-General for Ireland is Rev. Charles Spieser, St. Joseph's College, Wilton, Cork. A stamped envelope addressed to him will bring all information. The *Annales* are published every month, and contain much information as to the working of the Association, papers read at Eucharistic Congresses, a series of monthly meditations on the priesthood and Holy Eucharist, answers to liturgical questions, correspondence, &c.

² Sir Robert Inglis has the credit of this definition, which it never could shake off, just because it was fitting.

³ Cardinal Newman, *Discussions and Arguments*, vol. ii.

universities. In Ireland the field seemed clear for the new mental and moral drill, for the one obstacle which has proved to be insurmountable has never been appreciated by our Protestant rulers.

From 1852 until his death, in 1875, I had the privilege of being in intimate relations with Father Marshall. By most people he is best remembered by the brilliancy of his wit, which in its way was almost unapproached; but when I say that the place he holds in my memory is that of the liberator of my faith from the contagion of "Godless" philosophy, the reader will understand that a deeper motive than amusement in the revival of his pleasantries impels me to write, and to recall many things which are far from creditable to myself.

Henry Johnston Marshall, born 1820, the son of an English Peninsular officer, and an Irish mother, was prepared for the Anglican ministry at Oxford in the years which immediately preceded the great triumph of Catholic principles in 1845, the year of his reception into the Church. How far he had identified himself with the movement while at Oxford, I do not know. He took no credit to himself for his Oxford life, nor indeed for anything else. I never met a man who seemed to have such genuine delight in open confession of his own follies and errors; the very tone of his voice when he began some story with "When I was a parson," was redolent of self-effacement. He summed up his college life by saying:—"I was chaplain to twelve oyster clubs." This was all he ever told me about his Oxford experience, with the addition of an account of an election in which he took part, when a thousand undergraduates stormed the hustings, seized the books, and gloriously returned their candidate, quite indifferent, as he said, to the fact that they knew right well that the business was invalid. "We also cut all the gas-pipes; why, I know not, except that they were gas-pipes."¹ At the same time,

¹ If objection is made to "inverted commas," after such a lapse of time, I can only say it seems to me that I remember Father Marshall's words better than things I heard yesterday. His simple Shakesperian style, and my own absolute surrender of head and heart, made my mind like wax under the seal. Moreover, it is no uncommon thing that in the decline of life the past becomes clearer than the present.

I ought to say that never was there even a hint of anything worse than wild frolic in Father Marshall's Oxford career.

I do not know the precise date of Father Marshall's conversion. The circumstances, as I had them from his own lips, were as follows:—He had left Oxford, and accepted a curacy somewhere in the country; and borne upward by the tide of Catholic truth, so strong at that time, he asserted in a sermon that the Blessed Mary the Virgin was the only creature of God who was free from sin. The explosion in the congregation might well have frightened a less fearless character. He was called upon to retract, and his only answer was, "I cannot, for I believe it is the truth." All the night that followed he spent in praying to her whose honour he had vindicated. With the morning light came the clear and absolute conviction that the Anglican Establishment was the invention of the evil one, and out he went with exactly three halfpence in his pocket. He did not know a single Catholic. "I really thought," he said, "that I should have to take to breaking stones on the roadside."¹ His next stage—how he arrived, I know not—was Birmingham and the well-known Dr. Moore, to whom he had been directed. When he told his story, and demanded reception into the Church, we can imagine the perplexity of the prudent priest. "My dear young friend," he said, "don't hurry; you are excited; take time; wait." "I'll be damned if I do," said Marshall; and I believe convinced the Doctor that the man was safe in doctrine who was so clear about the conclusion. The following anecdote shows that he must have given his mind to the subject before light came from *Gli occhi da Dio dilette e venerati*.²

Again, he carries us from the sublime to the ludicrous. Soon after his reception he met a sentimental Puseyite friend, who began, "Oh, Marshall, dear fellow, what did you do when the idea first struck you of becoming

¹Second-hand, I was told that a living of £1,000 a-year was in expectation.

²*Paradiso*, xxxiii. 39.

a Catholic?" "Do," said Marshall; "I went into the nearest tavern, ordered a beefsteak and a bottle of porter, and *I entertained the idea.*" He now learned that Mr. Faber had become a Catholic; and also that, in common with Mr. Newman, it was generally asserted that he had gone mad. Of course, it might be true. Catholic orthodoxy does not ward off insanity, any more than it stops earthquakes; so Marshall thought he would go and investigate his fellow-convert, who was then at Oscott. Arrived at the door, he was directed to Mr. Faber's room. No doubt his spirit was subdued as he trod those solemn and beautiful corridors. It was dusk, and Mr. Faber, whose heart had well-nigh broken over his separation from friends and disciples, was sitting over the fire; and, in an access of poetic frenzy, had heated the poker red hot, and, tapping the bars, was watching the sparks fly upward. He had also passed his fingers through his long hair, which rose in wild confusion; and when Marshall knocked, and Mr. Faber turned round with a red-hot poker in his hand, the visitor's courage quite failed him.

From this time, the end of 1845 or beginning of 1846, I have little to guide me in the order of events.¹ In a letter at the time of Father Marshall's death, Cardinal Newman, bearing testimony to his "high qualities," says that he met him in Rome, at Propaganda (1846-47); and I believe that it was in the Eternal City that he was prepared for the priesthood and ordained, and received that plenitude of the Roman spirit, which was only second to his love of the Madonna, who had been the beginning of all his joy. He was brought under the notice of Pius IX., *magnus aestimator animarum*; and Father Marshall's mission in Ireland, in 1852, direct from the Pope, to which we are coming, seems to prove that the Vicar of Christ had not forgotten him.

In the interval he worked at Liverpool, where Mgr. Talbot, of Roman celebrity, saw Father Marshall's famous

¹ Perhaps some old friends of Father Marshall may think it worth while to help me with corrections or additions.

"Rule of Life" over his chimney-piece. It ran as follows: "Conceive an intense and passionate enthusiasm for all forms of corporal maceration—hair-sheets, whips, chains, potsherds, nettles, fastings, vigils, chameunias, &c.; *mortify your desires.*" About this time, at dinner, a gentleman—I think a convert—to whom Marshall acted as chaplain, addressed him thus: "Pray, Father Marshall, what is the precise position of the laity in the Catholic Church? Have they a voice in her deliberations and government? What is their special office?" "To feed the clergy, sir," said Marshall; "and see that you do it well." "We soon parted," he continued; "and, later on, I met him in the streets of Rome. I thought he would have cut me; but he crossed over, and, stretching out his hand, said, 'How do you do, Father Marshall? I have quite come round to your opinion;' and he asked me to dinner." It is said that this story was told to Pius IX., and received his approval. These specimens of wit and wisdom are evidence that there was nothing of the buffoon in Father Marshall. I have been with him in almost every variety of circumstance, and never have I known him use his wit for its own sake. I am always reminded of him in reading Sidney Smith, whose portrait bears a striking resemblance to Father Marshall, as I remember him in his early prime: in both wit was ever the phosphorescence on the wave of deep and earnest conviction.

My first sight of my predestined liberator was in the pulpit of SS. Peter and Paul, Cork, a year or two before his solemn mission from Rome; and I am sorry to say that the sermon made no impression on me. At that time my head was too full of Carlyle, M. Cousin, and the mixed metaphysics of the dissecting room. He read the Gospel of the Good Samaritan, and when he closed the book, Dr. Fleming, a young and very distinguished Protestant Professor of the Queen's College, who sat by me turned sharply round, and said, "Well read." Later on I myself fell under the influence of Father Marshall's reading powers, which were quite extraordinary. It was probably then that he paid a visit to the Queen's College. At the time, as he told me, he was ignorant of the fact that

the institution was under the ban of Rome.¹ "Had I known it," he said, "I would not have set foot within its gates." He was shown over the place by one of the Professors; and thinking, as he said, of Oxford, he asked, "Where is the Chapel?" To which the Professor replied, laughing, "We have no Chapel, we are the Godless." A few minutes later they reached the chemical laboratory, at that moment possessed by some offensive odours. "You have got a god here," said Marshall; "I can smell him."

In May, 1852, Father Marshall arrived again in Cork, and began his famous month of sermons in the Capuchin Church of the Most Holy Trinity, the object of which was only fully understood when he finished by imparting to the city the Benediction of Pius IX. The words of the Benediction I do not remember, but the fact that it was conveyed in the form of a Brief was taken as evidence that Father Marshall came as the ambassador of the Vicar of Christ; and in the end he left no doubt on our minds that his long course of sermons, finishing with one on Loyalty to the Pope, were primarily intended as a commentary on the Pope's condemnation of the Queen's Colleges. These colleges are now, indeed, "shorn of their beams," for the "Queen's University" is no more; but the lesson of those days is the lesson of to-day; and lest it may seem that I am exaggerating the importance of an apparently provincial struggle, something must be said about the theatre wherein it was fought out.

I think I am safe in saying that for the first fifty years of this century Cork was a place of considerable importance, and the centre of a great deal of intellectual life. The incidental allusions which I remember in my young days, into which came the names of many of the greatest celebrities of the day, have left the impression that at that time literary society in Cork was brilliant beyond the

¹ The Decrees of the Synod of Thurles containing the various Rescripts of the Pope on the subject of the Queen's University, were approved at Rome, on May 23rd, 1851, and published in Ireland later on in the same year.

measure of most provincial towns.¹ It is needless to say that while wits and *literateurs*, home and foreign, enlivened her dinner-tables, they brought no increase of faith or morals, but rather the contrary. The history of the struggles of the Irish Church in the first years of this century has yet to be written. The Penal laws against Catholic education had told especially on the upper classes whose condition, making education a necessity, drove them into Protestant schools. It is, perhaps, impossible now to collect evidence as to the result of this persecution: my own impression is, that, great as was the triumph of faith in places like Dingle, where, when deprived of pastors, the people held on to religion by the Rosary which the Dominicans had left them, the preservation of her Catholic gentry was even a more wonderful proof of the vitality of faith in Ireland.

The selection of the Professors for the Cork College was evidently directed by someone who well understood what was wanted.² It would be hard to find a body of men better equipped for the work then starting in the golden sunshine of ministerial favour and endowment. Boole (Mathematics), Alcock (Biology), De Vericour (Modern Literature), were the leading spirits, and, I think, in the order given.

Boole was a man of extraordinary attractiveness and ability. How well I remember his algebraic ecstasies over the black board, setting formulas to music, and turning to us with chalk lines on his face, on which his fingers had been keeping time with his calculations. He was a mathematical Wordsworth, and their religion came to about the same thing—belief in

“Something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.”

In 1851, as “Dean of the Faculty of Science,” he delivered

¹ I believe Thackeray said that the Cork people were the most book-reading people he ever came across. —

² The hidden life of the “Queen’s University of Ireland” has yet to be revealed. Probably Archbishop Whately had a large share in it. He was an astute diplomatist, and I believe managed to persuade many people that he was not really an enemy of revealed religion.

a lecture "on the Claims of Science,"¹ which was published, and is the only relic of the college which seemed to me worth preserving. It is written in clear and simple language, without any attempt to coin scientific gibberish as the cloak of fallacies and conscious perplexities.² There could be no mistake as to the "Claims of Science." "All scientific truths," he tells us, "are founded upon the observation of facts;"³ but neither the God who made us, nor the mind in which He is mirrored, held any definite place in this philosophy of "facts." "In some sense," he observes, "the moral and intellectual constitution of man are proper objects of scientific inquiry;"⁴ but alas! in his context, "this some sense" came to no sense at all. The lecture is chiefly a summary of those views of Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, which, as I have said, Cardinal Newman had analyzed with unsparing irony. In 1852, the same great champion of the claims of God and reason, returned to the battlefield in his Dublin lectures on "University Education."

Father Marshall was a few months earlier in the field, and, as I have said, I do not imagine that either the college-people, or the general public had any idea of the storm that was brewing. I am inclined to think that it was his intention to hold his hand. This man, who, to many, seemed the very type of a fiery clerical agitator, had clear views as to the importance of "Priestcraft." Neither did he shrink from the word; quoting one who said: "There is nothing so mighty in this world; for it is the craft of the High Priest Jesus Christ." So, in the pulpit, week after week, he gave his hearers the plain truths of the Gospel, such as they might hear in any mission, while in personal intercourse with individuals, amongst whom I was one, he gradually got a party together. I fear that if I had suspected in the beginning that Father Marshall was kindred in spirit with

¹ *The Claims of Science*. London, 1851.

² See the "undefinable latencies, and nebulous potentialities" of Mr. Huxley in his recent Romanes Lecture. (*Evolution and Ethics*, page 4.)

³ Page 8.

⁴ Page 15.

Archbishop Cullen, and the "obscurantist" party, I should have avoided him. Catholic supporters of the Queen's Colleges were in no mood to be corrected by a recent convert. All had been done which had been commanded. The Deans of Residence had withdrawn; no Catholic ecclesiastic held office in the Queen's University; and the *grave periculum fidei Catholicae*, anathematized by the Vicar of Christ, seemed a remote danger so long as we went to Mass and the Sacraments; and counterbalanced what it is the fashion to call the "Reconciliation of Religion and Science."

In the pulpit, Father Marshall's sense of the ludicrous was in complete subjection, which was all the more remarkable, as I do not think he ever made even notes of his sermons, which, in style, in no way differed from his ordinary conversation. The only speaker who ever reminded me of him was Mr. Bright. Bright's subject, indeed, was the Budget of 1853; but there was a similar fascination in their simple manly eloquence.¹ The concluding sermon, on Loyalty to the Holy See, the climax of his course, is alone clear in my memory; but before he reached it I was won by his chivalrous spirit, and the way in which he charged his enemies, lance in rest, and always seemed to get the best of it. His love of our Lady was like a passion in his soul; and "Father Marshall's Mariolatry" was the first thing that stirred up the Protestant ire of Cork. His feelings, however, never checked his sustained vigorous march of words, and when tears started, as they often did, the effect was most singular, for they seemed to spring from his eyelids. One passage I remember, when meeting the absurd objection of excess of honour to the Mother of God; he said:—"If we covered the earth with temples in her honour, and if all the genius of man were spent in her praise, what would it come to compared with the glory which God Himself gave her, when the Everlasting

¹ In Father Marshall's case, his old and faithful friend, Bishop Moriarty of Kerry, attributed his power to an extraordinary knowledge of English literature. I am sorry I did not put these recollections together in the lifetime of Bishop Moriarty. He had many things to say about Father Marshall.

kissed her pure and sacred lips, and the Son of God called her His own dear Mother." In Father Marshall's sermons, the glory of the Madonna invested women with similar light. St. Agnes, the child-martyr, was his heroine, years before "Fabiola" had made her the brightest star in our literature; and he took occasion, from her example, to pull down our admiration of that mere brutal courage, which, as Walter Scott says, is common to bulls and bull-dogs and all highly-fed male animals.

An echo of Father Marshall's sermon on the Pope reached Dublin, and Archbishop Cullen pressed him to publish it, but in vain; it was never his way to look back; one thing done was the signal to begin another. The argument of this sermon, from beginning to end, ran thus:—In all the ages the Vicar of Christ has governed in the spirit of that God whose very nature is love; and obedience in the same spirit is the sign of predestination. Then came a series of illustrations from the history of heresies, in which he put forth all his extraordinary power of uniting clearness with condensation. In every case the Pope had begun with warnings, more like those of a mother than a judge, and when love answered love, *causa finita erat*. On the other hand, whenever royal usurpation, secular interests, national pride, or corruption aroused men's jealousy of the spiritual power, things soon went on from bad to worse, and then, and only then, when revolt threw away the scabbard, did the Popes unsheath the awful sword of excommunication. He finished with the Eastern schism, taking no notice of the gross, unintellectual, and political revolts of the sixteenth century. "Look," he said, "at that Land of the East, from whence Christ has come, in whose cities apostles preached and martyrs died; and then, for ages, the nursing mother of saints and doctors, now lying in stillness like death, without life or motion, save that of the crawling things which death generates, like your own noble river when the tide is out."

He terminated with the papal blessing to the city, which he read in the Latin from the pulpit, in great state, flanked by acolytes with their candles, and then, that no doubt

might remain as to the interpretation, his voice rang out like a trumpet in his mother tongue, with the words: "And may my blessing rest on all that he has blest, and my curse on all that he has cursed." How many of his hearers had now advanced from realms of speculation into those of action? I do not know. For my own part, I was undisturbed, my views about papal condemnations being as vague as those of the lady who said—"Pray, Father Marshall, what is the precise meaning of *anathema sit*." "Let him be damned, madam," was the answer. The reality of my dangerously near relationship to Arius and Photius had to be brought home, and home it was soon brought with sacred vengeance. Soon after this I was invited to dinner, and a *tête-a-tête*, probably designed, with Father Marshall. Dinner done, we walked out into the beautiful gardens of the villa, our host making up the party, and the subject of the day was started. How wonderful now seems to me the patience of that imperial intellect as he listened to the nonsense with which for two years I had been indoctrinated. I was eloquent on the virtues and religious proprieties of our Catholic professors; and argued that we had, at any rate, the sympathy of many Catholic ecclesiastics,¹ the *élite* of their Order, and that the worst enemies of religion in our times were pious obscurantists—timid moles who feared the light. I do not remember how long the discussion lasted. He met my panegyric on our respectable Catholics, by saying, "If priests support those colleges, what sort are they? dining-out, dandified priests. If laymen, ask them to open their hands, you will see the little yellow image of the Queen"—but the fact that I myself held a scholarship stood very much in the way of this argument. The conclusion, however, was triumphant, and the steps by which he reached it have ever prevented me from seeing anything in the view that God does not use logic as an instrument of conversion. He saw, I suppose, that reason and conscience

¹ Probably I said that they were appealing to the Pope "better informed," for it was only the other day that I came upon a letter in which it was said that people were expecting that the Pope would withdraw his condemnation.

were giving way under my vain attempt to build upon balloons; and gradually he brought me face to face with the great question of my eternal salvation, in words that seem still to ring in my ears:—

"Do you not see [he said] that the danger to your soul is ever in proportion to the attractions of the enemy? Were the devil now to jump out of one of those bushes, hoofs, horns, and all, bringing hell with him, we should all take to our heels. The real danger is when he comes in the shape of some beautiful young lady, or fascinating professor." And then seeing the moment was come, he finished thus: "*Young man, if you follow their science, you will be a fool; and if you follow their religion, you will be damned.*"

I cannot analyze my feelings at that moment, and, as to thoughts, they were all gone. Something stronger had come than the "consideration" of Prince Henry, that "like an angel came, and whipp'd the offending Adam out of him." It was all at once like a blow on the head and a sword through the heart, and I cried in sheer misery; for all the dreams and hopes of life seemed gone. I remember nothing more that evening except the ineffectual efforts Father Marshall made to cheer me up with droll stories as we drove back to Cork.

With the morning came light, and from that day to this I can never think of that contest without gratitude to God for my conversion, and amusement at the process. My conqueror took me at once in hand, lent me Balmez and De Maistre; and, in a month or two, Cardinal Newman's *Lectures on University Education* appeared in numbers, as they were delivered. There, in language "musical as is Apollo's lute," was philosophy identical with that of Father Marshall, and the same absolute faith in the divine guidance of the Holy See.

"After all [he says] Peter has spoken. Peter is no recluse, no abstracted student, no dreamer about the past, no doter upon the dead and gone, no projector of the visionary. . . . If there ever was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations, whose words have been deeds, and whose commands prophecies, such is he in the history of ages who sits

from generation to generation in the Chair of the Apostles as Vicar of Christ, and Doctor of His Church."¹

It is needless to say, that at the age of eighteen, and in the throes of such a spiritual and intellectual revolution, comparison and criticism had then no place in my mind. I had begun to learn again, and the sensation was delightful. Returning now to De Maistre, I see clearly that it was from that extraordinary genius, so far in advance of his age, that Father Marshall drew his *Petrine* doctrines. The strongest things in *Du Pape* are simply conclusions from the primary truths that God rules the world, and rules it for the sake of His Church and His elect, and that the Pope is *Princeps, omnium mortalium Pater, maxime vero credentium*,² which is hardly more than is expressed in the words of the Protestant Edmund Burke, when he styles him, "The Supreme Chief of Christianity." Father Marshall's devotion to the Pope did not go beyond that of Father Faber, but with De Maistre he carried it into regions which the purely spiritual genius of Father Faber did not enter. It is clear that De Maistre holds that the government of the Christian world by the Popes is under the Divine guidance; and, indeed, if we suppose the Church to be divine only in doctrine, and human and subject to error in practice, it is impossible to explain her continuity. De Maistre has a power, only equalled by Pascal, of condensing centuries into syllogisms, any one of which is enough to strangle a thousand petty objections. He seems to argue thus with critics:—You say the Popes mismanaged Constantine, and Henry VIII., and Napoleon. Have you any reliable information as to what would have happened if they acted otherwise? God does not force the wills of men; He solicits, nay, implores, and the Pope has to imitate Him, and to do what he can, when men refuse to do what he would. Again, while things of the day are measured by the day, all time is the measure of the Pope's administration; and here

¹ *Discourses on University Education*, p. 25. Dublin: 1852. Republished in *Idea of a University*.

² Dedication to Pius VII. *Œuvres Complètes*, xii. 6,

it is that De Maistre brings history and the testimony of opponents to bear with overwhelming force; testimony swelled since his time by men like Guizot, Macaulay, and Lecky, to the effect that at particular periods, the Church was the saviour of civilization, and of all that is bound up with it; and when these *particular periods* are strung together, we find that they span the ages from Peter to Leo XIII. It was in this spirit that Father Marshall argued with the men of "52," who did not know as much as we know now.

Godless education in every form is now more than ever in the field, with unlimited endowments and immeasurable promises. When and where have these promises been fulfilled? In Ireland, forty years ago, it was met by Cardinal Newman, the most powerful agent of common sense in high intellectual places that we have had since Edmund Burke convinced so many at home and abroad that Voltaire and Rousseau were, as he said, no better than the "mere jays and magpies of philosophy." It is no small triumph that the Queen's University and Galway College have sunk, although fragments of the wreck are still afloat in the Colleges of Cork and Belfast. When the day comes when secular rulers will see in the principles taught by Cardinal Newman, the sole foundation of that order and civilization by which nations live, Father Marshall will be remembered as one of his most earnest and eloquent supporters.

W. B. MORRIS.

WHAT IS TO BE SAID FOR THE SALVATION OF INFANTS WHO DIE WITHOUT RECEIVING BAPTISM?

THE question of the salvation of children who die without receiving Baptism possesses a peculiar interest for the student of theology. From the earliest ages of the Church it formed a subject of anxious inquiry, and even St. Augustine, who so thoroughly understood the relations of the natural and supernatural, admitted that it was surrounded with difficulties which he failed to understand, and presented problems for solution which he was unable to explain. “Cum,” he says, writing to St. Jerome, “ad poenas ventum est parvulorum, magnis mihi crede, coarctor augustiis nec quid respondeam prorsus invenio.” From the days of St. Augustine down to the present, as error after error arose regarding the necessity and efficacy of Baptism, the question received an increased amount of attention. It can scarcely be said, however, that our store of knowledge in this particular has been increased, or that time, which solves so many difficulties, and explains away so much that was hitherto obscure, has thrown very much light on the present subject of inquiry. All, or nearly all, that can be said on the future condition of infants dying without Baptism, has been said long ago, and modern theologians for the most part have occupied themselves in collecting and collating opinions already propounded, and drawing forth from the great storehouses of theology left us by the early fathers and theologians, the tenable views on the subject.

Two things appear certain:—(1) infants who die without receiving Baptism can never enjoy the Beatific Vision; (2) they are not condemned to the hell of the damned.

The first of these propositions follows at once as a corollary from the Catholic doctrine regarding the transmission of original sin and the necessity of Baptism. One of the effects of original sin—and this the saddest of all—was to deprive our first parents, and in depriving them, to

deprive their posterity of all right to the Beatific Vision, and the consequent happiness which its privation entailed. Man's original elevation to a supernatural state was purely gratuitous on the part of God. God might, had He so wished, have created him in a purely natural state; He might have assigned him as his ultimate destiny a purely natural end, which he would attain by the proper exercise of his faculties, aided by such means as would satisfy the requirements of his nature. He might even have sent him into this world stripped of many of those ennobling qualities which, although not supernatural in the strict sense of the word, were nevertheless connatural to his state of original justice.

"Poterat Deus [writes St. Thomas] a principio quando hominem condidit etiam aliun hominem ex limo terrae formare, quem in conditione naturae suae relinqueret, ut scilicet mortalis et passibilis esset et pugnam concupiscentiae ad rationem sentiens in quo nihil humanae naturae derogaretur quia hoc ex principiis naturae consequitur; non tamen iste defectus in eo rationem culpae et poenae habuisset, quia non per voluntatem iste defectus causatus esset."

The endowment, therefore, of our first parents with the attributes of original justice, and their destination to a supernatural reward, were due entirely to an act of the divine bounty, to which as human beings they could never establish a title. Nevertheless had they remained faithful in their exalted position, and observed the easy commands of God, they would have escaped the penalty of death, and as a reward of their free correspondence with grace, after a time to be determined by the Creator, they would have been transferred from the earthly paradise to the immediate vision of the Deity. The sad history of their fall is familiar to everyone, and we are all heirs to its disastrous effects. "In uno omnes peccaverunt," and each and every child of Adam is born into this world, dethroned from the exalted state in which the common father had been created, stripped of the attributes of original justice, and deprived, if unredeemed, of all right to the Beatific Vision.

Redemption, as the word itself implies, signifies a buying

back, and its effect in the case of man was to regain for him a right to the supernatural destiny which he had lost through original sin. But while redemption did this much, something further was needed. It took the place, so to speak, of a "*remedium remotum*," and there was required a "*remedium proximum*"—some sacramental or quasi-sacramental rite—whereby the graces it merited would be applied to the souls of individuals. Man, even when redeemed, with his glorious faculties of intellect and will, could never aspire to a supernatural reward as long as there was no grace to wipe out the stain of original sin and elevate the natural powers of his soul. There is a greater difference between the natural and the supernatural than there is between the lowest grade of existence in the natural order and the highest grade in the same order; and as no being in an inferior order could aspire to the attributes of a being in a superior order, so man with all his ennobling qualities, could never, unless aided by grace, aspire to a supernatural reward. Catholic theologians even say, that it would exceed the limits of Divine omnipotence to create a being to whom the Beatific Vision would be a natural reward; for while grace and the "*lumen gloriæ*" are created things, and might therefore, it could be supposed, be amongst the "*debita*" of a possible human being, still their very nature and the extraordinary effects they produce, so far exceed the claims of man, that they can under no circumstances be regarded as within the scope of his natural requirements. "*Uno verbo*," writes Franzelin,¹ "*dicendum est Deus omnipotens potest in sua creatura operari donum gratuitum quod sit supra debitum hujus creaturæ; sed non potest efficere creaturam cui hujusmodi sit debitum, quia donum huic creaturæ debitum quod simul sit omni creaturæ indebitum (supernaturale) videretur repugnantiam involvit.*"

From the very nature of the case, therefore, there was a need of some rite whereby the merits of the Redeemer would be applied to the souls of individuals; and we cannot doubt but that, even during the period of the unwritten

¹ *De Deo Uno*, Th. xiv., p. 185.

law, when men were saved by foredrawing on these merits, the "*voluntas salvifica*" provided some such rite, although neither Scripture nor tradition supplies any very definite information as to its character. It is highly probable that the "*remedium naturae*"—as it was called—was not well defined, and that any external protestation of faith in the future Redeemer would be accepted by God as sufficient. In later times, when God entered a special covenant with His people, He adopted circumcision for male children as at once the sign and instrument of the covenant and the rite by which original sin was to be blotted out from the soul. Neither the "*remedium naturae*" nor circumcision produced grace in the same way as the Sacraments of the New Law. "*Novae legis*," says the Council of Trent, "*septem sunt sacramenta quae multum a sacramentis antiquae legis differunt. Illa enim non causabant gratiam, sed eam solum per passionem Christi dandam esse figurabant.*" These "*infirmas et egenas elementa*" neither contained nor conferred sanctifying grace. It is highly probable that infants were justified "*propter fidem parentum*," and that circumcision was pretty generally selected in the case of males, and the "*remedium naturae*" in all other cases as a means of externating their faith. Although not "*verae causae gratiae*," they were thus intimately connected with the remission of original sin; and without the application of the one or the other, infants were not justified under the law of nature or the Mosaic law.

Under the new dispensation it may be taken as proved that, excepting the case of martyrdom, Baptism is absolutely necessary for salvation. In the third chapter of the Gospel of St. John, it is laid down, that Baptism is quite as necessary for the spiritual existence of the soul as natural birth is for the existence of the body. "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."¹ From the twenty-eight chapter of St. Matthew and the corresponding

¹ vv. 5, 6.

chapter of St. Mark the same necessity might be clearly established. The mind of the Church on the matter is well reflected in her anxiety to have the sacrament administered to all those "*qui in discrimine vite constituti sunt*;" and better still, perhaps, in the "*dicta*" of the early fathers and theologians. "*Utique*," writes St. Ambrose, commenting on those words of St. John, "*nullum excipit (Christus), non infantem non aliqua praevenit necessitate*." St. Augustine actually undertook to convince the Pelagians of the doctrine of the transmission of original sin from the fact that Baptism was necessary for salvation ; and the Pelagians themselves, when hard pressed, while still persisting in its denial, were obliged to admit the necessity of Baptism for entrance into heaven. From the moment, therefore, that the Gospel was sufficiently promulgated, Baptism became in the case of infants, unless they were martyrs, the "*unicum medium justificationis*;" and all such as die without receiving it could never enjoy the Beatific Vision. "*Poenae originalis peccata*," writes Innocent III., "*est carentia visionis Dei actualis*;" and the Council of Trent, using the word Baptism in its widest sense, has defined "*Si quis dixerit Baptismum liberum esse, hoc est, non necessarium ad salutem anathema sit*." This, therefore, brings us to our next subject of inquiry, and we are naturally led to ask, what is to be the future condition of children who die without receiving Baptism?

In discussing the present point, we are not left completely in the "*via tenebrosa*." "*Credimus*," say the Councils of Lyons and Florence, "*illorum animas qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt mox in infernum descendere poenis tamen disparibus puniendos*." Two things, therefore, appear certain :—(1) the souls of those who die in sin, whether it be original or mortal, are subjected in the next life to sentence of damnation ; (2) the punishment to be inflicted varies in each case according to the nature of the sin.

To the ordinary Catholic mind the word "*damnation*," used in reference to the future condition of a human soul, presents the idea of a region of unceasing woe and despair

where the justice of God punishes the transgressors of His law with the worm that never dies, and in the fire that is never extinguished. Such a sentence God has pronounced on those who die in a state of mortal sin. For them the reign of mercy is over ; they are for ever excluded from the immediate vision of the Deity, and their unhappy fate is to suffer in the fiery prison, "*ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat.*" God has likewise pronounced a sentence of damnation on those who die in original sin ; they too are excluded from the immediate vision of the Deity ; but as to the nature of the punishment they endure, or the privation to which they are subjected, nothing has been defined, and the Church allows us freedom of inquiry.

Bellarmino mentions no less than six different opinions on the subject ; but with some of these, as they have already received the condemnation of the Church, we shall have no concern. Amongst those that are still tenable, the most notable, perhaps, is that attributed to St. Augustine, and which once found favour with the Latin fathers, and a large section of theologians. According to this opinion, infants who die without Baptism will suffer in the next life, together with the pain of loss, some small amount of physical or sensible pain. Bellarmine endeavours to explain the words of St. Augustine, so as to bring them into harmony with the common opinion of theologians ; and, undoubtedly, the great Latin father had very unsettled views on the matter. "*Quae,*" he writes, "*qualis et quanta sit haec poena definire non possum.*" It was, however, to be the mildest of all. "*Mitissima,*" he continues, "*sane omnium poena erit eorum, qui praeter peccatum quod originale traxerunt nullum insuper addiderunt.*" He even inclines to think that existence in such pain is preferable to a state of non-existence. "*Ego non dico parvulos sine Christi baptis- mate tanta poena esse plectendos ut eis non nasci potius expediret, cum hoc Dominus non de quibuslibet peccatoribus, sed de scelestissimis et impiissimis dixerit.*"

Whatever may have been the real views of St. Augustine, and he is usually credited with the doctrine of the "*tortores infantium,*" it may be taken as the common opinion of

theologians, that unbaptized infants, whatever other privation they endure, are free, at least, from all pain of sense. "Communissima deinde," writes Mazzella, "in scholis facta est sententia, parvulos cum solo peccato originali decedentes non puniri poena sensus."¹ St. Thomas, Bonaventure Scotus et "ingens antiquorum acies," are quoted by Perrone as opposed to the opinion attributed to St. Augustine, and according to Vasquez, quoted by the same learned author, many of the scholastics relying on the words of Innocent III.:—"Poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis Dei, actualis vero poena peccati est gehennae perpetuae cruciatus," went so far as to say that the common opinion was of Catholic faith. It may, therefore, be believed with all confidence, that infants dying in original sin, will not be submitted to sensible pain in the next life. "Quantum glorificavit se et in deliciis fuit; tantum date illi tormentum et luctum." (Apoc. xvii. 7.) St. Thomas, commenting on these words of St. John, argues that the nature of the punishment to be inflicted in the next life will correspond in some way to the fault committed in this; and concludes that, as those who die in original sin have experienced no personal delectation in its commission, neither shall they be obliged to endure any physical suffering in punishment.

A further question then arises:—Are such infants equally free from all pain of mind, or do they experience any mental anguish in consequence of the glorious privileges they have lost? Here again theologians are divided. Bellarmine regards it as much more probable that they will experience pain of mind: "Etsi levissimum mitissimumque;" and if not immediately after death, at least after the last judgment. "Tunc enim illuminabuntur abscondita tenebrarum et manifesta erunt consilia cordium." At the last judgment they will realize the glorious destiny they have forfeited, and how, although through no personal fault of their own, they have been excluded from the immediate vision of the Deity, and the society of the just made perfect. "Dicimus igitur,"

he writes, "parvulos sine Baptismo decedentes dolorem animi habituros quod intelligent se beatitudine privatos, a consortio priorum fratrum et parentum alienos, in carcerem inferni detrusos et in tenebris perpetuis vitam acturos."¹ The weight of authority is, undoubtedly, on the other side. "Valde tamen," writes Mazella,² "communior est inter scholasticos sententia quae nullam animi tristitiam parvulos ex privatione visionis intuitivae passuros esse statuit." Vasquez, Billuart, Scotus, and St. Thomas are quoted in support of the latter opinion; and Dr. Murray,³ after carefully analyzing the subject, sums up by quoting and endorsing the words of Henno, "satis probabile est pueros illos ex privatione beatitudinis aeternae non esse tristitia afficiendos." Some are inclined to think that their original destination to a supernatural reward has, by a merciful dispensation of God, been concealed from them; and that, as a consequence, they feel perfectly happy in their present dethroned position. "Et ideo," concludes St. Thomas, "se privari tali bono, animae puerorum non cognoscunt; et propter hoc non dolent: sed hoc, quod per naturam habent, sine dolore possident."⁴ Others hold that these infants are fully aware of the greatness of the reward which, in other circumstances, they might have merited; but that, nevertheless, God has so arranged matters, that they are now perfectly happy, and experience no useless regrets, no vain longings in consequence of what they have lost. The happiness of the elect is, indeed, well known to them; but, feeling no capability within themselves for such a glorious destiny, they are neither jealous of those who have attained it, nor are they troubled in mind, because it has fallen to their own lot to be excluded from its enjoyment. They have for ever escaped the fires of hell—the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never extinguished—and they thank God for this grand manifestation of His mercy towards them. "Scribit enim," writes St. Bonaventure,⁵ "homines illos

¹ Tom. v., lib. vi., cap. vi.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Tract De Ecclesia*, vol. i., Disp. i., sect. x.

⁴ Q. 5, *de Malo*, a. 3.

⁵ *Apud Bellarminum*, i. c., lib. vi., cap. vi.

simul consideraturos beatitudinem quam amiserunt; et poenas aliorum damnatorum quas evaserunt; et quamquam prior consideratio dolorem, posterior gaudium adferre possit, tamen ita unam temperandam per aliam, ut consideratio amissae beatitudinis impeditura sit gaudium de evasione poenarum, et consideratio evasionis poenarum impeditura sit dolorem de privatione beatitudinis; atque ita futurum, ut illi neque tristentur unquam, neque laetentur."

Many theologians, and their opinion, considering their number and respectability, seems highly probable, go even further, and say that infants, dying in original sin, enjoy in their future state the highest degree of natural happiness which it is possible for human beings to enjoy. With intellects unclouded by evil thoughts, and hearts set from the disorderly affections that pursue fallen humanity here below, they know and love God with a natural knowledge and affection, and in the enjoyment of that natural knowledge and affection they find all the aspirations of their souls fully satisfied. This opinion is fully in consonance with God's usual merciful dealings with man; it finds favour with theologians of the highest name, and derives no small amount of authority from the action of the Holy See. "Quamvis," writes St. Thomas, "pueri non baptizati sint separati a Deo, quantum ad illam conjunctionem, quae est per gloriam; non tamen ab eo penitus separati sunt. Imo ipsi conjunguntur per participationem naturalium bonorum; et ita etiam de ipso gaudere poterunt, naturali dilectione et cognitione."¹ And Suarez writes:—"Infero fore, ut illi parvuli tunc habeant veram Dei cognitionem naturalem, et amorem ejus super omnia, atque adeo reliquas virtutes naturales . . . itaque neque patientur rebellionem carnis, neque interiorem neque ex teriorem pugnam; quia etiam haec esset poena sensibilis, et omnia haec pertinent ad viam illi vero sunt suo modo in termino; atque in his fere conveniunt omnes theologi."¹ St. Bonaventure, Vasquez, and modern theologians for the most part support the same opinion. Lessius, who always thinks and writes so

¹ Apud Mazellum, *i/l*.

profoundly, gives a vivid pen-picture of the appearance which unbaptized infants will present on the last day, and we take the liberty of transcribing his words as they are found in Dr. Murray.¹

“Congregabuntur [he writes] in unum locum, seorsim tamen ab impiis quia ad eorum sortem non pertinent. Videbunt iudicis majestatem, eumque adorabunt. Videbunt sanctorum et impiorum congregationem eorumque bona et prava opera cognoscent. Audient sententiam iudicis in utrosque, sibi gratulabuntur quod non sint de impiorum numero. Agent Deo gratias quod ante usum rationis abrepti ; quia longe maxima pars eorum si ad aetatem venisset in eandem damnationem incidisset, praesertim infidelium filii. Itaque non murmurabunt contra Deum ; sed magnopere se illi obstrictos sentient, quod periculis tantorum filiorum exempti fuerint. Excipient et ipsi sententiam iudicis sed benignam ; qua etsi a visione Dei et coelesti regno excludentur, tamen statum naturae dignitati congruentem assequuntur, quo contenti et laeti in omnem aeternitatem vivant et Deum laudent. . . . Unde etsi dicantur damnati, quia coelesti gloria ad quam erant conditi, in aeternum sunt privati ; tamen credibile est, eorum statum longe feliciorum ac laetiorum fore, quam sit alicujus hominis mortalis in hac vita.”

Some theologians seek to find an argument in support of this opinion in the words of Innocent III. :—“ Poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis Dei ;” and, undoubtedly, the action of the Holy See supplies a strong proof in its favour. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Cardinal Sfrondate published a book in which the opinion under consideration was advanced. The religious feelings of some of the French bishops were wounded, and the year immediately following the publication, five of their number, including the celebrated Bossuet, presented a petition to the Holy See, praying for the condemnation of the work. The then reigning Pontiff, after praising their zeal, promised to give the matter the most serious consideration. “ Officii itaque nostri,” he writes in reply, “ esse duximus, librum ipsum, resque a vobis in eo adnotatas insignium theologorum discussioni committere ut omnibus maturae considerationis trutina perpensis, quod justum fuerit, subinde decernere valeamus.” Innocent XII., it may be assumed,

¹ *Tract. De Ecclesia*, vol. i., Disp. i., sec. x.

kept his word, and the investigation was conducted with all the seriousness which the circumstances of the case and the issues at stake demanded. No condemnation, however, appeared ; and we are justified, therefore, if not in citing the highest authority in support of the opinion, at least, in concluding that it contains nothing opposed to the recognised principles of Catholic theology.

This paper has already exceeded all reasonable limits, and yet it is no matter of surprise that nothing like a satisfactory answer has been given to the question proposed. The *dicta* collected from the writings of our leading theologians show how hopelessly they are divided on the subject, and it is highly probable that God's merciful dealings with infants who die without receiving the graces of Baptism, will remain enveloped in mystery. "Donec illuminabuntur abscondita tenebrarum et manifesta erunt consilia cordium."

D. FLYNN, C.C.

"THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW" AND THE ENCYCLICAL ON BIBLICAL STUDIES

IN the April number of *The Contemporary Review* the Pope's Encyclical on the Bible was very freely and very severely criticized by the unknown author of *The Policy of the Pope*. This writer poses as the spokesman of a group of "intelligent Catholics"—*sapiunt quia sentiunt mecum*. But at first, one is tempted to fancy that the article is a clever piece of satire, after the fashion of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, the work of some enemy who wishes to throw ridicule on enlightened Catholics while he belabours their less intelligent brethren. This hypothesis would go far to explain the great freedom with which the Pope is treated, and some strange slips on the subject of Papal infallibility. Thus, we read on page 578: "The Sovereign Pontiff, whose infallibility providentially stops short at definitions." And again, on page 581: "Their first

and predominant feeling is of profound relief that a Papal Encyclical is not a binding definition *ex cathedra*." And in the concluding sentence of the article: "But, surely, we are neither unreasonable nor rebellious when we refuse—until commanded by an infallible decree—to abandon such convictions as that two contradictory assertions are not mutually corroborative, or that gross human error is not divine truth." Are these the words of an intelligent Catholic? To those who do not accept the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, all Papal utterances are liable to error, and the "infallibility" of a definition is nothing but a technical name, meaning that Catholics are bound to believe it. Holding this, a Protestant may very reasonably be thankful that this imaginary "infallibility" is providentially restricted to definitions; and when he finds what he takes to be grave blunders in an Encyclical, he is relieved to think they will not do so much harm as they would in an *ex cathedra* decree. But why should a Catholic who believes in real infallibility rejoice in its limitation? And why talk of an infallible decree commanding us to admit contradictory statements, and allow gross human error to be divine truth? Surely the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility does not bind us to accept any such definitions. To believe in that doctrine is to believe that such decrees are impossible.

Language like this might lead us to regard the author as a disguised enemy indulging in subtle irony at our expense. But there are many things in the rest of the article that tell against this theory, and we cannot accept it as a satisfactory solution. Can it be that the paper is an ingenious object-lesson in the document-hypothesis? If so, the above passages might be the work of one writer, while those which express genuine Catholic sentiments must be ascribed to another hand. The idea is a fascinating one, but it will hardly suffice to help us out of the difficulty. And in spite of the author's statement that his position is clear and unequivocal, I am compelled to abandon it as an insoluble mystery.

But whoever and whatever the writer may be, there is no mistaking the drift of his criticism on the Encyclical,

and his account of the reception accorded to it by the Catholic world. I take leave to tell him that he has missed the meaning of the document, and still more strangely misread the facts. Let me not be misunderstood. I make no charge of unfairness. If the critic is really a bewildered Catholic, alarmed by the papal utterance, his painful position commands our sympathy. And, much as I deplore the tone of his language, I desire to treat the question without bitterness, and am willing to believe that he is in good faith. But no honesty of purpose can make his statements accurate, or save them from doing harm, if they are suffered to pass unchallenged.

Let us begin with his account of the facts. The Encyclical, he tells us, "has been passed over in respectful silence even by those militant Catholic journals which usually lavish the largest type and the most enthusiastic eulogies upon the least important utterances of the Holy See; and, strange to say, in most Catholic cities on the Continent, it is to this day (March 20) impossible to obtain a copy of the document for love or money. It would scarcely be fair to general readers, many of whom belong to other Christian Churches, to trespass upon their time, by offering an exhaustive analysis of a treatise which the most uncompromising Catholics do not deign even to glance at."¹

Now, except on one point, where he speaks of the Continent, the writer makes no qualification or restriction to these sweeping statements. And readers of *The Contemporary* who are unacquainted with Catholic affairs will imagine that those to whom the Pope has spoken neither hear nor heed him. In answer, let me mention the following facts, which all who care to do so can verify for themselves. An English version of the Encyclical appeared in *The Weekly Register* of December 9th, and 16th, 1893. *The Tablet* gave the Latin text in its issue of December 23rd. This was followed later on by an English translation, from the pen of Bishop Hedley, which has been published in pamphlet-form. Besides this, *The Universe*, to mention one of the cheaper

journals, published the Encyclical in English; and this version also has been reprinted separately. And I believe the other Catholic papers of this country took good care to bring this neglected document within the reach of their readers. It has lately been announced that Lord Brayne has presented the Pope with an Address from the Catholic Bishops of England thanking him for his Encyclical on the Bible. A more practical instance of the attention paid to the Pope's words may be seen in the laudable enterprise of Messrs. Burns and Oates, the well-known Catholic publishers, who have put forth a list of Biblical works, headed by a passage from the Encyclical.

A discussion, which has been carried on during the past three months in the pages of *The Tablet*, affords fresh proof that the Pope's words have by no means fallen to the ground. The first of a series of unsigned articles on the "Deluge" and the "Higher Criticism" appeared in the pages of that journal on February 3. Other papers followed at intervals; and the writer's arguments were subjected to a searching criticism by several able correspondents. It would seem that some Catholics of undoubted learning and intellectual power, are by no means prepared to adopt the narrow and rigorous interpretation of the Encyclical which finds favour with the author of *The Policy of the Pope*.

We may now turn to this writer's account of the Pope's teaching. I do not find it formulated in any sentence available for quotation; but I trust I shall do him no injustice in attempting to sum it up in words of my own. The Encyclical, it would seem, is retrograde and obscurantist. The Pope has, apparently, made himself the spokesman of prejudiced theologians, and dealt a cruel blow to the few Catholics who are entitled to speak with authority on Biblical criticism. He sends us to the fathers and the schoolmen, and warns us away from the real masters of Biblical science, the Dutch and German critics of the present day. This, in effect, is the burden of the whole article. Take, for instance, the following sarcastic application of a passage in the Encyclical: "In the next place, they (*i.e.*, the Catholics for whom the critic speaks) heartily endorse the

argument of Augustine, which finds such favour in the eyes of his Holiness himself, that if even the meanest of the mechanical crafts cannot be learned without the help of a qualified teacher, much less can an intricate subject which has its roots in many difficult sciences be mastered by the contemplative recluse who is at once utterly ignorant of its rudiments and obstinately determined to shut his ears to the explanations of its accredited professors.”¹ These professors, if I mistake not, are “those German and Dutch critical scholars who have so largely contributed to our knowledge of the Bible.”²

Now, in all this our critic is sounding a very needless note of alarm. Far from being obscurantist and retrograde, the Encyclical, as I read it, is enlightened and progressive, and designed to promote the true interest of Biblical science. The only Catholics who have reason to be troubled at its appearance are those benighted professors of whose shortcomings the critic speaks in such feeling terms. His knowledge of Catholic professors and students, by the way, is like Mr. Weller’s knowledge of London, “extensive and peculiar.” He tells of “men who glory in ignoring the very languages in which it (the Scripture) was written;” “who, besides the drawback of crass ignorance, lack the conviction that, however deftly science may be ultimately harmonized with religion, they will both remain for ever incompatible with unverity,” and of “champions of tradition who publicly teach and uphold doctrines which they privately reject and abhor.” On the other hand, he knows all about the “chosen few,” and tells us confidently that “*not a single one* entertains the slightest doubt as to the truth of these propositions.”³

I am well aware that it must sound a strange paradox to talk of progress and science in connection with a document which does indeed praise the early commentators and denounce some dangerous views of modern scholars. And my readers will probably expect to find this statement followed by a foolish and futile attack on the critical school.

¹ Page 581.

² Page 579.

³ Page 584.

If so they will be agreeably disappointed. I will gladly pay homage to the great learning, the high powers, and the diligent labours of the Dutch and German critics. If they sometimes go where we may not follow, we may still learn something at their hands. I will not say *fas est ab hoste doceri*; for I hold no scholar as an enemy. It is the fashion to set up artificial barriers between the present and the past, or between writers of different race or party in the same age. Some people talk as though “science” and “criticism” had arisen by spontaneous generation, or dropped like a bolt from the blue. For light and leading we must look to the masters of a system newly “made in Germany;” everywhere else is nothing but darkness and confusion. It is sad to find tokens of this narrow and sectarian spirit, but we can hardly wonder at its existence. Those who sit at the feet of the kings of modern thought may learn very much that it is well worth knowing, but they may easily be led to form an exaggerated notion of their teachers’ importance, and look with contempt on other and earlier schools. “It is always the tendency of discipleship,” says Mr. Herbert Spencer, “to magnify the effects of the master’s teachings, and to credit the master with all the doctrines he teaches. In the minds of his followers, M. Comte’s name is associated with scientific thinking, which, in many cases, they first understood from his exposition of it.” And after quoting some words of the founder of Positivism, Mr. Spencer adds: “That is to say, the general mode of thought and way of interpreting phenomena, which M. Comte calls ‘Positive Philosophy,’ he recognises as having been growing for two centuries; as having reached, when he wrote, a marked development, and as being the heritage of all men of science.”

It is much the same here. Like the other sciences, Biblical criticism is the outcome of gradual growth and development. It has reached a high perfection in the hands of the Dutch and German critics, but it was in the world before them. And much that is excellent in their methods is really the common heritage of all Biblical students, whether of their school or not. Kuenen himself speaks of Richard

Simon, the French Oratorian, as the "Father of Biblical Criticism."¹

But there were brave men before Agamemnon. The first fathers of the science must be sought in a much earlier age. This is the real meaning of the historical portion of the Pope's Encyclical; he is showing us the slow but sure growth and development of Biblical science, and encouraging us to go forward in the same path. It would, surely, be a mistake to suppose that he is thinking of nothing but theological commentaries and exegetics when he refers us to the labours of the early ages of the Church. Much of the work done by men like St. Jerome and Origen, and, let us add, Eusebius and Lucian, was critical and scientific. But this meaning is more marked and unmistakable when the Pope comes to speak of a later period, and dwells on the chairs of Oriental Languages established by Clement V., and the publication of the Polyglot Bibles of Alcalà and Antwerp. Those Bibles have been surpassed by subsequent editions, but they mark an epoch, and gave a fresh impetus to Oriental studies in Western Europe. One of the band of scholars associated in the production of the Antwerp edition, Andrew Maes, was in some sense a pioneer of our modern "Higher Criticism." Following the example of his predecessors, who encouraged the labours of these earlier Orientalists, the Holy Father insists on the importance of studying the Semitic tongues.

When we look at the Encyclical in this light, we may well regard it as a hopeful sign. It is not so much a declaration of doctrine or a denunciation of error, as an exhortation to labour. It will encourage those who are already at work in the field of Biblical studies, and send many more among us to swell their numbers. And if we are true to the patterns set before us by the Pope, we shall avail ourselves of any help within our reach, from whatsoever source it comes. Even the critic who takes such a gloomy view of the present state of Catholic studies might find some crumbs of comfort in the words of his Holiness.

¹ Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds, i. 1.

But I may be reminded that the Pope plainly says that the uncorrupted sense of Scripture is only found in the Church, and those who have not the true faith only "gnaw the rind." Does not this show that the whole system of the critical school is condemned as utterly worthless, and can have nothing in common with the Biblical science to which his Holiness is exhorting us? Pardon me; it does nothing of the sort. Harsh as it may seem at first sight, the saying does not in any way deny the real merits of rationalist or unbelieving critics. It would still be true, even if their writings were wholly free from doctrinal errors. And it would be equally true of the most esteemed Catholic scholars, if they had their science and learning and critical acumen, and nothing more. All these gifts, excellent things in their way, would only enable them to "gnaw the rind." It may not be amiss to illustrate this principle by an instance taken from another field. "There is nothing," says Sir William Jones, in the preface to his *Persian Grammar*, "which has tended more to bring polite letters into discredit, than the total insensibility of commentators and critics to the beauties of the authors whom they profess to illustrate; few of them seem to have received the smallest pleasure from the most elegant compositions, unless they found some mistake of a transcriber to be corrected, or some established reading to be changed, some obscure expression to be explained, or some clear passage to be made obscure by their notes . . . The state of letters seems to be divided into two classes, men of learning, who have no taste, and men of taste, who have no learning." The accomplished Orientalist is a little too hard on the race of editors; and there has been, moreover, great improvement in these matters since his caustic words were first written. But the "man of learning, who has no taste," is no fabulous or extinct creature. He still comes, to the *Iliad*, let us say, armed with scientific philology and Wolfian criticism, knowing all about the age and authorship of the poem, but deaf to its music and blind to its beauty. Contrast such a critic with Keats, reading Homer at second-hand through Chapman's version, yet feeling

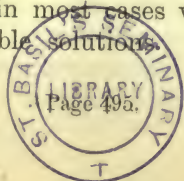
"Like some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken."

Is it too much to say that the pedant only "gnaws the rind," while the young poet, in spite of his imperfect scholarship, goes right to the heart of Homer's song?

Now, the critic who knows all about the Scripture except the mysteries of the faith enshrined in its pages, is as far from the real heart of the matter as the reader who understands everything in Homer except the poetry. In the eyes of rationalist critics, the Pope's claim to speak with authority on the meaning of the Bible may seem absurd and unwarranted. And so it is, if the book is simply the national literature of the Jewish people, and nothing more. In that case, Oriental scholars and critics and archæologists are surely the best authorities, and the *a priori* principles of theology may well be disdainfully swept aside. But it is far otherwise, if there is a Revealed Religion, and the Bible is one of the chief channels through which it comes to us; then even the uncritical believer will understand more of its true meaning than a whole host of unbelieving critics. Not that their learning is worthless, or his lack of it no loss; but that faith is more important than critical science. *Haec oportuit facere, et illa non omittere.* This is why the Pope, while exhorting us to a scientific study of the Holy Scripture, bids us hold fast by the doctrine that the Bible is the inspired Word of God, and as such is free from error. We must never lose sight of this, or take up any theories that run counter to it. There is really nothing unreasonable in this teaching. Shall we be told that it is unscientific to come with this *a priori* principle that precludes anything like a free inquiry into the facts? Why, all the arguments and objections of the critics are based on *a priori* principles; and every fresh fact discovered, every record that leaps to light, sets a limit to the freedom of their speculation. If inspiration is a fact, and not a fiction, we must take it into account like other facts. To hold that the Bible is inspired by God, that divine tradition is the twin channel of the same revelation, and the Church its chosen keeper and interpreter; and, at the same time, to treat the sacred volume as though it were a merely human document, and explain it without any reference to theology, involves a contradiction beside

which the most puzzling Biblical problem sinks into insignificance.

But what are we to say of the alleged blunders and contradictions pointed out by the Pope's Catholic critic? Now, I am not going to trouble my readers with a detailed answer to his list of objections. It would carry us too far, and at the same time would serve no useful purpose. Those who care to pursue the subject further will find help in the works of the Abbé Vigouroux; and, I may add, in commentaries of a much earlier date, for many of the difficulties are by no means new. The critic is, perhaps, not aware of this, as he seems but slightly acquainted with the Biblical literature which he condemns so severely. For instance, in his note on the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, he says:—"For many a long day this was obstinately denied by Catholic hermeneutics as derogatory to the dignity of God. It is no longer denied now."¹ Who would suppose from this, that the view thus "obstinately denied" for many a long day, was really the opinion of St. Thomas, and St. Augustine and St. Jerome? The other explanation seems to have been started by some Hebraists of the early sixteenth century, who derived it from the Jews. But it found little favour with such a representative theologian as Suarez, and A. Lapipe says it was unknown to the fathers. M. Vigouroux is merely following in the track of the best Catholic authorities, when he understands the passage literally; but the other view is not untenable. But to return to the objections, let me say a word on their general character, and the possibility of meeting them. I have no wish to make light of the difficulties presented by the text of the Bible. Even when we put aside all that are merely imaginary, there is still a formidable array left; and, all things considered, it is only what might be expected. On the other hand, I should be sorry to overrate the answers of our apologists. Much good work has been done, and some difficult passages made clear; while in most cases we have had plausible suggestions of possible solutions. Anything like special



pleading and hair-splitting is generally undesirable ; and an ingenuous admission is often better than an ingenious explanation. But is there no special pleading or perverse ingenuity on the other side ? Some objectors seem to treat the sacred text as a "hostile witness, under cross-examination." If great wits are near allied to madness, "higher criticism" is sometimes perilously near to hypercriticism.

If we approach the question frankly and fairly—and why should we do otherwise ?—we shall find many apparent difficulties disappear. And if in some cases we cannot put our hand on the right answer, the solutions suggested are at least enough to show us the difficulty is not insuperable. But what if we meet with a plain palpable contradiction in terms, where we are not merely unable to see how it can be reconciled, but can see that reconciliation is impossible ? And here the critic presses us hard. According to his reading, the Encyclical leaves us no loophole of escape. The most minute mistake in a name or a number is now, it would seem, fatal to the whole Bible. Let us hear his own words :—"It is a very trivial and somewhat uninteresting example ; but the fact is, that since the Encyclical has appeared, the Bible has become metamorphosed into a Rupert's drop ; so that it is enough to break off the smallest portion of the tail, to cause the whole thing to explode shivered into fragments. For the Catholic of to-day the Bible, the Catholic Church, Christianity and Revelation, all stand or fall with the correctness of the account given of Esau's wives."¹ *Horresco referens !* It is clear that the writer is speaking of the account *now* found in the text of Genesis, for he proceeds to discuss it, and evidently imagines that if he can show that it is contradictory, the above astounding result will follow. Let me hasten to say that the Pope has nowhere, I will not say defined, but countenanced this grotesque doctrine. He tells us that God is the author of the Bible, as the Vatican Council had already defined ; and he warns us against the view which limits the inspiration to certain parts of the Scripture, and admits that in others the sacred writer himself has sometimes erred. But, at the

same time, he distinctly allows the possibility of corruptions in the text, though we are not to assume this lightly without proof; and in saying that the sacred writings are altogether free from all error, he is careful to add the saving clause, *quales ab hagiographis editae sunt*. Let us suppose, then, that in some case a manifest mistake or contradiction could be established. We should then know, like the soldier, that "someone had blundered;" but it would remain to ask who was the real culprit. Putting aside St. Augustine's suggested alternative, that we may be blundering ourselves—which is far too modest for the modern mind—there remain, the original writer and a long line of copyists and correctors, and it may be translators, through whose hands the work has come down to us. Why should we insist on ascribing the blunder, not to any one of the transcribers who were left to their own resources, but to the original writer who was divinely inspired?

I do not say that we must take refuge in this extreme resource, in the case of Esau's wives. Other solutions have been suggested which are, to say the least, plausible. And if to some they may seem far-fetched or fanciful; the critic himself *pace illius* is needlessly rigid. He seems to take it as axiomatic that no person can have more than one name, and that no two persons can have the same name. The wives of King Henry the Eighth would have furnished a pretty problem of the same kind, if nothing but a brief mention of their names and parentage had come down to us. And we can imagine a critic convicting the chronicles of gross contradiction for saying in one place that Anne was the daughter of Thomas Boleyn, and in another affirming plainly that she was the daughter, not of Boleyn the Englishman, but of the Duke of Cleves; and, as if this were not enough, they must make Catherine the daughter first of King Ferdinand, then of Edmund Howard, and finally of Thomas Parr!

In much the same way, we find the critic making merry over a supposed mistake in the Book of Daniel:—

"But whatever Daniel may have learned did not hinder him from making a blunder, which alone is enough to ruin our faith

in the historical character of his story—a blunder as damaging as if a Londoner, writing an account of his alleged sojourn in a North American pine forest, were to inform his readers in a note, that during his first week there he was wont to gather pine-apples every morning for his breakfast. The prophet, who is supposed to have lived for years in Babylon, and to have been thoroughly conversant with the learning, history, and language of the people, makes King Nebuchadnezzar say that Daniel's name was changed to Belteshazzar, 'according to the name of my God'—*i.e.*, Bel. Now, this is absurd. Belshazzar—*i.e.*, Bel-sar-ussur—does indeed contain the name of the god in question, and means 'Bel save the King.' But, then, this was the name, not of Daniel, but of Nabonned's son. Daniel's name, Belteshazzar, has no more to do with Bel than pine-apples have to do with pines: it signifies, 'protect his life.' The two names are, therefore, *toto cælo* different, and no Jew who had spent a twelvemonth in the country could have confounded them, or have proposed such an impossible etymology for one of them."¹

The whimsical illustration of the Londoner gathering his pine-apples in the pine forest, is hardly a happy one; for this is not a mistaken etymology, but a confusion of things. The name of the fruit is derived from the name of the tree, just as Belteshazzar is supposed to be derived from Bel. No one really familiar with English would be likely to think pine-apple meant the fruit of the pine tree. But mistaken or fanciful derivations of words are by no means confined to strangers but slightly acquainted with the language. With certain etymologies of the Talmud before me, I should be sorry to say what a Jewish captive, or even the King himself might or might not do with the Assyrian names.

But is there any mistake at all in the present case? Before we can settle the matter in the critic's summary fashion, we must know the original form of the name given to Daniel. The comparatively recent discovery of the Cuneiform "Bel-sar-utsur" (as I should prefer to write it) has explained the meaning of the King's name. And there can be little doubt that the Biblical "Belshazzar" is merely a corruption or contraction of it, perhaps the Aramaic writer spelt it as he pronounced it. Now, it is, to say the least, possible that Daniel's name may be explained in the same

¹ Page 588.

way. In other words—it may be but a variant form of Belshazzar, and represent the same Assyrian name. The insertion of one letter, *t*, in the one name is not more difficult to explain than the omission of the *r* in both. This is not merely a conjecture, for the ancient Syriac translation uses the same form, *Belt'shatsar*, both for Daniel and for the last Chaldean King. I am quoting, I may add, from a Syriac MS., which is probably much older than any extant copy of the original text.¹

We turn from these minor difficulties, to larger questions that touch the character of the Bible as a whole. And here we find the critic calmly saying “this view of the religion of the Bible as a slow and gradual development, is the true line of cleavage between the honest convictions of Catholic scholars and the preconceived notions of professional theologians.” Well, well; let us hope that there are honest convictions on both sides. And I am afraid that “professional theologians” are by no means alone in harbouring preconceived notions. But what are we to say of this true line of cleavage? It may be allowed on all hands that some of the theories put forward by the critic are separated by a very decided line from Catholic theology. But the acknowledgment of gradual growth and development is hardly the best distinguishing mark. To many of us, it will seem that these things are found in a far truer sense in the theological conception of the origin of the Bible. That account of the matter has been exhibited in such a grotesque form to the readers of *The Contemporary Review*, that it may not be amiss to put it afresh in a somewhat different light. We acknowledge the whole Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the New Testament as the inspired word of God. So far it is all one, and not to speak of places where the text may have suffered some slight corruption, or where the words of erring men are reported, it is all true and consistent with itself. But with this unity there is combined a

¹ *Translatio Syra Pescitto Vet. Testamenti e Codice Ambrosiano Saec. fere sexti. photolithographice edita, curante et adnot. A. M. Ceriani.* For some curious Talmudical etymologies, in part play on words, cf. Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 15, Berachoth ix. 5.

wondrous variety ; it is the unity, not of a dead mass, but of a living being. Even the revelation itself, the divine message to mankind, has a growth, an evolution, like the life of nature. What is dimly intimated at first, is made more marked and manifest in later utterances ; what is faintly foreshadowed from the beginning, is told in louder tones in the prophets, and made yet more clear in the brighter light of the New Testament. And even when the last page is written, the message is further expanded and unfolded in the gradual growth and development of Catholic theology. But, besides this there is another source of almost endless variety. Inspiration does not destroy or impair the natural gifts and character of the men who are made its chosen channels. Just as the books are now in Hebrew, now in Aramaic, and now in Greek, so each individual writer speaks in the dialect of his time and place, in his own voice and in his own way. The instruments have each a separate tone and a beauty of their own, though the same divine musician breathes through all.

In all this, we may see a real growth and development ; but it is a very different thing from the evolution of a true religion out of a false one. It is much the same with the document hypotheses, and the alleged alterations and additions of reforming prophets or priests. The more extreme theories on this subject are certainly hard to reconcile with a true idea of inspiration. But in saying this we do not deny that the inspired writers made any use of earlier documents, or that a book mainly written by one hand may have been completed by another.¹ As for the dilemma that the Bible was either written for those outside the Church who cannot understand it, or for those within who no longer need it, the answer is not far to seek. I should be sorry to say that outsiders can get no good from the Bible. Even men who acknowledge no revelation may learn something from its pages. Much more can those who read it in faith as the word of God derive benefit from studying the sacred book ; and to some, it is happily the means of coming to a fuller knowledge of the truth. But this, I take it, is not the

¹ On this see Kaulen, *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, p. 164.

primary object for which it was written. It is chiefly meant for those within the true Church, who, with all deference to the critic, have a very real need of it. We must have a very strange notion of the Pope's infallibility, if we think that it makes the Scriptures superfluous. The Holy Father has no new doctrine of his own to teach us; he does but impart to us the unchanging truth that comes down from the beginning through the channels of Scripture and tradition. Even those Catholics who unhappily never read the Bible themselves are still fed from its pages when they hearken to the Church. At the same time, those who neglect the devout study of the Scripture, deprive themselves of a great benefit. And one reason for rejoicing at the appearance of the recent Encyclical, is the thought that it will do much to lessen their numbers. But whatever the “vast majority” of us may do, it is really too bad to mention Mr. Lilly's name in this connection. The passage which the critic quotes from a dialogue in *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*, does not refer to “Bible questions” in general, but to such matters as the date of the books, the names of the human authors, and their conceptions of science and history. Mr. Lilly does not pose as a Biblical critic, but he has a real knowledge of the Scriptures, and makes good use of it in his writings. Those who can call to mind some notable passages in his *Chapters in European History*, will read the critic's language with mingled indignation and amusement.

There is no occasion to follow the author in his excursions into other fields; and I will say nothing here on the simplicity of Zosimus, the vacillation of Vigilius, and the real or fabled failings of the other pontiffs he has brought on the scene. But it is otherwise with his reference to the Holy Father's words on the study of history. A consideration of this may haply help us to understand both the present *Policy of the Pope* and the judgment of its critic. The Pope, we are told, advised his children to

“Set themselves diligently to study the science of comparative history. Since then not one of the hundreds of millions of his loyal children throughout the world who listened in wonder to his paternal advice has acted upon it. And for the best

and saddest of all possible reasons. Although there is a science of comparative philology, and another of comparative anatomy, we seek in vain for the name of comparative history in the list of sciences which theology deigns to employ as her 'inferiors and handmaids.' Indeed we venture, with all due respect to a Papal utterance, to doubt whether any such science is conceivable. History herself, even without the disturbing element of comparison, has not yet satisfactorily made out her claim to be recognised as a science."

Now, unless we adopt a very narrow and superficial definition of the word, it must surely be allowed that there is a science of history. "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Matthew Arnold, "that Wolf is perfectly right; that all learning is scientific which is systematically laid out and followed up to its original sources." But what shall we say of the "disturbing element of comparison"? On this point let us hear one of our most scientific historians, the late Professor Freeman: "The establishment of the Comparative Method of study has been the greatest intellectual achievement of our time. It has carried light and order into whole branches of human knowledge which before were shrouded in darkness and confusion." These words occur on the first page of *Comparative Politics*. In another part of the same work we find him saying, "We are learning that European history, from its first beginnings to our own day, is one unbroken drama, no part of which can be rightly understood without reference to the other parts which come before and after it."² The whole volume is a valuable contribution to the comparative study of history, and might well have been named after that inconceivable science, but that it is devoted mainly to one branch of history, that which deals with politics or systems of government. But Mr. Freeman was by no means the first in the field. Readers of M. Comte will remember what importance he attaches to the comparative method, and the use he makes of it in the field of social science. He speaks with scorn of the "irrational spirit of speciality" which threatened to make history "a vain accumulation of incoherent monographs." And he looks to

¹ Page 582.

² Page 303.

a different kind of history to support the “social sentiment,” “l’histoire rationnelle et positive, envisagée comme une science réelle, et disposant l’ensemble des événements humains en séries coordonnées qui montrent avec évidence leur enchainement graduel.”¹ The same pregnant principle which gives us the philosophy of history, has an important effect on merely national history. Nothing is isolated; the life of the nation is treated as an organic whole, and the various factors are combined and compared. This is what our Teutonic neighbours call *Pragmatismus*.² The modern scientific treatment of history is certainly a great advance from the histories which were, too often, little more than overgrown party pamphlets, or works of unimaginative fiction. Whatever their faults and failings, historians of the new school have two main merits. In the first place, by the method of observation, they make a rigorous and exacting examination of the facts. And then, by the help of the method of comparison, they endeavour to get behind the facts, to reach their causes, and trace the laws that govern the course of history.

Now, if we turn to the Pope’s chief utterance on the subject of history, his letter to Cardinals De Luca, Pitra, and Hergenröther, August 18, 1883, we find him teaching the selfsame lesson. On the one hand, he insists on a careful study of the records, and he gives a practical force to his words by putting the Vatican Archives at the service of students. On the other hand, he sets before us the example of St. Augustine, the father of the philosophy of history, from whom we may learn the true knowledge of the causes, and he warns us against the errors of those who have forsaken his footsteps. It may seem a far cry from St. Augustine to the modern masters of historic science. Nevertheless, there is a real connection between the two

¹ *Philosophie Positive*, t. iv., page 327.

² So Kuenen : “De geschiedenis der Israelietische literatuur zal allereerst geschiedenis moeten zijn en als zoodanig behooren te beantwoorden aan al de eischen, die onze tijd aan den geschiedschrijver stelt. Zij moet zijn pragmatisch ; zij mag haar onderwerp—de heilige literatuur van Israel—niet isoleren.” e. z. v. *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek*, page iii. Hegel uses the word in a different sense, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, page 8.

extremes. Comte owes something to Bossuet, and Bossuet in his turn, learnt of the great African father. Here, too, the Holy Father is sounding a note of progress, encouraging us to labour in the field of history as in that of Biblical science. And both these utterances, let us remember, are but parts of a large and generous and enlightened plan. On a former occasion he showed us the path of true progress in philosophy; and besides taking this deep interest in the studies, the intellectual culture of his world-wide flock, he has given us help and guidance on most of the burning questions of the day. The interests of labour, and the rights of property, liberty, and loyalty, the duties of Christian citizens, the dangers that lurk in the rash remedies for social troubles, the blessings of peace, and the burden of large armies, all these far-reaching questions have occupied his care. Why should we meet his messages with captious criticism, and raise doubts and difficulties, or presume to offer him advice? Is it in the interest of science? Surely not : *non tali auxilio*.

It is the glory of scholars, and critics, and masters of physical science to labour in the cause of truth, unfolding and interpreting to us the book of nature and the history of mankind. It is the glory of the Catholic Church to hold fast and hand onward in fulness, ever broadening in brighter light, the higher science of revealed religion; and the interests of the two are really one. There is no chasm to be crossed, no barrier to be broken. The blunders of untheological critics, and uncritical theologians, of men who mistake their pious opinions for dogma, and their brilliant hypotheses for established fact, may indeed raise a phantom feud between the two temples of truth. Hence come those attacks on religion in the name of science, or on science in the name of religion, that sometimes fill us with sorrow, but never with anxiety or fear. Who doubts the issue? Who fears the truth? Sooner or later, whatever is false in the systems of scientists or the theories of theologians, shall fall away and perish, and the truth shall triumph.

In this happy result, the wise words of the Holy Father will surely have their share. They may be misread by some,

and pass unheeded by others, but they will find out their own, and do their work; and their far-reaching influence will still be felt in the future when contemporary critics and contemporary champions are buried in oblivion.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

"PROPRIUM SANCTORUM"

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF JULY

FIRST Sunday in July. *Feast of the Most Precious Blood.*
This day Holy Church, in grateful remembrance for the great price of our redemption, sets before us Jesus, "who has loved us, and who has washed us from our sins in His own Blood" (Apoc. i. 5), that we priests, who are the dispensers of this Blood to the world, may adore and worship the loving design of God in choosing us to be ministers of His mercy. If the angels were ministers of His justice when they broke open the fountains of the great deep, and opened the windows of heaven (cf. Gen. vii. 7), we, His other angels, are the ministers of His loving kindness to man; for by our ministry the fountains of the great deep of His tender compassion are broken up, and the deluge of His grace, which gushes forth from those windows of heaven, the Five Wounds, pours forth for the healing of men. Therefore, on this great priestly feast, let us renew "the one hope of our calling" (Eph. iv. 4), and come and adore the Christ, the Son of God, who hath redeemed us with His own Blood"¹

The Introit (Apoc. v.) is the song of the twenty-four elders, which they, the priests of heaven, sing prostrate before the Lamb: "Thou hast redeemed us, O Lord, in Thy Blood, out of every tribe and tongue, and people and nation, and hath made us a kingdom to our God." We, His

¹ *Invit. ad Matt.*

priests, of whom He has made a special kingdom when He chose us out from all His creatures, have been redeemed in a special way by His Precious Blood. We have been signed and sealed therein as its ministers to those over whom we are set in the kingdom of our God, the Church.

The Collect is addressed to the Eternal Father, “who so loved the world as to send His only-begotten Son to redeem the world” (St. John iii. 16). We pray that we may ever have a love for this, the price of our redemption, which is also our safeguard against all present ills, even as was the blood of the Paschal victim sprinkled upon the lintels (Exod. xii. 22); and it is also the source of all our future joys: *in quo salvi erimus.*

The Epistle (Heb. ix.) is from the same chapter we read at Matins, and is St. Paul’s glorious description of the eternal priesthood. The covenant, of which we are members, is one sealed with Blood, even the Blood of a God; and in the Mass we, clothed in the Person of the great High Priest Himself, go into the Holy of Holies, and there, face to face with our God, we plead, by the Blood of the Sacred Victim, that we and all God’s people may be cleansed from the works of death, and serve the living God. As Jesus offered Himself, by the Holy Ghost, a spotless victim to His Heavenly Father, so does He call upon us to join with Him in this sacrifice, and keep our body and soul in the grace of the Holy Ghost, that we may also offer ourselves up as a sinless victim, together with Him.

The Gradual (1 John v.) is a hymn to the Sacred Humanity, of which the Precious Blood is the witness; and this Blood also beareth witness to the Divinity as well; for, if it were not divine, how could it wash away sin? The witness of the Blood calls from the earth to Him whose Son shed it; not as Abel’s, which called for vengeance (Gen. iv. 10), but it sends up a cry for mercy which the Father cannot refuse.

The Gospel (St. John xix.) is the account of the last shedding of the Precious Blood. Loving us, our Jesus loved us to the very last drops of His Blood. “The Redeemer came and paid the price. He shed His Blood, and

bought the world. Seek ye to know what He did buy? See what it was for us He gave; so shall you find what He did buy. The Christ's sweet Blood is thus our price. The value whereof, what was it? What worth save that of all the world? What worth save that of all people . . . For all mankind gave He all that He gave."¹ This great price of our redemption we are going to offer to the Eternal Father in the cup of benediction which we bless, and which is the communication of the Blood of the Christ. So now, as the Offertory begins, let us renew our faith and hope in the all-saving power of this Blood, and offer it to the Eternal Father as a most perfect worship and all-sufficing homage; and beseech Him that this Blood be communicated to us in all the fulness of its virtue.

The Secret reminds us we are going to draw nigh to Him who is the Mediator of the New Testament, and are going to offer up that very Blood which paid the price, and which speaketh better things than Abel's; so, entering into the dispositions and intentions of the Mediator, let us unite with His sacrifice, and be one heart and soul with him.

In the Communion (Heb. ix.) we are reminded that we, who were at one time afar off, are now brought near to our God by the presence within us of the Blood of the Christ, who is our peace.² The Sacred Heart is within us, and the Precious Blood is coursing through the Lord's Body, quickening it in all the joys of the glorified life. The fountain of that Blood "which was shed to exhaust the sins of many" (Heb. ix. 28) is now within us. May it so work in us that, without sin, we may look out for His coming as our eternal reward. The Post-Communion continues the same thought, and in a most beautiful prayer begs that we, who have been admitted to the Holy Table, and have there drunk in joy the waters from the Saviour's fountains, may have the blood spring up in us in a fountain of living water, welling up into life eternal. This beautiful prayer is full of matter for meditation, and forms a most suitable thanksgiving after Holy Communion.

¹ *Homil. S. Augus. ad Matt.*

² Cf. iii. *Resp. ad Matt.*

July 2. *The Visitation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin.*

The first triumph of the Sacred Heart was wrought by means of Mary's voice, and the Baptist was the first to feel the effects of her maternal love. One lesson we may gain from the Mass is, that all things come to us from the Father of lights (cf. James i. 17), through our ever-dear and blessed Lady. We who are so intimately connected with her Son are also more closely connected with the Mother than the rest of men. She brought Him forth, and we daily give Him a sacramental existence. She nourished Him, and we give Him the meat and drink which He loveth, the souls of men. She tended and cared for Him, and in the Blessed Sacrament He is committed to our guardianship. She carried Him to the Baptist, and was the means of His satisfaction, and we are the means of bringing Him home in His loving-kindness to many a thousand souls. She stood by the Cross, and joined in a most perfect manner in the Sacrifice; and we, by the very nature of our priesthood, are bound to do the same. All Mary's offices find their counterpart in ours. But to-day we especially think of “the day of the visitation” (cf. Mich. vii. 4, and St. Luke xix. 44), as it comes to us through our Mother Mary, and we will thank her for the grace of our vocation which we have through her prayers, and will place our priestly life in a special manner under her loving patronage.

The Introit from Ireland's saintly poet seems at once to strike the note of resemblance between our ever-dear and blessed Lady and ourself. We hail her as the holy parent of the King of heaven and earth; and to that same Everlasting King we give each day in the Mass a sacramental existence.

The Lesson (Cant. ii.) recalls our Lord's visitation to our soul in Holy Communion wherein the Beloved cometh to us leaping over the mountains and hills of physical difficulties in the great mystery of transubstantiation, as He was borne in great haste in His mother's womb to St. Elizabeth. He standeth behind the wall of our heart, knocking and waiting, oh! so patiently, until we open unto Him, even as He waited to enter into the Baptist's heart.

He looketh out with an eye of love, and regardeth us, oh ! so tenderly, from within the lattice of the sacramental species, even as He cast His merciful eyes from within the virginal cloister upon the soul of His destined precursor. His sweet voice calleth us by the endearing names of "friend," "pure one," and "fair one," and biddeth us arise and follow Him to the marriage feast. He, therefore, trusting in our love that the harvest of His own planting will not fail Him, bids us go with Him and abide in the holes of the Rock ("now this Rock is Christ," says St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 4); and the holes therein are the Five Wounds sin has dug in His sacred body. There is our dwelling-place, large enough to contain the whole world; there is the resting-place for priests; "Thine altars, O God" (Ps. lxxx.), the place of sacrifice where He wills us to live, face to face with Him; there will our voice sound sweet in the ear of the Eternal, and there shall we feel for ever His love.

In the Gradual we celebrate the divine maternity with which we have so much in common, and we lovingly contemplate the mystery, that as she, the Virgin Mother of God, held within her womb Him whom worlds cannot contain, so do we hold in our poor feeble hands the vast Creator.

The Gospel is St. Luke's account of the mystery of the Visitation, wherein we may find some valuable lessons for our own priestly life. We may note the haste with which our dearest Mother rose up to carry the blessing of the presence of her Son to others. We want no better lesson of pastoral zeal than that of our sweet Mother hastening over the mountainous paths urged by the love of Christ who was within her (cf. 2 Cor. v. 14). Another lesson we may learn is that of attention to the courtesies of life. When our ever-dear and blessed Lady so courteously saluted her cousin, the greeting was a means of grace to both St. Elizabeth and her unborn son. Living as we do in the world, yet in a great measure out of the world, we are apt, perhaps, to forget those small courtesies of life which are the manifestation of that charity, that true gentlemanliness which ought to find its perfection in the priesthood. Our manner of dealing with our equals and with our inferiors has a great

deal to do with the success of our pastoral work and office and alas! often instead of being a means of grace, it repels them from the priest, and causes them to remain in sin. One last lesson does she teach us by her *Magnificat*. When our work is blessed with success, we must refer it all to Him who is mighty; for though we may plant and water, the increase is alone His, for He maketh the former and the latter rain (Joel ii. 23) to fall upon our work, and causeth our floors to be full of wheat, and the presses to overflow with wine and oil (*ibid.*).

July 5. SS. *Cyril and Methodius, P.C.*, in their Mass gives us the important lesson of unity and obedience to the authority God has set up in His Church. This spirit, which is a characteristic of the priestly life, and is recognised as such by the outside world, will lead us on this day to pray for the re-union to the one fold of those sects who have cut themselves off from the divine unity of the Church. Their fathers did eat of the sour grapes of disobedience, and now their children's teeth are set upon edge (cf. Jer. xxxi. 29); and in God's mysterious providence they are to-day paying the penalty of their forefather's sins. May the prayers of these two great saints, who knew their missionary strength lay in Rome, plead for them that “they may come to the knowledge of the true name of Christ,” and be joined in the Sacrament of unity to the Church which called them out of their original darkness, and now prays that they may be set free from the darkness of heresy and schism. The providential extension of this Mass of the two great missionaries so devoted to the Holy See, seems an indication of God's goodwill towards these nations, and His will that we should pray more earnestly for them, for “the time for having mercy has come” (Ps. ci. 14). The Communion tells that we have the fulness of light through no merit of ours, but through the boundless mercy of Him who is the very Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world (John i. 9), and who is now in our heart, and is searching Jerusalem with a lantern (Zeph. i. 12), and is casting its rays into all the chinks and corners thereof, revealing, alas! so much that is unworthy of His gracious presence. Let us thank Him

for this mercy towards us, the mercy of self-knowledge; and beg Him that the light of His countenance which is signed upon us (Ps. iv. 6) in the priestly character, may so shine before men that they may glorify our Father who is in heaven.

July 17. *St. Alexius, C.* Priests have to lead the life of Jesus on earth, and His life has to be made manifest in us (2 Cor. iv. 10). And what was that life? Hidden, despised, poor, and humble. Like the saint, we have left our earthly father's house, and have taken up our dwelling in our heavenly Father's house, and there in the eyes of the world lead a hidden, despised, and humble life. What a priest's life is, is hidden from the world; what the joy and rapture which fill his heart as, morning after morning, he stands face to face with his Maker, no worldly man can know, and no human tongue can tell. It is a life hidden with the Christ in God (cf. Coll. iii. 3), and none know it save those to whom it is given. But as it is not the iron bars that make a prison, so the priestly life does not necessarily mean that we, in fact, do lead the hidden life. We have openly cut ourselves off from the world, and chosen the Lord for the lot of our inheritance (Ps. xv. 5). Our will must follow our outer act, and in the words of the *Imitation*: "*Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari.*"

In the Epistle St. Paul traces for us with a warning hand our path. Our wealth, our riches, our great gain, is piety, that gift of the Holy Ghost which is so abundantly given, together with our vocation, and is one of the signs thereof. The desire of wealth for wealth's sake, and ambition in its more subtle forms, are temptations we are very liable to from the very nature of our life. How often the thought comes to us: were I in such a position what could I not do? And meanwhile we forget that which lies at our hand, and by which alone at the present moment we can serve God. St. Paul warns us, and St. Alexius by his example confirms the warning, that he who would become rich falls into temptation, and into the snares of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful diseases which draw men into destruction; for covetousness is the root of all evils. We

may have known of some whose love of money and of that softness of life which money brings, who have fulfilled the Apostle's words : “ who have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows.” Oh ! we who are priests of the most High God, let us fly these things, and be contented with what God in His providence gives us, knowing full well that He will not let us perish. He knows our wants for the position in which He has placed us. He loves to choose the weak, the humble, and the despised as His instruments, and makes of the least the greatest.

July 22. *St. Mary Magdalen, Penitent.* Which of us has not sinned, and sinned deeply ? Which of us is worthy by the depths of our love to wash with our tears the feet of the Christ, and dry them with our hair ? to kiss them, and pour upon His head the right spikenard of much value ? That we *have* sinned, is no bar ; it is our own want of love—our coldness. It was because the Magdalen loved much that she dared to fulfil her pious offices towards our Lord. And did we who have had so much forgiven, and so often, but love as she did, with the love of sin forgiven, then would our Lord be pleased to accept our services as pleasing to Him, and commend us. An abiding sorrow for sin, which is the well-spring of love, is taught us every day in the Mass at the Offertory : “ *In spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito ;*” and this sense of our sin being ever before us (Ps. l.), is the fitting spirit for one who makes offering for sin, and has to be more intimately engaged about our Blessed Lord's Body than did the Magdalen. May this holy penitent win for us some of her sorrow for sin and some of her love ; then shall we be less unworthy to approach the Sacred Feet of our Master.

July 23. *St. Apollonaris, P.M.* This Mass has many instructions upon the priestly life which is so essentially that of a martyr, in spirit at least, that we need do no more than refer to the teaching of the Prince of the Apostles, who bids us be the *forma gregis animo*. We are also by profession victims, and must suffer for our own sins and for the sins of our people ; and woe to the priest who suffers not, and whose higher yields to the weakness of his lower nature. And the God of all grace, who has called us to His eternal glory in

Jesus the Christ, after we have suffered awhile will make us perfect, will strengthen and establish us in the glory and divine rule which is His, and which is ours also by reason of the priesthood. But as we are to bear humbly whatever comes to us from His hands, so must we, as the Gospel says, practise in all ways the slow martyrdom of the will and intellect in humility as a daily value. For if we be the great ones of the earth in His kingdom, by His own free election and calling, we, who have no merits of our own to be proud of, must needs be humbler than those who have not been so elected and called. Since we know by experience how utterly unfit we are of ourself for the great work of the priesthood, as day by day our spiritual insight of the awfulness of the mystery grows clearer, and our own nothingness in His sight is seen. This self-knowledge, gained day by day in the Mass, should keep us in the slow martyrdom of humility, which, if well founded in our soul, will indeed bring forth a rich harvest of other graces, and make us the *forma gregis*.

July 31. *St. Ignatius, C.*, teaches us in all things to strive after the greater glory of God, and in no way can we advance this glory so well as by living up to our vocation and saying our Mass well. The Divine Sacrifice is the great act of our life, and gives to the Eternal Father the most supreme and all-satisfying glory, for it is done in and by Jesus, so that it is God who worships Himself. This, the essential glory of the Mass, is always given to God, and no want of worthiness on our part can hinder the worship of God the Victim to the Father. But there is also the accidental glory which God receives from the Mass, and this is in our hands to make less or greater at our will. Surely the union which exists between us and our Lord, that mystical kind of an Incarnation which makes of each priest another Christ, will make us strive to do all we can to increase that dear glory of God by the devotion and love, by self-immolation, with which we offer Mass. In this way we can add immensely to His glory, and as our Mass pervades our whole day, which is either a preparation for or a thanksgiving after the sacrifice, so will the desire to conceive

this accidental glory be always in our heart, and stir us up to neglect no opportunity of "seeking the better gifts" (1 Cor. xiv. 1). How can we be content with any sanctity save the very highest? We who feed on the Bread of Life, and are instruments by which Jesus is the Adorer of the Father, must surely be called to poverty of spirit, subjection of our will to God, and for God, and the immolation of our bodies by poverty and mortification. We must be, surely, religious in very deed, as those who are called so by the name; and the same spirit which animates those who are bound by the three vows to God, must also be ours. We are bound by the vow which we pay to the Lord morning by morning in the heavenly Jerusalem, and this vow needs no other binding force to make us be consumed with the desire of ever seeking to give more glory to the God who so glorifies us. Thus, walking worthy of our vocation (Eph. iv. 1), saying well our Mass, is our truest means of giving glory to God; and as God gets the most perfect, essential glory from the Mass in itself, so does He get the most perfect accidental glory from us when we have the same mind as was in Jesus the Christ.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

PETER O'HIGGINS (*continued*)

We now turn to Belling's rejoinder:—

RICHARDI BELLINGII—ANNOTATIONES IN OPUS J. PONCII—"BELINGII
VINDICIÆ EVERSÆ."—PARISIIS. 1654.

"Addit deinde Poncius Marchionem Ormonia *duorum sacerdotum sanguine maculatum*, patris scilicet Petri Higgins et patris Henrici Viti. Quam natura et ingenio a crudelitate abhorreat, quantique faciat viri Ecclesiastici cujuscumque Religionis nomen et caracterem, probe sciunt qui Marchioni amicitia, aut familiaritate conjuncti sunt, sed cum Poncius nulla alia accusatione convenientius adversæ religionis homini invidiam se comparare

posse arbitraretur, quam fideliter jam referam Ponciano more contextit historiam.

Anno 1642 cum Marchio Ormoniae militibus tantum praesset, et rerum summa potirentur Duumviri, Gulielmus Parsonius et Johannes Borlaceus, exercitus partem ad firmanda adversus finitimos Hibernos qui in armis erant longinquiora a Dublinio Praesidia eduxit; cumque Naseum in Comitatu Kildariensi, duodecimo a Dublinio lapide situm, terrore advenientium copiarum pæne desertum intrasset, vidit hominem turbæ medium rudi militum insolentia coactum exclamare; huc citat equum, ibique Patrem Higgins hunc esse comperit, qui viso Marchione, se, ait, si is animus fuisset, cum aliis efugere potuisset, sed cum nequaquam in leges peccasset, et afflictos sæpius Anglos, insipientis populi furore eripuisset, ereptasque victu et vestitu fovisset, sperabat se tuto vivere posse cum Marchio oppidum cepisset. At nunc se nihil aliud implorare, quam ut incolumis adducatur, crimini si quod obijci possit more subditi foro debito responsurus. Annuit Ormonius, et sedato milite, P. Higgins Thomæ Armstrong ex ordine equestri, qui in exercitu equitibus præerat, custodiendum tradit, eique imperat, ut omnem militis violentiam cohibeat; erat in oppido forte Carolus Coote cui accepta a Duumviris autoritate, Ecclesiasticos et minoris census Hibernos, indicta causa morte afficere permissum fuerat, is si mortalium quisquam vir sanguinarius; captivum quem sui fori esse contendebat ab equitum praefecto repetere voluit: sed Thomas Armstrong militaris officii memor hominem ab Imperatore suae fidei comissum retinuit, paulo post ex peditibus plurimi, authore, ut credebatur, Carolo Coote, tumultuario, minis etiam additis, Papisticum illum Presbyterum reposcere ceperunt, eoque ventum est, ut hinc peditum turma, illinc equitum cohors, in praelium descenderit; nec prius recesserunt quam equites impetu facto, pedites explosis tormentis, jam prope inermes dissipaverunt: Postquam vero Dublinium rediisset Ormonius Duumviris Regioque Consilio viginti ad minus Anglorum supplicationes porrexit, quibus Patrem Higgins qui tanta charitate, vitæ etiam suae discrimine eos texerat, libertate donari enixe implorabant, horum plerosque Marchionem Ormoniae ad hæc justiciæ et gratitudinis officiaè invitasse satis notum est, nec dubitavit captivum omni culpa liberatum brevi remittendum, fore, cum Eduardus Butler ex famulis Marchionis qui forum primo mane præteribat suspensum patibulo vidit Patrem Higgins reversusque rem hæro indicavit, percussus inopinatæ Innocentis cæde Ormonius, ignorabat utrum tam iniquo facinore, Duumviri magis in justitiam quam in prudentiam peccaverint, quippe consultius videbatur quando Angli afflictæ et desperati per omnem Provinciam errabant eorum Protectorem præmiis etiam cumulatam dimittere, ut plures eidem officio incumberent, eodem die cum in senatum venisset, Regisque Consilarii frequentes adessent, a Duumviris petiit si eorum

mandato quidam Higgins quem captivum ipse adduxerat, quique affictos Anglos tot beneficiis devinxerat, cuique si quam culpam commisserat juridice discutiendam fore promiserat, morte multatus fuerat, illi ac si res nova esset admirantium vultus induunt. Responderunt tamen eam esse Caroli Coote auctoritatem ut inconsultis Duumviris, talia peragere possit, instabat Ormonius ut Carolus Coote in jus vocaretur, eum in leges peccasse qui subditum bene meritum legitimo et civili iudicio sistendum rapuerit, minime id se a Duumviris expectasse eum cujus cujus causæ quod justa esset favebat, morte tam subita tam infami afficiendum dixit, utrinque acriter res disceptata est, adeo ut se exercitus imperio abrogaturum minitaretur, sed cum Duumviri qui proculdubio illius sceleris et conscii et participes erant, partes Caroli Coote vehementer agerent, solemniter coram omnibus Ormonius protestatus est, cum aliud nil possit, illum nunquam Carolum Coote, in eandem secum exercitum admissurum, cujus eum voti semper memorem extitisse satis constat."

Bellings, the Secretary of the Confederation of Kilkenny, was at heart an Ormondist, and one of the chief promoters of the disastrous truce made by the Catholic party with that wily and unscrupulous statesman. Bellings also, in politics, opposed the Papal agent, Scarampi, and the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini. His purpose in the passage just quoted is to defend Ormond from the charge made by Pontius, who was thoroughly devoted to the Nuncio. But as Bellings, owing perhaps to the exigencies of controversy, evidently took pains with his answer, we may accept his account of the circumstances of Father O'Higgins' death. His statement is the fullest of any.¹ From it we learn that Ormond, who was at the time General of the English or Protestant army, was on his way to reinforce some garrisons when he passed through Naas: that he gave Father O'Higgins in charge to Sir Thomas Armstrong, who commanded the cavalry: that Coote, who had received from the Lords Justices the power of life and death over priests and Irishmen of low degree, happened to be in Naas at the time, and claimed the Dominican as *his* by right: that when Armstrong refused to give him up, some of the

¹ Carte, as appears from his reference, knew of this passage in Bellings, so did Clarendon (Borlase), though no reference is made by the latter, but his acquaintance with it is evident, for in many places his description is simply a translation.

infantry (it was believed at Coote's instigation) attacked the cavalry, but after discharging their muskets, were routed by a charge: that on his return to Dublin, Ormond presented petitions from at least twenty Protestants that the priest's life might be spared; all of them owed their property and lives to him, and most of them drew up their petitions at the suggestion of Ormond himself: that the latter expected that Father O'Higgins would soon be released from prison, and that he was amazed when a servant of his, Edward Butler, who happened to cross the Green on the morning of the execution, told him he had seen the dead body hanging from the gallows: and that Ormond in the Privy Council demanded that Coote should be tried for it, and though his appeal was disregarded, he declared before them all that he would never again allow Coote to accompany the troops. and he kept his word.¹

But by far the most valuable part of Belling's narrative is undoubtedly that in which is contained Ormond's promise to Father O'Higgins: "Cuique si quam culpam commiserat

¹ The Hist. MSS. Report ix., part ii., page 344, states that in Rinuccini's *Memoirs* (transcript in the Earl of Leicester's possession), fol. 447 a., an account is contained of "Higgins and White, priests, illegally put to death by Sir C. Coote." It is disappointing to find that instead of being an independent narrative, it is only an acknowledged copy from Belling's description of the double execution. The whole passage given above is quoted in the *Memoirs*, and is followed by an extract from O'Daly's *De Geraldinis*. Rinuccini had such splendid opportunities for getting information about those who died for the faith, that one cannot but regret he did not use them. As the following passage, which is the introduction to the quotations from Bellings and O'Daly, will interest many readers, it is here copied in full. It has never been published before. In it, as may be observed, the two priests are called martyrs, and this statement of Rinuccini's (or of his auditor, Massari), though unofficial, is nevertheless most valuable testimony:—

"Pari hereticorum furore duo alia Capucinatorum hospitia, nempe Vadipontanum et Molingarrense in eadem vicinia Dubliniensi extincta fuere; quorum 1^{ma} heretici Residarii suppresserunt, 2^{ma} cum capella hereticus Ormonii exercitus incendio delevit. Alii quoque regni religiosi, presertim Dominicani, strictioris observantiæ Franciscani, Augustiniani, Carmelitæ, et Jesuitæ atque alii ecclesiastici similem Dublinii et alibi passi sunt jacturam et persecutionem quam nonnisi per transennam tango, quod monumenta me deficiant. Specialem autem meretur mentionem P. Petrus Higinus et P. Henricus Vitus quorum martyria ex Bellingi annotationibus, &c." Then on the next page opposite the words "more subditi foro debito responsurus annuit Ormonius," Rinuccini has written as a marginal note "erat maxime indebitum."

juridice discutiendam fore promiserat"—if he had committed any offence, he promised him that he would get trial by law. This shows that some accusation or other had been lodged in court, and that Ormond or Father O'Higgins was aware of it. It is impossible to conceive what charge could be brought against such a man, as long as truth and justice prevailed. Even Protestants, during the war of 1641, when religious animosity was at its height, bore testimony to his boundless charity. But when a Catholic was in question, truth and justice were of no account in the eyes of Cooté and his fellows. Again, it is not easy to conceive how Ormond could make legal proceedings the subject of a promise, as if they were a favour or the result of special clemency. How could he?

The answer is, if we mistake not, contained in some documents still to be seen in the Record Office, Dublin. Father Peter O'Higgins of Naas was an outlaw for high treason! This will surprise some readers, but anyone acquainted with the history of the period—with the fiendish hatred entertained towards priests, and the uncontrolled power of gratifying that hatred which those in authority possessed, and exercised on all occasions—will at once understand how matters were in the present case. In 1641, false charges were daily made against prominent Catholics, and the accusers were not questioned, provided the charges were sufficiently grave. The best of all works, however, was the extermination of the priesthood; it was the end of many a Protestant's existence, and an end which justified any means whatsoever. The documents in the Record Office (Writs of 'Capias' and Outlawries, 1641, Iron Chest, Record Treasury) contain hundreds of the best Catholic names, and among them those of priests (clerks) may be counted by the dozen.¹

We shall now examine in detail those that refer to our martyr. In 2 F., Iron Chest 1, is preserved the writ of 'Exigent,' dated April 27, 1642 (No. 21), in Latin, which

¹ In Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, the outlaws are remarkably numerous. These counties formed at the time the greater portion of the Pale, or that portion of Ireland where the King's writ ran. It was a proverb then, "West of the Barrow, west of the law."

begins thus :—" Charles, by the grace of God, King, &c., to the High Sheriff of Kildare," and commands him to pursue and to arrest, wherever they may be found, Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Kildare, of Kilkea Castle, in the same county, and the other persons indicted of treason, whose names therein follow. On the fourth line, high in the long list, we see Petrum Higgins de Naas. That the good priest and the others paid no heed to the King's command, appears from the endorsement of the writ itself, where it is stated that in virtue thereof, a certain Burrowes held in the same year, 1642, a commission or court at Athy on July 30th; a second, on August 22nd; a third, on September 24th; a fourth, on October 2nd; and a fifth and last court, all at the same place; and as the above-mentioned persons did not appear at any of the courts, that they were then declared outlaws by Thomas Weldon, Gilbert Rawson, Francis Dade, and George Clarke, coroners. (Signed) Fra (ncis) Burrowes.

Then, in the "Entry Book. (No. 4) of persons indicted of treason in the King's Bench, or removed by *certiorari*," on page 27 we find: "The persons undermentioned are indicted of treason in the Court of Upper Bench, in Hilary Term, 1641."—Kildare: 'Peter Higgin of Naas, in the same countie, clerk.' Opposite one name in the column, but not close to it, are the words, "indicted upon evidence," which the present courteous deputy-keeper of the Records considers equally to refer to all on that page, including Father O'Higgins. (We can estimate the truth of that evidence.) There is also in the British Museum (Add. MSS. No. 4,772) a catalogue of persons in Ireland outlawed for treason, 1641-42: and under the heading, "Persons indicted of treason in the King's Bench in Hilary Term, 1641, and outlawed for same, is "Higgins Petrus of Naas."

Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Nugent (Lord Delvin) and Lady Mary Fitzgerald, was the widow of Gerald, fourteenth Earl of Kildare. She was, so far as we know, a woman of piety. The sole motive apparently, for the proscription was her influential position and her attachment, to the ancient faith.

The only actions of the Countess that her descendant, the

Duke of Leinster, mentions [in his work, *The Earls of Kildare*,¹ are the following:—"In 1634, she demised Kilkea Castle to the Jesuits, who retained possession of it till 1646." Was this the high treason? Long afterwards, "on 16th December, 1664, two strings of pearls, one containing 106, the other, 110 pearls, were presented to the church of Loretto by Elizabeth Nugent, Countess of Kildare. They were taken to Italy by Richard Arsdekin (S. J.), the author of a famous treatise."² Was this such an act as a traitress would be likely to perform? No papers could be got in the Duke of Leinster's archives that would throw light on the Writ of Exigent, though the Duke mentions that his ancestress was proscribed on account of the rising in 1641. At this distance of time, in default of precise contemporary information, it is only possible to conjecture how the Countess, Father O'Higgins, and others, came to be regarded as traitors. She was proscribed (women were not outlawed, properly speaking, *wavietur*—let her be *waived* or set aside, is the technical term applied to her in the writ; men were outlawed—*utlagentur*) probably because she protected or harboured priests, and the priests were outlawed because they remained in the country, despite the edicts of banishment. These proclamations of general persecutions were frequent; beside those of 1605 and 1613 already mentioned, fresh ones were issued in 1623 (Lord Falkland's), 1625, and 1641, in virtue of which, it is said, about a thousand priests were driven out of the country. This may have been the last straw, and may have determined the Catholics to wage war, and to continue it. In the Lismore Papers, lately published, there is a letter of Lord Cork's, that goes far to explain our subject:—"July 20th, [1641. We have lately had a popish priest here hanged, drawn, and quartered, and many more in prison, which, I think, will be brought to a like cloudy end, for that they did not depart the kingdom by the prefixed day limited by the late statute which made it high treason for any friar, Jesuit, or popish priest that is a natural born subject of our King's, to stay or be found in this kingdom."

¹ 3rd ed., p. 24.² Appendix, p. 360.

The non-appearance was regarded as conclusive proof of guilt. "And as to the forfeitures for refusing to appear, the law distinguishes between *outlawries* in capital cases, and those of an inferior nature, for as to *outlawries* in treason and felony, the law interprets the party's absence, and without requiring further proof, accounts him guilty of the fact."¹ The consequences of Father O'Higgins not appearing, are seen in Coote's hanging him with impunity, as a matter of course. But, even if he had appeared, he would have been executed. As regards his own behaviour in this, he may never have heard of the Athy Commissions (they may have been held in secrecy—snares such as this were laid for Catholics), or he may have disregarded them, "*suae innocentiae conscius cum nihil timeret*" (Poncius); or he may have kept out of the way till Ormond appeared, knowing what would befall an "outlaw" once he was in Coote's power. At any rate, neither Ormond nor the Lords Justices, so far as we know, attached the slightest importance to his non-appearance at Athy.

Dr. Burke, who mentions our martyr, distinguishes him from a Father Peter Higgins, who died for the faith in Dublin, March 23rd, 1641; but the distinction appears to be unfounded. His first argument is, that Father O'Higgins is commemorated in the General Chapter of 1644, and Father O'Higgins in that of 1656, in which the list of martyrs and others remarkable for holiness is entitled: "*Appendix aliquot precipuorum virorum Provinciae Hiberniae quorum justa memoria in Actis superiorum Capitulorum subticetur.*" This would be a valid reason if, as Dr. Burke supposes, the General Chapter of 1656 mentioned no martyrs whose names occur in that of 1644. But this is precisely what is to be proved as regards our martyr. Now, the 1656 list does not profess to include none whose names occurred in earlier lists (1644-1650). Its heading does not run thus, "*quorum memoria tacetur,*" but "*quorum justa memoria subticetur.*" It professes to do justice to some who were lightly passed over in 1644 in or 1650, from want, as it seems, of further

¹ Jacob's *Law Directory*, art. "Outlawry."

information. There is a great difference between mentioning for the first time, and supplementing a description. If Dr. Burke's postulate were granted, then there would be two Father Richard Barrys, one commemorated in 1650, the other in 1656. He does not, indeed, draw this inference, but elsewhere he does in virtue of his postulate make out that among the martyrs there are two Stephen Petits and two Raymond Keoghs. In the present instance, however, it must be said in Dr. Burke's favour, that the 1644 account tells us far more than the 1656 one; in fact, the latter does not contain half so much as the former; and the only new statement in it is that Father O'Higgins was Prior of Naas (which was already made in the 1650 list).

Dr. Burke's second argument is not so weak. The Father O'Higgins of 1656, was Prior of Naas; the Father Higgins of 1644, is not said to have been a Prior; in fact, the opposite is clearly implied. He was a simple religious. For these Acts state that during his incarceration he thrice made his confession to *his Prior*, who came in disguise to the prison. Dr. Burke thinks that the Prior of St. Saviour's, Dublin, is here meant; and from this he infers that Father Higgins was a member of the Dublin community. We cannot so answer this argument as to leave it no force, but we may say in passing that the Prior of St. Saviour's is not necessarily meant. It may have been some other Prior Conventual, or the Prior Provincial. No doubt, according to Poncius, Father O'Higgins had resided in Dublin, "*in hac civitate et partibus vicinis semper habitavi*;" but according to Poncius, also, he was apprehended in Naas. It may have been his successor in office there who absolved him while he was in prison in Dublin. His tenure of the priorship may have expired in the meantime; or he may have resigned his office, as being no longer able to discharge its duties.

Now to come to the proofs of our thesis that the 1644 account refers to our martyr. First, the date and manner of the death: "*Suspensus obiit die 23 Martii, 1641.*" Now Carte says that Father Higgins of Naas was hanged on March 24th, 1642. Second, the circumstances of the arrest, &c.,

narrated in the 1644 account : “ qui post initum a Catholicis Regni Hiberniae pro Fide et Patria bellum ab hereticis captus, post tetrum carcerem et diuturnam inedia, nemine licet accusante, quin potius plurimis ex ipsis hereticis innocentem verbo et scriptis acclamantibus.” “ During the war which the Irish Catholics waged for faith and fatherland, he was taken prisoner by the heretics and confined in a dungeon, where for a long time he suffered from hunger. No one accused him of any crime ; on the contrary, many heretics attested his innocence with voice and pen.” And, “ ejus in tormentis constans animus et animi in vultu expressa laetitia ex ipsis hereticis complures ad lachrymas et singultus movit.” “ The sight of his heroism in sufferings and of the joy that overspread his countenance moved many of the heretics to tears and sobs.’ These circumstances are identical with those which O’Daly and Pontius narrate. We therefore conclude that the martyr is the same (a second Father Higgins is not mentioned by O’Daly or by Bruodin : and in all the names of outlaws, in the Iron Chest, that of “ Peter Higgins of Dublin ” is not to be found). The 1644 account further informs us that others of the heretical party in their rage treated Father O’Higgins’s dead body with more than disrespect. Then an effort was apparently made to have the martyr’s remains interred in the Dominican convent of St. Saviour’s. This was near the Liffey, on the site of the present Four Courts. As this mark of honour would not be allowed, the remains had to be taken outside the city, probably to the spot where traitors and outlaws were buried. Yet even this could not satisfy the hatred which rankled in the breasts of Coote’s followers : they stopped the funeral ; one of them shattered the martyr’s head with his musket, and others stabbed or mutilated the body.

We subjoin the passages from the General Chapters of 1644, 1650, and 1656, as some of our readers may wish to compare them :—

“ Gen. Cap. 1644 : P. Fr. Petrus Higgin qui post initum a Catholicis Regni Hiberniae pro Fide et patria libertate bellum, ab hereticis captus, post tetrum carcerem et diuturnam inedia,

nemine licet accusante quin potius plurimis ex ipsis hereticis innocentem verbo et scripto acclamantibus, facta ter sacramentali confessione Priori suo simulato habitu ad eum accedenti, et absolute toties percepta, publice de innocentia sua, fide Catholica, et Ordine Praedicatorum quem professus est testimonium reddens, patibulo in foro civitatis Dublinensis suspensus obit die 23 Martii, 1641. Ejus in tormentis constans animus et animi in vultu expressa laetitia, ex ipsis hereticis complures ad lacrymas et singultus movit, alios ad majorem rabiem, qui in defunctum cadaver furorem sum resumentes necdum ludibrio omnium exposuerunt, sepulturam ei intra civitatem denegarunt, extra portas cum duceretur sclopeti ictu caput ei fregerunt, variisque id genus injuriis affecerunt."

"Gen. Cap. 1650: Reverendus P. Fr. Petrus Higin, Prior Nasensis, captus in suo conventu ac Dublinum abductus magna constantia mortis sententiam excepit nec minori subiit, publice ibidem suspendio necatus."

"Gen. Cap. 1656: Eodem anno (1641) R.P. Fr. Petrus O'Higgin, Prior Nasensis, eximiae constantiae Palmam Dublinii adeptus est. Adductus Proregi ibidem, et quod orthodoxam fidem seminaret in populo accusatus, tentatur lautis promissionibus, si ad sectam Anglicanam transire vellet, quod ubi constantissime recusavit damnatus ad laquem glorioso certamine victor obiit."

It is somewhat strange that only one of the four authors quoted above, namely, Bellings, implies that Father O'Higgins was an outlaw. Ormond's promise, and Ormond's words subsequently in the Privy Council, on which Bellings lays such stress, show that the Dominican was denied the ordinary proceedings of a court. This was part of what was meant by "outlaw" as applied indiscriminately to the best Catholic laity, and to the priests of the pale. They were to be dealt with by martial law, to be got rid of as speedily as possible, on account of their religion. Hence Coote contended that the priest was *his* by right, and the Lords Justices approved his zeal. It will be remembered that Carte speaks of the executions by martial law that were then carrying on in Dublin, and that Borlase says that "he (Ormond) found himself upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought to have been." Had Ormond succeeded in obtaining a trial, there would probably be papers in the Record Office that would clear up the whole matter. But in the actual circumstances it is not

to be wondered at that no official record exists of all that took place after Father O'Higgins' imprisonment.¹ He was no longer a subject of legal notice properly so called. Let us look again at Jacob's *Law Dictionary* : "Anciently outlawry was looked on as so horrid a crime that anyone might lawfully kill a person outlawed, as he might a wolf or other noxious animal, but the law herein was changed in Edward the Third's time, which provides that a person outlawed shall be put to death by the sheriff only, having lawful authority for that purpose." And the sheriff, or governor, or provost-master general of Dublin, Sir C. Coote, if he ever reflected on the death of Father O'Higgins, one victim among hundreds, was not the man to publish anything to his own infamy or to that of his masters.

Yet the fate of Father O'Higgins will be remembered, and his name be held in honour, when those of his persecutors will be buried in oblivion. He and the two other Dominican Priors whose martyrdoms were described in the April number, lost their lives for Christ's sake, and so have found them for ever.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

¹ As so many priests were outlawed at the time, Borlase, Carte, and Poncius, may have considered it superfluous to mention Father O'Higgins' outlawry in particular; or they may have considered it would be obvious to every reader from the manner of his execution.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

THE POSITION OF THE CELEBRANT AT THE LAST GOSPEL

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you to answer in your next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following question, as I think there is some diversity in the practice:—

Q. What is the position of the Priest at the last Gospel—“Initium, aut Sequentia Sancti Evangelii”?

In the rubrics of the missal—“Ritus celebrandi missam, De Epistola,” &c. No. 1—“Et missale sic locat ut posterior pars libri respiciat ipsum cornu altaris, et non ad parietem sive ad partem ejus contra se directam.” No. 2—“Stans ut supra.”

This seems clear. Does it apply *in toto* to the last Gospel particularly when the *Initium* is from the card? (The rubric merely says, “genueflectit ad cornu Evangelii.”) . . . In the first “ad ipsum cornu,” the meaning is the same.

De Herdt says distinctly that it does:—“Accedat ad cornu Evangelii ubi oblique (uti deducitur ex modo legendi alterum Evangelium) stans seu parum conversus per suam sinistram ad populum dicit.” “Dominus vobiscum, deinde, Initium, aut Sequentia Sancti Evangelii.”

Is this the common interpretation and common practice, particularly when the card is used?

An answer will oblige.

SENEX.

Our correspondent may take it for granted that the position which the celebrant should occupy while reading the last Gospel is the same, whether the Gospel be read from the Missal or from the chart. Neither in theory nor in correct practice is there any foundation for a distinction. For it is not the position of either book or chart that determines the position of the celebrant at any part of the Mass, though the position which the celebrant takes up does in some cases determine the position of the book, and even of the chart; as, for instance, at the last Gospel in a Solemn Mass, the sub-deacon should hold the chart in accordance with the position of the celebrant.

The question, then, is, whether the celebrant, while reading the last Gospel, should turn towards the corner of the altar, as he is directed to do while reading the first Gospel. If we were to rely on analogy, we should answer unhesitatingly in the affirmative; for the reason which prompted the Church to define the position of the celebrant at the first Gospel holds equally with regard to the last Gospel. That reason is manifestly that the people should hear the Gospel, and understand that they are expected to listen to it. Now, in many cases, the last Gospel is considered by the Church to be even more important than the first, although the feast in the Mass of which the first Gospel is read may be of higher rite than the Sunday or *feria*, or vigil, from which the last Gospel is taken. This analogy has determined writers to teach, as De Herdt does in the extract given by our correspondent, that the celebrant should stand in the same position while reading the last, as while reading the first Gospel; and the same analogy, together, no doubt, with the teaching of rubricists, has determined intelligent practice.

Till August 30, 1892, the theory and practice in this matter were as we have just described. Analogy, and analogy alone, was the guide; and, however convincing an argument from analogy may be, it does not remove all doubt. This is especially true when dealing with positive laws, as in the present case. Hence, some time ago, one who, like our correspondent, was more than usually impressed by this doubt, asked the following question of the Congregation of Rites:—

“Rubricam Missalis (tit. vi., n. 1) non usquequaque claram auctores et professores Liturgiae sacrae interpretantes docent, ultimum evangelium in fine Missae eodem prorsus modo dicendum esse prout primum, i.e., Sacerdote *oblique* stante, sive parum per suam sinistram converso ad populum. Cum alii, tamen praesertim seniores sacerdotes, negent talem esse sensum hujus rubricae, quaeritur, utrum ultimum evangelium a sacerdote *oblique* stante rectari debeat?”

To this question the Congregation replied, on the date above mentioned, *Affirmative*; and, as neither question nor reply leaves any room for doubt, the matter must be regarded as finally settled.

THE OBLIGATION OF RECITING THE REQUIEM OFFICE

In the I. E. RECORD for January of the current year we gave a negative reply to the following question :—

“ Is each priest who receives a *stipendium* bound to recite the entire Requiem Office by a strict obligation of commutative justice? ”

The negative reply to this question was based—(1) on what we understood to be the practice of priests, and (2) on what we assumed to be the intention of the donors of the *stipendia*. With regard to the practice of priests, we have always been of opinion that even the most scrupulous among them would not consider themselves debarred from accepting the *stipendium*, though they might have been late for a part of the Office, or, though, during the Mass, when they themselves could not sing, or when there was a sufficient choir without them, they read their own private office. We confess that we may be mistaken in this opinion, but we had never hitherto had any doubt about it.

We also believed, and still believe, that the donors of *stipendia* for a Requiem Office have no intention of imposing a grave obligation on each individual who receives a *stipendium* to read all the Psalms, Lessons, &c., of the Office, and to take part in the singing of the Mass. All they wish or intend is that the priests present, taken collectively, will endeavour to make the chanting of the Office and Mass, as solemn and as becoming as they can.

Whether or not this opinion be true, it would seem that the conclusion we drew from it, and the preceding, is no longer tenable. This appears from a Decree of the Congregation of Rites issued as far back as 1857, of the existence of which we were unaware, until our attention was called to it by a learned and esteemed correspondent. We subjoin the decree, which is printed both in the Gardellini collection of the decrees of the Congregation of Rites,¹ and in the *Collectanea, S. C. de Propaganda Fide*.²

“ *S. C. SS. Rit. 9 Maii 1857.*

“ PETROCORICEN.—Utrum parochus alique sacerdotes Exequiis mortuorum Officiisque quotidianis pro iisdem assistentes, ac pro

¹ n. 5236.

² n. 916.

ea functione stipendium accipientes, teneantur per se Officium defunctorum persolvere, ita ut sollummodo assistentes, et non cantantes vel psallentes, fructus non faciant suos; an vero sufficiat ut assistant, et schola Officium persolvat, ipsis interea pro suo lubitu alias preces fundentibus, *v.g.* Breviarium recitantibus pro sua quotidiana obligatione?

“*R.* Affirmative quoad primam partem; negative quoad secundam.”

THE PRAYER “EN EGO”

Into this prayer, as printed in many of our best and most reliable books, a curious mistake has crept. The mistake consists in substituting *suo* for *tuo* in the phrase *quod jam in ore tuo ponebat David, Propheta de te*. A glance shows that the sense requires *tuo*, and that *suo* makes nonsense; yet, as we have said, the error is so widespread, owing to the number and character of the books in which it has appeared, that very many of our readers, we venture to say, never even heard of the correct form. The error appears in many of our breviaries, in many of the cards containing the prayers to be recited after Mass, and in other equally trustworthy collections. We are glad, therefore, to be able to set our readers right, and to be able to give them in the shape of a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences itself an argument still stronger than that derived from the rules of grammar. The decree, as will be seen, is a recent one, and is taken from the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, April, 1894.¹

“Redactor Ephemeridum cui titulus: ‘La Semaine Religieuse’ quae in civitate Tolosana typis mandatur exponit quod in oratione ‘*En ego bone et dulcissime Jesu, etc.*, cui adnexa est quotidie plenaria Indulgentia ab his lucranda, qui eam recitant post susceptam Communionem et ante imaginem Crucifixi in quibusdam libris circa finem ejusdem orationis nonnulla verba diversimode leguntur. In aliquibus enim legitur ‘*quod jam in ore suo ponebat*,’ in aliis vero, ut, in collectione Orationum piorumque operum a R.R. P.P. Indulgentiis dittatorum edita Romae anno 1886 ‘*in ore tuo*’ quaeritur igitur ab hac S. Congregatione Indulg.

"I. Utrum dicendum sit in oratione praefata '*ore tuo*' an vèro '*suo*.'

"II. Utrum sit indifferens ad lucranda Indulgentiam '*suo*' vel '*tuo*.'

"S. Congr. relatis dubiis respondit ad I^{um} standum omnino textui collectionis.

"Ad 2^{um} provisum in 1o.

"Datum Romae ex Secret. ejusd. S. Congr. die 29 Martii 1894.

"Authenticæ editæ Romae anno 1886 ex decreto hujus S. Cong. diei. 24 Maii 1886.

"Fr. IGNATIUS CARD. PERSICO, *Praef.*

✠ "ALEX. ARCHIEP. NICOPOL, *Secret.*"

DECREE MAKING VALID ALL INVALID ERECTIONS OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

The decree which we give below was issued about the same time, and is taken from the same source, as the one just given. The details connected with the erection of the Stations of the Cross are so many, and some of them are so minute, that a priest who procures the necessary faculties for erecting them only once or twice in his lifetime may easily overlook one of vital importance. Such is the one mentioned by Father de Parma, in his petition to the Holy See, which called forth the present decree, namely, the neglect to obtain, before the erection, the consent, *in writing*, of the ordinary of the diocese. There are others, however, which are equally important, and just as easily overlooked. Hence, from time to time, either *proprio motu*, or, as in the present instance, moved by the petition of the General of the Franciscans, the Pope *convalidates* all previous invalid erections. It will, then, we are sure, be a relief to many priests, both secular and regular, to know that all erections of the Stations of the Cross, made previous to the 7th April of the present year, are now valid, no matter what essential particular may have been neglected at the time of the erection.

"Beatissime Pater,

"Fr. Aloysius de Parma, Minister generalis totius ordinis Minorum, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae prostratus sequentia humiliter exponit. In erectione Viæ S. Crucis Stationum non semper

et ubique omnia ea adamussim observata fuerunt quae a S. Sede pro valida erectione praescribuntur praesertim quoad consensum in scriptis ante erectionem obtinendam. Quapropter, ne Fideles Indulgentiis pio exercitio Viae S. Crucis concessis frustrentur, humiles Orator Sanctitati Tuae enixe supplicat quatenus *omnes erectiones hucusque ob quoslibet defectus invalide factas, benigne sanare dignetur.*

“Quam gratiam, etc.

“Vigore specialium facultatem a SSmo Dno N. Leone Papa XIII. tributarum, Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita defectus omnes de quibus in supplici libello benigne sanavit. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

“Datum Romae ex Secr. ejusdem S. Congr. die 7 Aprilis 1894.

“L. ✠ S.

“FR. IGNATIUS CARD. PERSICO, *Praef.*

✠ “ALEXANDER ARCHIEP. NICOPOL, *Secret.*”

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

“THE NEW NUT-BROWN MAID ”

REV. DEAR SIR,—The interest created by the publication of the ballad under the above title, in the I. E. RECORD for May, has induced several friends to contribute their remarks, critical, illustrative, or supplementary, on the text as printed in your review. These, together with emendations and considerations, the result of further thought and correspondence, will be submitted to your readers in the following lines, which you are good enough to promise shall be published in a forthcoming issue of the I. E. RECORD:—

I.

The main *crux* of the ballad formerly centred in Stanza VIII., line 4: “By longes the blynde.” Two correspondents supplied the right explanation of these words, from different sources of inspiration. They refer, clearly as it seems now that the difficulty is solved, to the Roman soldier who pierced the sacred side of Christ. In mediæval literature this soldier is called “Longinus, the blind Knight;” and he is said to have

recovered the use of his sight by some drops of the Precious Blood and Water which spurted on his face. Amongst the Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., published in 1892 by the Early English Text Society, mention is twice made of this beautiful legend. In a poem called the "Lamentation of Our Lady," attributed to St. Bernard, of which there is given an old English translation, at p. 323 we read, in a more modern English dress:—

"Beside the Rood there stood a Knight,
Full blind he was and lame also;
They all said he was called Longeus;
They made him go beneath the Cross;
They took to him a goodly lance,
And put it to my dear Son's side;
And Longeus thrust with great fierceness;
It pierced to my Son His Heart,
And Water and Red Blood
Ran down of His Wounds five."

This poem, of seven hundred and thirty-six verses, is full of tenderness and beauty. The old English version is attributed to Richard Maidenstoon; but nothing is here said either of the bodily or of the spiritual cure of the Knight, who is herein called Longeus, or Longinus, which would be popularized into Longes, though Longeus agrees better with the metre of the Ballad of "The New Nut-Brown Maid."

In the same volume, in another poem, on page 37, another side of the incident is related, and is here reproduced, under the like conditions as before:—

"At noon there pierced Jesus, Longinus, a blind Knight;
He wiped his eyes with Jesus' Blood, through which he had
his sight."

Mary of Agreda attributes this grace to the prayers of our Lady, who, when she witnessed the outrage on the dead Body of Jesus, instead of words of upraiding or imprecation, exclaimed: "May the Almighty look on you with the eyes of His mercy, for the pain you have caused me." The French translation of the passage, freely rendered into our mother-tongue, says:—

"And it may be that our Saviour, touched by the prayer of His most holy Mother, allowed that the Blood and Water which poured from His divine side should spurt some drops upon the face of Longinus; and by these gracious means should restore to

him his bodily eyesight, of which he had been almost deprived; and, at the same time, should enlighten his soul, so that he could recognise the Crucifix, whom he had so cruelly pierced."

Blessed Sir Thomas More somewhere says: "If he were as long as Longinus"—probably in reference to the wall pictures and miniatures of the day, in which the soldier was often represented as a very tall man. And, again, he writes: "Surely, if he be as long as Longinus, and have a high heart [compare the Ballad: Stanza XXV., line 2, highness; in both cases, *high* stands for *pride*], and trust upon his own wit, looketh he never so lowly that setteth all the holy fathers at nought, that fellow (I say) shall not fail to sink over the ears and drown."¹

Amongst other Stanzas, the following may be noted:—

II.

Stanza II., line 4: In manner; so to say.

line 5: *for* Through right wiseness, *read* Through rightwiseness; justice.

III.

Stanza III., line 5: *for* With, *read* Why.

IV.

Stanza X., line 3: "In Sathan's barge;" a corrupt line, hardly improved by reading (as it has been suggested) *targe for* barge.

line 7: *for* Thy witness, *read* By rightwiseness; in justice.

line 10: "action," Possibly, Act of Love, *i.e.*, Redemption, a form which makes the line rhyme with the last one of the stanza.

V.

Stanza XIII., line 1. *Read* to rend and draw.

line 9 refers to the sacrilegious custom, named in the following stanza, of swearing by the members of our Lord's sacred Body.

VI.

Stanza XVI., line 2: *for* What time, *read* "What mine (my) poor reason is;" an answer to XV. line 10: "No reason find ye can."

line 6: bliss; probably a corrupt reading.

¹ *English Works*, p. 162.

VII.

Stanza XVII., line 11: twined; In Halliwell's Illustrations from Lydgate, MS. Ashmoli, 39, f. 53, are found these lines:—

“That never twineth out of thy presence,
But in heaven abideth aye with thee.”

VIII.

Stanza XXIII., line 12: *for* Right as, *read*, As if.

IX.

Stanza XXV., line 2: His, or Its highness; either—(1) *His* highness (pride) is never content to admit my commandment; or (2) Man is never content to admit *its* highness (loftiness, holiness), *i.e.*, of the commandments. Probably the first gloss is the truer of the two.

line 7: *for* cloth, *read* mouth.

X.

Stanza XXVIII., line 6: Teen, or tene. The expression “trey and tene” seems to have been an accepted one in olden time. It may be found in one of the proverbs of Hendyng:—

“For when man is in trey and tene,
Then heareth God his bene (boon; prayer)
That is bid with heart:
When the bale is highest, then the boot is nighest;
Quoth Hendyng.”

Other points in the interpretation of *The New Nut-Brown Maid* are obscure, and will repay consideration at the hands of students of old English literature. The punctuation of the ballad is of very uncertain exactitude; or rather, probably, it is only correct, by accident, in certain passages. Still, with all its faults, or errors, of form or expression, the reproduced poem, as a relic of the past, is valuable, and deserves to be preserved by those who think that the ways and words of our Catholic ancestors should not be allowed to fall into entire oblivion.

I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, your obedient servant,

ORBY SHIPLEY.

Documents

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE.

CEREMONIES TO BE OBSERVED WHEN TWO OR MORE MARRIAGES TAKE PLACE AT THE SAME TIME

S. C. S. Officii 1 Septembris 1841.

Quando plures simul copulantur, accepto primum singulorum consensu, et rite celebratis singulis matrimoniis, dictaque pro singulis a parochio forma *Ego vos coniungo in matrimonium*, etc., nihil obstat quominus benedictiones annulorum et reliquæ benedictiones fiant in communi per verba generalia.

DECISIONS REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION

S. C. S. Officii 1 Septembris 1841.

1. Licite matrimonium contractum coram parochio benedici ab alio sacerdote de consensu parochi vel Ordinarii.—2. Quoad Missam celebrandam *de sponsis* vel *de sancto* standum decreto S. R. C. die 3 Martii 1818.—3. Sacerdotem non teneri Missam applicare pro sponsis nisi ab iisdem eleemosynam accipiat.—4. In eadem Missa posse sacerdotem plures sponso benedicere.—5. Ab eodem sacerdote celebrante aspergendos esse aqua benedicta sponso ante altare genuflexos, non autem ab alio sacerdote.—6. Non licere sponso benedicere in Missa defunctorum, sed potius transferendam esse benedictionem ad aliam diem.

WHETHER THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION MAY BE GIVEN TO CERTAIN CLASSES OF SPONSI

S. C. S. Officii 1 Febr. 1871. Vic. Ap. Myssur.

1. Utrum gentiles mulieres nuptae, vel viduae, vel notorie corruptae, quae ex gentilitate conversae christianum recipiunt matrimonium, possint recipere benedictionem nuptialem intra Missam.

2. An sponsi christiani qui pridie in pomeridiana matrimonium in Ecclesia receperunt, et crastina sequenti die ad Missam ambo veniunt, benedictionem intra Missam recipere possint, illis non interrogatis de continentia in nocte servata.

R. Ad 1. Affirmative.

Ad 2. Affirmative ; neque ullo modo faciendam esse interrogationem de qua in dubio mentio fit : et ad mentem. Mens est quod in illis matrimonio iungendis admonitio praetermittenda non sit Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum hortari (Sess. xxiv. cap. I. De Reform. Matrim.) ut coniuges ante benedictionem sacerdotalem in templo accipiendam in eadem domo non cohabitent.

ADDITIONAL DECISIONS REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION

S. C. S. Officii 31 Augusti 1881.

Benedictionem nuptialem quam exhibet Missale Romanum in *Missa pro sponso et sponsa* semper impertiendam esse in matrimoniis catholicorum, infra tamen Missae celebrationem, iuxta rubricas, et extra tempus feriatum, omnibus illis coniugibus, qui eam in contrahendo matrimonio quacumque ex causa non obtinuerint ; etiamsi petant postquam diu iam in matrimonio vixerint, dummodo mulier, si vidua, benedictionem ipsam in aliis nuptiis non acceperit.

Insuper hortandos esse eosdem coniuges catholicos, qui benedictionem sui matrimonii non obtinuerunt, ut eam primo quoque tempore petant. Significandum vero illis, maxime si neophyti sint, vel ante conversionem ab haeresi valide contraxerint, benedictionem ipsam ad ritum et solemnitatem, non vero ad substantiam et validitatem pertinere coniugii.

THE CONGREGATION OF RITES

DECISION REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION

S. C. SS. Rit. 14 Augusti 1858. Montis Albani.

1. An possit sacerdos, quum matrimonia extra Missam celebrantur, sicut in ecclesiis civitatum Montis Albani dioecesis frequenter evenit, sponsis benedictionem impertiri, et orationes recitare quae in Missali in *Missa pro sponso et sponsa* habentur, quaeque dicendae sunt tum post *Pater noster*, tum ante *Placeat*, quando non agitur de nuptiis, in quibus est deneganda supradicta benedictio. Et, quatenus affirmative, an teneatur.

2. Licetne Missam pro sponso et sponsa et benedictionem ad diem proxime sequentem vel in aliam multo remotiorem differre, etsi coniuges ante benedictionem sacerdotalem in templo suscipiendam in eadem domo cohabitent ?

3. Utrum prohibitio nuptiarum tempore Adventus et

Quadragesimae intelligi tantum debeat de Missa pro sponsis, ac de precibus pro nubentium benedictione in Missali positis; an ipsum etiam attingat matrimonium, quod cum solis celebratur caeremoniis, et precibus quae in Rituali reperiuntur.

4. An facta per Episcopum licentia contrahendi matrimonium temporibus a S. Concilio Tridentino vetitis, conseatur etiam permissa benedictio coniugum per preces et orationes in Missa pro sponsis contentas. Et quatenus negative, an possit Episcopus in casu eam facultatem concedere.

R. Ad 1. Negative in omnibus.

Ad 2. Negative in casu.

Ad 3. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam, dummodo accedat Episcopi venia.

Ad 4. Negative in omnibus.

Notices of Books

ST. EDMUND, KING AND MARTYR. From Original MSS.
By Rev. J. B. MacKinlay, O.S.B. Published by Art and Book Company: London and Leamington.

IN this book we have given not only the life of St. Edmund (King of East Anglia, from 855-870), but also an account of the various translations of his body, of his miracles, of the devotion to him, and of his patrimony. The account is gleaned from original manuscripts, and at the head of each chapter and section is given a list of those on the authority of which the subjoined narrative is based. The whole constitutes a work that is really valuable, both from an historical and an archæological point of view. It is interesting also even to the ordinary reader, even to one who has no special interest either in St. Edmund, or in the old abbey, church, and town of Bury St. Edmund's: and to those who have such an interest it must be doubly interesting.

In the first part of the book, which is devoted to the king's life, there are some good accounts of East Anglian manners and customs under Edmund, and of the condition of the people under the Romans and the Anglo-Saxons, and during the Danish wars. As we should expect, the story of the king's struggle with the

Danes is full of dramatic incidents, but the most dramatic of all is the capture and martyrdom of the brave king. Everyone knows that, when all hope was lost of a successful issue to his struggle with the Danes, he delivered himself up to his enemies, in order to save his people from utter destruction. But people are not so well acquainted with that scene in the Palace Church of Heglesdune, when Edmund having determined now to give himself up, with only his old director, Bishop Humbert, by his side, waited at the altar, wrapt in prayer and defenceless, until the Danes who had advanced on the town should come and seize him. Nor do people in general know the striking features by which St. Edmund's sufferings before death so much resembled our Lord's passion ; so much so, indeed, that the old chroniclers commonly speak of the Passion of St. Edmund. For, like our Lord, Edmund was tried by a prejudiced judge, condemned on the testimony of a false witness, and scourged. Hinguar tried him for the murder of Lothbroc, Hinguar's father, and condemned him of gross deceit, perjury, and murder, but offered him his life if he gave up the Christian religion. On Edmund's refusal, he is brought to the outskirts of Heglesdune, and first scourged. But he is a strong man, and bears the scourging well. The Danish sharpshooters, without injuring any vital spot, send their arrows quivering into his flesh, until, as an old chronicler, St. Abbo, has it, the arrows on his body resembled the thorns on a thistle. Once again Hinguar offers him life and a power subordinate only to his own if he become a pagan : and again he professes his adherence to the Christian faith ; and at last Hinguar, weary of the agony, orders Edmund's head to be cut off.

In the next part of the book we have the story of the numerous translations of St. Edmund's body from one place to another. It remained incorrupt until it was carried to France by Louis the Dauphin. The French were noted relic stealers, and St. Edmund's were not the only relics that found their way to France, when the French were driven back to their own country after the death of King John. They also carried from the Church of Redbourn, a silver and gold cross, highly ornamented, which was said to contain a piece of the true cross, and other relics besides. The body of St. Edmund was finally deposited by Louis in the Church of Toulouse ; but here it lost its privilege of incorruption, and decayed. The greater part of the bones are still preserved in the Church of St. Sernin, in Toulouse. The ancient

incorruption of St. Edmund's body is well authenticated, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is a fact.

Along with the fame of the incorruption, and the numerous miracles performed by the saint, both for those who were devoted to him, and in punishment of those who offended him, there grew a widespread cultus of his relics. Kings and princes richly endowed the corporate body that had care of them. At first this was a body of secular canons, but after some time the charge was given over to Benedictine monks. A magnificent church and monastery were built. St. Edmund's was a vaster and more massive structure than Durham Cathedral. But the whole was destroyed at the time of the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. There are few remains, for gunpowder was used to blow up the buildings, and Camden considers that "so far as the works of man go, England never suffered a greater loss than this." The monks removed to France, and kept up their monastery at Paris, and after the Revolution at Douai, where at the present day there is a flourishing monastery of St. Edmund's.

In England, and even afterwards in France, St. Edmund's monastery had always a more or less close connection with the makers of English history. To cite only two facts, it was on St. Edmund's altar, during the saint's feast, November 20, 1214, that the barons laid their hands to swear never to sheath the sword until the king granted the charter they saw unfolded before them. Needless to add, the charter was the Magna Charta.

The other fact is, that in Paris the monastery of St. Edmund was a great resort of the Jacobite refugees, and it was there the embalmed body of King James was kept unburied until the French Revolution. Then the Sansculottes made a kind of cheap show of it, charging from a sou to a franc for the privilege of seeing a dead body so wonderfully preserved that the soul seemed to have departed from it but a few hours before. The body was buried at last in St. Germain-en-Laye, when the allies came to Paris in 1813.

What we have said will give our readers some idea of the wide interest attaching to a history of St. Edmund, of his relics, his patrimony, and the cultus shown to him. The book is written in an easy and flowing style, and is brought out as we should expect it to be brought out by the Art and Book Company. Altogether it is a credit to its author, and his Order, the English Benedictines.

P.M.

THE VICTORIES OF ROME, AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.
By Kenelm Digby Best.

DIVINE WORSHIP. By Sacerdos. Edited by Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J.

THESE two little works have been sent by Messrs. Burns and Oates, publishers, to whom the Catholics of these countries have every reason to be deeply grateful for their labours in the interest of Catholic literature of every description.

1. The first contains two papers: one on the *Victories of Rome*, now republished, sketches briefly the battles in which the Papacy has fought and conquered, and shows that "be the adversary heathenism, heresy, barbarism, statecraft, or revolution, the contest has always ended in the discomfiture of the gates of hell and the triumph of the tiara;" the other, on *The Temporal Power*, discusses the reasons of the necessity of the temporal power of the Popes, and strongly asserts the claims of the supreme Pontiff to liberty in teaching truth, in dispensing grace, in inculcating virtue, to such freedom as is possible, in the present order of divine providence, only in the hypothesis of actual sovereignty. Both papers are eloquently written, and with a devotion, too, towards the Church and the Holy See worthy of a son of St. Philip.

2. This interesting little book, intended for the instruction of the unlearned, gives a brief summary of the history of divine worship, both before and after the coming of Christ, and dwells on the unity of that worship throughout the Catholic world, as a means of differentiating the one true from the many false religions; then explains the nature of and defends the religious cult offered to the Blessed Virgin by reason of her special excellence and dignity as Mother of God. It would be well that books of this kind would come into the hands of Protestants and others outside the true Church, in whose minds many false notions of Church doctrines and practices exist.

J. K.

THE CHURCH: OR THE SOCIETY OF DIVINE PRAISE. By Dom Prosper Gueranger. London: Burns & Oates.

THE object of this little book, composed a few weeks before his death, by the author of the well-known *L'Année Liturgique*, is to recommend "aggregation to the great Monastic Order of St. Benedict by the reception of the Benedictine Scapular," as a

means of entering more fully into the spiritual life of the Church, and to lay down certain rules for the guidance of those who are thus aggregated. The latter half of the book is intended specially for priests. It is pervaded throughout by a spirit of fervent piety, and contains much salutary advice both for priest and layman.

P. J. B.

DEHARBE'S SMALL CATECHISM. B. Herder. Freiburg in Breisgau.

THIS is a simply-written, clearly arranged little catechism. It is divided into three parts: the first treats of "The truths we must all know and believe;" the second explains "The Ten Commandments, and the Precepts of the Church;" and the third treats of the "means of grace," the Sacraments, and Prayer. The explanations though necessarily brief, are always accurate, stated in clear and simple terms, and can be easily mastered by children.

P. J. B.

THE SUCCESS OF PATRICK DESMOND. By M. F. Egan, Office of the *Ave Maria*.

THIS story which is reprinted from the pages of that excellent Catholic magazine, the *Ave Maria*, is worthy of the deservedly high reputation that Mr. Egan has won in Catholic literary circles. It is written with that freshness of style, subdued humour, and pure Catholic tone that mark all Mr. Egan's writings. It is a story with a moral, and its aim is to show that worldly success is dearly bought at the cost of honesty, and that the life which is uninfluenced by religion is a barren, dreary life. It must not be gathered from this that the book is a dull one, full of prosy homilies; on the contrary, it is highly interesting, and once begun will be laid aside with reluctance till it is finished.

The characters of the hero, Patrick Desmond, of his friend Jack Conlon, a clerical student, and of Eleanor Redwood are drawn with great sympathy and skill, and the tyrannical house-keeper, Belinda, with her Calvinistic ideas of God, and her profound contempt for her fellow-mortals is delineated with much cleverness and humour. It is refreshing to meet a work of fiction like *The Success of Patrick Desmond*, combining high literary excellence, with a wholesome moral tone. It will be a valuable addition to any parochial library, and will make an ideal prize-book for our colleges and convent schools.

P. J. B.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE, IN USUM SCHOLARUM.
Auctore, G. B. Tepe, S.J. Vol. I. CONTINENS TRACTATUS
DE VERA RELIGIONE, DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI, DE
VERBO DEI SCRIPTO ET TRADITO. Parisiis Sumptibus.
P. Lethielleux, 10, Via Dicta "Casatte."

FATHER TEPE intends to publish in four volumes, a complete course of Dogmatic Theology for the use of schools. The first volume has recently appeared. It treats of the "True Religion," "The Church," and the "Word of God." In the tract on "The True Religion," two main questions are discussed. The first has reference to Revelation in general, and its criteria, miracles and prophecy. The second refers to the Christian Revelation. It contains four chapters, the first of which proves the historical value of the Books of the New Testament. The second explains the criteria by means of which we can judge of the truth of the Christian Revelation. These criteria are the miracles and prophecies of Christ, the testimony of the Apostles; the death of so many martyrs, the statements of the fathers and doctors of the Church; the testimony of nations generally; and, finally, the fulfilment in Christianity of the prophecies of the Old Law. The third chapter proves the divinity of Christ. The fourth shows the necessity of the Christian religion.

The Church tract discusses six questions, viz.:—The Institution and Constitution of the Church; the Notes of the Church; the Members of the Church; the Infallibility of the Pope; the Ruling Power of the Pope, and the Relation between Church and State. The treatise on Scripture and Tradition treats of the Canon of Sacred Scripture and its Inspiration, the authenticity of the Vulgate; the existence of Divine Tradition, and the means of knowing it.

Father Tepe treats the True Religion treatise and the first two questions of the Church tract apologetically, while he treats the rest dogmatically. The nature of the questions discussed requires this distinction. The True Religion treatise deals with opponents who do not admit the truth of the Christian religion. Hence it can contain no argument that, in whole or part, derives its force from Christianity. Now the divine authority of Sacred Scripture and tradition is known to us only from the declaration of the Church of Christ. Therefore these sources can be used in the tract on True Religion only as historical documents. The same is to be said of the first two questions of the Church tract,

since we cannot use the divine authority of Sacred Scripture or tradition, till we have proved that the True Church is infallible in defining this divine authority, and what Church in particular is the true Church. Having done this we can use the Sacred Scriptures and tradition in the way pointed out by that Church ; namely, as the sources of revealed truth.

Throughout the volume Father Tepe displays wonderful research. He has evidently spared no pains in collecting historical evidences in proof of his doctrines. Every portion of his work is replete with extracts from the fathers of the Church and Sacred Scripture. No doubt a work intended for the use of schools should not contain more matter than is necessary for the explanation or establishment of its doctrines ; still it can be said that a large collection of appropriate extracts serves to express more forcibly the strength of Catholic teaching. This is the case especially when, as in Father Tepe's volumes, this abundance does not detract from the order or clearness of the work. Moreover, Father Tepe uses his historical knowledge with great force in controversial questions, such as the alleged fall of Pope Tiberius ; the condemnation of Galileo ; the nature of the powers given to the Pope by the false decretals of Isidore, &c. We can recommend the volume as an excellent treatise on the subjects which it undertakes to discuss, and we hope that the coming volumes will reach the high standard that their forerunner leads us to expect.

J. M. H.

SEPHORA : OR ROME AND JERUSALEM. Adapted from the French of Adrien Lemercier. By Rev. James Donohoe, LL.D. Published by the Editor, 249, Viattistreet, Brooklyn.

THIS is a story of the time when Octavian and Mark Antony proclaimed Herod the Great King of Judea. Sephora, its heroine, is daughter of the Lagan, as the vice-pontiffs were called, who under the Asmoneans filled the place of high-priest at the Temple when the reigning descendant of the Maccabees was unable or unwilling to do so. Her father is sent to Rome by Antigonus, the last representative of the Asmoneans, to use all efforts to gain over Mark Antony from the side of Herod to his own, for he knew that the Senate would not hesitate to name himself King of Judea, if Mark Antony recommended it. The father brings the daughter with him, being

unwilling that she should be left alone in Jerusalem, to be persecuted by the very unwelcome attentions of a powerful Pharisee. In Rome, however, she attracts the notice of Mark Antony, and his attentions become so troublesome that the father and daughter have to fly secretly from the city. They proceed to Jerusalem by way of Alexandria, and here they meet the Roman again. The Lagan is informed that his embassy has been unsuccessful ; and, as Mark's notice of Sephora again causes trouble, the father and daughter have to set out from Alexandria as hurriedly as from Rome. They go on in peace to Jerusalem, and the story ends with the capture of the city by Herod through the assistance of the Romans, the death in the struggle of Sephora's obnoxious suitor, the Pharisee, and her own happy marriage.

The story contains some very good descriptions of the manners and customs of the times, of the topography of Jerusalem and the surrounding district, and of some of the Temple rites. As a tale, however, it is disappointing. The plot is meagre, the delineation of character is wanting in vividness and naturalness, and, though the book is small, some of the situations are decidedly forced. The tone of the story is semi-religious, somewhat after the manner of *Fabiola* and *Callista*.

The book has been very well brought out, the printing being clear and large, and the binding tasteful. P. M.

THE CONVERT'S CATECHISM. By Rev. Francis X. REICHART.

THIS short penny Catechism, intended specially for converts, might be used with much profit by the laity in general. It contains instructions on the principal truths of faith, the Commandments of God and of the Church, the Sacraments, and some devotional practices. Doctrines are expressed in simple language with brevity and clearness, Scriptural proof being in most instances added. A chapter on Indulgences would, we think, enhance its value.

MANUEL DU PRETRE AUX ETATS-UNIS. New York : Pustet & Co.

THIS Manual is written for the accommodation of priests of the United States in charge of missions, some of whose members speak the French, and others the English language. The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains disciplinary

decrees of the Council of Baltimore which affect missionary priests; the second part contains simple instructions in French, to be delivered to the faithful on the Sundays and holidays of the year: while those same instructions rendered in plain, forcible English, make up the third part of the manual. While the work will save the priest much labour, the simple, solid explanations of doctrines which it advocates will minister to the spiritual wants of many on whom elegant, elaborate expositions of the Church's teaching and eloquent exhortations to virtue would have been lost.

A similar book adapted to the needs of this country would be of great utility to priests who have little time to prepare their sermons.

K. P.

MEDITATIONS SUR LA VIE DE N. S. J. C. Par le
R. P. M. Meschler, S.J.

THESE *Meditations*, published in three volumes, contain a series of beautiful exercises on the Life of our Saviour. They set forth a number of fruitful reflections on the virtues that shone in His character. The first volume brings us down to the third Pasch of the Redeemer's public life. The second treats of the intervening space to the Passion, whilst the last is concerned with the sufferings of the God-Man, His glorious life, and His existence in the hearts of the faithful. It is a work replete with pious sentiment. The virtues of Him, who came to be our Model, and the motives which should urge us to imitate them, are laid before the reader in a style at once forcible and attractive. As a meditation book it is excellent, and can be used with much profit by those who would advance in spiritual perfection.

D. O'C.

CHRIST IN TYPE AND PROPHECY. By A. J. Maas, S.J.,
Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College,
M.D. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS excellent book is devoted to the knowledge of Christ which we get from the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Each of the prophecies is given in English, and commented upon in footnotes. Each has an introduction and corollaries, in which are set forth the Messianic nature of the prophecy, the manner of its interpretation, whether literal or mystical; answers to objections, and other points of general

interest in regard to the prophecy in question. There is a lengthy general introduction regarding the nature and existence of prophecy, and its value as a proof of Christ's divinity; and here, too, we have treated, at considerable length, the theory of Rationalists on the subject.

Dr. Maas's treatment of the prophecies is that of one who is thoroughly acquainted with his subject. His commentary is clear, merely explanatory of the text, without philological or grammatical criticism in matters of unimportance; whilst in those of general interest, or of special importance in regard to his subject, his exegetical and theological analysis is very full. The occasional references to the Hebrew of the original text are easily understood, even by one who has not a wide acquaintance with that language. In the various introductions and corollaries his proofs of the Messianic nature of the prophecies deserve an equal meed of praise. The style and the order are both fair; but in the introduction it would have been much better had the long lists of references been put into footnotes, instead of being inserted in the text.

The book is too diffuse for young students; but for those who have already studied the prophecy argument in the Incarnation tract it must be of real value and of great interest. It will be of especial use to priests who have finished their theological course, without having had time to devote to a special study of the Messianic prophecies; for from it they will be able easily to learn all that they could desire to know on the subject, one considerable advantage that they will derive immediately from this knowledge being, that they will read their Office with a new understanding, and consequent appreciation. P. M.

TALES AND LEGENDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. From the Spanish of Francisco de Paula Capella. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS handsome little volume, being a collection of tales and legends of a devotional character, and written in a simple and pleasing style, is very suitable for children, to whom it should afford pleasant and useful reading. Though gathered by the author in his native Catalonia, and associated with local names, and interspersed with local reminiscences, many of the stories are rather local adaptations of widespread traditions than legends of indigenous growth.

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS. By Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins. London :
R. Washbourne. First English Edition.

As the quick disposal in America of four large editions is an undeniable voucher of the popularity of Father Jenkins's book, so the high recommendations of the episcopate of the United States is the surest guarantee of the soundness of the doctrines contained in it. No one will gainsay the vital importance of the education question, and at least no reasoning Catholic will deny the justness of the Church's claims to a sound Catholic education for Catholic youth. But should anyone be disposed to take a lenient view of the godless system of education in the State schools, both primary and superior, of the United States, and in the superior State schools or universities of this country, a perusal of the volume before us would quickly put his mind in touch with minds cast in a better mould, and more capable of forming a correct judgment on the question. Father Jenkins undertakes to put before the reader—

1. A view of the system of public schools in the United States. Here he develops, in a few chapters, the influence of teachers, fellow-pupils, and the text-books used in the various departments.

2. The decisions of the episcopate in those nations where similar systems exist. Here he devotes a short chapter to a sketch of the hard-fought battle of our Irish prelates against the State system, and their almost complete victory in the matter of primary education over the national school system, as originally planned.

3. The decisions of Pope Pius IX.

4. The decisions of the bishops of the United States, both individually and in council.

5. The instructions of the Sacred Congregation and of the reigning Pontiff.

From this very brief outline it will be evident that the cheap little volume is verily a mine of recondite information on this very important question of Catholic education. J. F.

LE CARDINAL MANNING ET SON ACTION SOCIALE. Par
M. l'Abbé J. Lemire.

THE late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster is universally recognised as one of the finest figures of modern history. An account of the salient traits of his character cannot but prove of

deep interest to all who know aught of the great English Churchman. Father Lemire gives a brief outline of the holiness, the patriotism, and the philanthropic spirit that animated Cardinal Manning. The spirit of prayer, that informed his every action; the love of fatherland, that so facilitated his labours amongst his countrymen; his unfailing sympathy with the masses, and constant advocacy of their cause—all these characteristics are treated very fully in the present work. For the English-speaking public his memory requires no such tribute, for it is enshrined deep in their hearts; but French readers, for whom Father Lemire's book is written, will find in these pages a faithful reproduction of Manning's labours, and the motives that guided his various undertakings.

D. O'C.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FIRST CONFESSION. From the German of the Rev. F. H. Jaegers. B. Herder, Baden.

THIS little book seems to be intended as a guide and a help to priests in the performance of a duty as difficult as it is important—the instruction and preparation of children for first confession. Though it goes over the principal points to which attention must be paid, in giving such instruction, we doubt very much if it would render much assistance. And though much attention is paid to putting in various forms the points which are to be impressed on the child's memory, it lacks a very necessary qualification of books of its class, abundant and appropriate illustration.

L'ARGUMENT DE SAINT ANSELME, ETUDE PHILOSOPHIQUE.

Par Le Pere Ragey, Mariste. Delhomme & Briguët, Editeurs. Paris: 13, Rue de l'Abbaye. Lyon: 3, Avenue de l'Archevêché.

THIS work of Fr. Ragey is an interesting addition to several books he has already written on the history of St. Anselm. In the present volume the author purposes to discuss the nature of St. Anselm's argument for the existence of God and the validity of the objections that are urged against it by its many opponents. He also explains how, in his opinion, this argument differs, in the first place, from that of Descartes, and in the second place from some objections of St. Thomas, which theologians generally suppose to be the argument of St. Anselm.

The work contains an interesting account of how St. Anselm

discovered his argument. He had long sought for some *a priori* proof of God's existence. He spent many sleepless nights in his search. On one such night this argument suddenly occurred to his mind, and filled him with great joy. He wrote down his discovery, and entrusted the tablet on which it was written to the care of a brother of the monastery. The tablet disappeared in some unaccountable way. He wrote it down again, but the new tablet was mysteriously broken. Finally, he published the argument in his *Prosologium*. A monk named Gaunilo soon published a volume in which he denied the validity of St. Anselm's argument. St. Anselm replied, and the discussion thus begun has ever since been a fruitful source of thought for philosophers of every school. Father Ragey in his little book gives some of the arguments that have been urged for and against the proof of St. Anselm. Any person who desires to see how far the proof is valid, can read this little work with great benefit.

J. M. H.

A PRIMER FOR CONVERTS. By Rev. John T. Durward.
New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS little volume is the fruit of the author's zeal for the salvation of those who still live without the pale of the one true fold. In his preface, Father Durward writes: "The thought has forced itself on my attention for some years that we are priests not only for the faithful, but also for those outside; that, standing in the place of our Lord, we must repeat His words: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold, them also I must bring." The author divides his little book into three sections. And, having in the first treated some preliminary questions about faith, religion, &c., in the second section he discusses questions concerning the existence of the world, the necessity of creation, the existence of an intelligent, self-existent, eternal, infinite Creator, man's supernatural end, the necessity and existence of revelation, the existence of one true Church, which is the Catholic Church; and in the third he explains what more is required for the act of faith, besides the examination of the motives of credibility.

The treatment is logical and clear; the arguments are sound and cogent; references are given to more exhaustive works for a fuller elucidation of some more difficult points.

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ST. COLMAN, PATRON OF LOWER AUSTRIA

THE story of St. Colman is very different from that of most other Irish saints whose names are still venerated in distant countries. He was not an apostle in any ordinary sense of the word. He was not sent nor did he go to preach the Gospel, nor to convert the heathen. He may, indeed, have had in his mind some ultimate aim of the kind, but it had not yet matured nor assumed definite shape when he was overtaken by the fate of the martyr. Neither was it his immediate intention to settle in any of the monasteries founded by his countrymen in the centre of Europe, nor to devote himself to teaching, nor to study, nor to the pious exercises of religious life. It is, we believe, more than probable that he would in due course have become a monk, a teacher, and a preacher; but his most pressing purpose at the time of his death was to wend his way to the Holy Land, to visit Nazareth, Bethlehem, Caphernaum, Jerusalem; to follow the footsteps of the Master through Samaria and Galilee; to venerate the earth on which He had walked in the flesh, where He was born, where He lived, and where He died; to meditate on Jordan's banks and on the Mountain of Beatitudes; to assuage his spiritual thirst at the fountain of Siloë and at Cedron's holy brook; and, above all, to fill his soul with memories of the Garden of Olives, of the Way of the Cross, and of Mount Calvary.

This was the motive which urged Colman to leave his country, and in obedience to which he one day found himself

in a strange land, unknown, unfriended, and unable to make himself understood. It is also remarkable that, notwithstanding that he was an utter stranger to the people who afterwards adopted him as their patron and protector, from the very first he took possession of their hearts, and retained his hold upon them, only with increasing power, through many changing centuries. It is really wonderful how his fame spread from the wood near the little town of Stockerau, where he was tortured and hanged, all over the province of Austria proper, away through Styria, Istria, and Carniola, through Hungary, Bohemia, Bavaria, and Poland. Kings and princes were called by his name at baptism; churches and chapels were dedicated in his honour. Coloman, King of Hungary, the nephew of St. Ladislas, and one of the immediate successors of St. Stephen the Great, promoted the fame of his holy patron wherever his influence extended. Rudolph IV. of Hapsburg¹ was equally devoted to his memory. This most peaceful and mildest of saints had always a great attraction for soldiers. One of them, a brave Austrian knight, who served under the Emperor Ferdinand III., lies buried near the tomb of his patron, in the great Benedictine Abbey of Mönch, on the banks of the Danube; and on the marble sarcophagus erected over his grave appears the inscription:—

HEUS VIATOR!

HUC OCULOS, HUC MENTEM MODICUM REFER.

EX VEXILLO FIDELITATEM, EX LEONE VIGILANTIAM PENSA.

FIDELIS FUI

DEO, CAESARI, AMICIS

USQUE AD ARAS.

VIGILAVI DONEC OBDORMIREM IN MORTE.

ET QUOD SOMNUS ESSET SUAVIOR,

HANC UMBRAM QUAESIVI

TUTELARIS MEI SANCTI COLOMANNI.

¹“Wir Rudolph der Vierte von Gottes Gnaden Erz-Hertzog zu Oesterreich, zu Steyr und zu Cärndten, Herr zu Grain, der Windischen Marck und zu Portenau, Graf zu Habsburg, Tyrol, zu Pfyrt und zu Kyburg, Margraf zu Purgau, Landgraf zu Elsass bekennen hiemit das Wir dieses Kreuz aus Ehererbietung gegen Gott und aus souderbarer Liebe zu den Heiligsten Martyrer Colomannum verfertigen,” &c.—(*Geschichte und Wunderbarer Werke des Heiligen Colmanni, Königlichen Pilgers und Martyrers*, Durch P. Godfridum Deppich, O.S.B., page 236.)

St. Colman's Irish nationality is universally and gratefully recognised in Austria.¹ The standard work on *The Life and Miracles* of the saint is that of Father Gotfreid Deppisch, which was published in Vienna, by the University Press, in 1743. This learned writer was a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Moelck, on the Danube, and his work on St. Colman is dedicated to the illustrious Adrian, abbot of the monastery, and "Rector Magnificus" of the University of Vienna. He took great pains to find out all that was known about the honoured patron of his country. He came specially from Vienna to the Franciscan Convent of St. Antony of Padua, at Louvain,² in order to consult the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the works of Ussher, Stanihurst, and Ware, but especially some manuscript materials that had been left by Father John Colgan and Father Hugh Ward concerning the origin and descent of St. Colman. He was hospitably received by Father Antony M'Carthy, then guardian of the convent, who made all the researches the learned Benedictine required, and submitted them to him.³ The result could not be more satisfactory. The author takes much trouble to place St. Colman's Irish origin beyond all doubt; and he devotes several pages to refute the Scotch pretension that the saint

¹ "Bleibt also ausgemacht und unlangbar dass das eigentliche und wahrhaftte Vatterland unsers Heiligen Colmann das Konigreich Ireland und er folglich ein Irländer von Geburt gewesen seye."—(Deppisch, *St. Colmann*, page 21.)

² The only reference made to St. Colman in any of the older Irish books is that found in the *Calendar of Donegal*, in which we read: "Colman ailithir in Austria mac Maoilscheachluinn mois mac Dohmnuill." "Colman the pilgrim in Austria, son of Maolsechlann Mor, son of Dohmnall." This bears out Hugh Ward's contention, that the saint was the son of King Malachy, who was deposed by Brian Boroihme. See his work, *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, pages 235, 240.

³ "Weilen aber gar kein antwort, unwissend aus was Ursachen, darauf erfolget, haben wir im Jahr 1739, da wir auf vieler Verlangen und wunsch das Leben und Wunder-Werke des Heiligen Colomanni in unser muttersprach heraus zu geben gänglich entschlossen waren einen neuen versuch au den obern oftgemeldten Closter zu Löven gethan . . . Darauf haben wir endlich ein sehr höfflicher schreiben von dem Hockwurdigen Pater Antonio MacCarthy des Irländischen Minoriten Closters zu Löven Vorsterer glücklich erhalten nebst einen Auszug von den Leben unsers Heiligen Colomanni, &c."—(Deppisch, *Geschichte des St. Colomanni*, page 38.)

was a son of King Malcolm III. and of St. Margaret of Scotland.

"We must now [he writes] bring forward proofs that cannot be contradicted to show that the native land of our glorious patron is no other than the kingdom of Ireland, and that he was born and bred an Irishman. The oldest and the strongest is to be found in that ancient chronicle of the Austrian Margraves of Babenberg, which a learned priest, named Aloldus of Bechlarn, composed in the year 1063, and which the illustrious Father Jerome Hanthaler, annalist of the Monastery of Lilienfeld, accidentally discovered, about three years ago, in the library of Maria-Zell, in Austria, to the great honour and profit of historical studies in our country.¹ The next is that of Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach, a canon of the Cathedral of Vienna, teacher of Holy Scriptures, and celebrated Austrian historian, who lived in the time of the Emperors Albert and Frederick III. This learned author, amongst other valuable works, has left us a long and beautiful eulogium² of St. Colman, in which he tells us that 'God sent us from Ireland, which is situated at the extreme end of the world, a saint who was to be the intercessor and advocate of our whole nation, and who would teach us by his example to despise all earthly things, and seek only those which lead to heaven.'"

The author further quotes several passages from chronicles and annals kept in different parts of Germany, many of which are to be found collected by Father Jerome Pez, the famous librarian of Moelek, and editor³ of two of the most valuable collections of historical documents ever published in Europe.⁴ It would, indeed, be a mere waste of time and space to dwell further on a matter which is universally admitted.

¹ "Pius Dei famulis Cholomannus ex Hibernia peregrinus adveniens ut iret in Hierosolimam Domini nostri Salvatoris sanguine rigatam ignotus habitu et lingua ab imprudente plebe hujus provinciae pro exploratore Hungarorum vel Bohemorum suspectus, apud Stockerowe post multa tormenta cum duobus latronibus suspensus est Decimo sexto Kalendas Augusti."

² "Congruum est, dilectissimi, in hodierna festivitate beati Cholomanni, Martyris et Patriae Nostrae, scilicet Austriae, Patroni Specialis, Deo devotos esse et sibi gratias agere, quia de ultimis finibus terrae, scilicet Hiberniae, nobis destinavit amicum suum ut ipse pro nobis apud eum esset intercessor et advocatus et ut suo exemplo despiciamus cuncta terrena et festinemus ad bona coelestia nunquam deficientia"—(Deppisch, *Geschichte des Heiligen Colomanni*, pages 16, 17.)

³ *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, 4 vols., fol.; and *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, 2 vols., fol.

⁴ See also Erchinfried's account in the *Commentariorum* of Lambesius, lib. ii., chap. 8. Erchinfried was abbot of Mölek.

St. Colman seems to have belonged to some distinguished family in Ireland, and was, possibly, as Ward suggested, son of Malachy, high king of Ireland, who lived towards the end of the tenth century. He was accompanied by a servant, Gothalmus, on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and is usually spoken of as having made great worldly sacrifices in order to devote himself entirely to the service of God.¹ The pilgrim's road to Jerusalem, in these days, lay through Austria, Hungary, and Turkey; and as it happened the throne of the Holy Roman Empire was then occupied by the pious Henry II. and his saintly queen, Cunigunde. St. Stephen was king of Hungary, and the province of Austria was governed by the wise and prudent Margrave, Henry of Bahenberg. Great political troubles disturbed all these countries at the time we write about; for the Austrians were beginning to assume that supremacy over their neighbours which they vindicated under several chiefs of the young Bahenberg dynasty, and have maintained to the present day under the time-honoured ægis of the Hapsburgs. When St. Colman arrived in the midst of their province, in the year 1014, it was overrun by soldiers from Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. The minds of the people were greatly excited; and when they found a stranger amongst them, ignorant of their language, and hurrying on from one village to another, they came to the conclusion that he was a foreign spy, seeking information and an opportunity to betray them to their enemies. It was in vain that the poor pilgrim protested his innocence, kissed his crucifix, and pointed towards the east. What was regarded by them as hypocrisy only enraged them the more. A cruel and infuriated mob laid hold of him in the village of Stockerau, and led him out to a neighbouring wood, where they bound him hand and foot, and hung him from a gibbet, erected specially for the purpose. Nor were they satisfied with the

¹ "Cum beatissimus Martyr Christi Colomannus patriam suam Scotiam dominumque terrenum sive regnum praedictum pro amore et regno Christi relinquere disposuissit."—(From *Life of St. Gothalmus*, by Bernardus Dapifer.) See also Johannes Nanclerus, *Chronogr.*, vol. ii.; and Wolfgang Lazius, *De Migratione Gentium*, lib. viii., page 420.

cruel death which they decreed to the servant of God. They had recourse to other refinements of barbarism, which even at this distance are enough to make one shudder.¹ They scourged him with whips before his execution ; they applied burning irons to his body while he was struggling for life ; and they tore and lacerated his flesh till he had scarcely the human shape. The author of the hymn² which was sung in his honour in the Middle Ages accurately describes the nature of his torture :—

“ Scilices, ignita ova,
 Flagra tibi, vulnera
 Imprimebant, nec non nova
 Tormentorum genera.
 Carnes tuas vellicabant
 Forcipe ferrarrii ;
 Ossa tua lacerabant
 Serra carpentarii.”

When the evil work was done, its authors hurried off to some kindred task, and so little thought did they bestow on the poor victim they left hanging in the wood that their crime seems to have passed without any special notice ; for it was only a few years afterwards that some of the inhabitants of Stockerau were startled at the sight which they beheld at the spot where the saint had suffered.³ There was the gibbet still ; but fresh leaves had grown from

¹The manner and surroundings of the saint's death are thus described by Erchenfried :—

“ Sed fortissimus athleta Cholomannus qui solvi et esse cum Christo cupiebat, acria tormentorum flagra, lapides ovaque fortiter ignita, candentem quoque forcipem qua quidam perversus malleator corpus ejus miserabiliter vellendo cruciavit ; serram etiam qua crura ejus lacerabantur constanter praesidio Christi innixus nullificavit. Carnifices vero videntes invictam viri Dei constantiam, animam ejus tormentis sicut aurum quod in fornace probatur, excoctam extorsere suspensio.”

²Mone's *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. iii., page 253.

³“ Ita capitali sententia in eum prolata, de robore suspensus vitam quidem in stipite exhalavit, sed multis pendens adhuc prodigiis innocentiam declaravit ; nam et palus qui furcam sustinebat, laeta fronde vernare vestisque flore coepit et coma quoque verticis et barbitium proluxe excrevit. Corpus quamvis per sesqui annum penderet nulla tabe vel labe corruptum conspiciebatur quin et terrae postea principis imperio mandatum, illaesum perinde humi atque sublime permansit aliaque haud parva sanctitatis signa prodidit, quae viri Deo gratissimi gloriam illustrarunt.”—(*Bavaria Sancta*, vol. iii., page 112.)

the dry wood, and flowers that gave forth a fragrant perfume had blossomed from the beam. There was still the body of the saint hanging in the air: but it was whole and uncorrupted.

“ Mire fragrans, indestructus
Permanens biennio.”

The birds of the air had respected the temple of so pure a soul. The hair and beard had grown down over the pilgrim's frock, and a smile of heavenly peace and forgiveness seemed to light up the countenance of the victim. The people were struck with amazement when they witnessed the spectacle. They began to fear that the vengeance of God would overtake them and punish them for the crime that was perpetrated in their midst. The clergy were at once informed of the prodigy, and the remains of the saint were reverently taken away and placed in the church of Stockerau, where wonderful miracles testified to the sanctity of the murdered pilgrim.

An account of all these strange occurrences soon reached the ears of Henry, Margrave of Austria, who was greatly struck by all he heard, and proceeded to make a careful investigation into the whole history. When he was satisfied of the undoubtedly genuine nature of all the events narrated, he called together the bishops and clergy of the country, and had the body of St. Colman transferred to the important town of Moelck, where he himself resided.¹ There, in the Church of the Benedictine Abbey, it remains to this day,² surrounded by the veneration and love of a whole country. A rich mausoleum in Corinthian style is erected over the shrine of the saint. “Justus ut palma florebit” is written near its summit, and “Sepulchrum

¹ “Hic Martyr Dei Cholomannus destinatus est ab Hainrico Marchione digniori sepulchro et magna cum celebritate, ipso comitante translatus est in Ecclesiam Medelik III. id Octobris.”

² A short time after the remains of the saint were transferred to Moelck, the King of Hungary took possession of them, and carried them away for awhile, but they were duly recovered by the people of Austria. Poppo, Bishop of Trèves, arranged the first transfer; but Providence evidently destined the saint to be the patron and protector of Austria.

Sancti Colomanni Martyris," indicates the contents of the shrine. Here pilgrimages still come from all parts of Austria, and the glories of the saint are heard in the strong German tongue.

"Himmels, Erden, Meeres Herr !
Was Gutes je dein Hand gemacht,
Nimm't all's zu dir sein Widerkehr,
Wie aller strömen Schnelle tracht
Zum grossen See der Welt.
Siehe ! wie sein Meer sucht ein Bach
Sanct. Colmann, König, Irlands Licht
Der durch so viele länder brach
Und seinen Schwellen Lauf gericht
Eilend in das Heileg Land."

Churches were dedicated to him at Stockerau, Moelck, Laab, Aggstein, Vienna, Abenthull, Eysgarn, Aichabrunn, St. Veit, Steyer, Lebenan, Berlach, and many other places. A stone that was marked with the blood of the saint was brought by Rudolf IV. to Vienna, where it may still be seen in one of the walls of the Cathedral of St. Stephan.¹ This same illustrious duke had an elaborate cross manufactured, in which he had large relics of St. Colman encased, and surrounded by the relics of other saints. This precious memorial of princely faith is still to be seen in the treasury of Moelck, with an inscription² bearing testimony to the motives and object of the donor.

The learned Johannes Stabius, biographer of the Emperor Maximilian I., wrote an elegant poem in praise of the saint, commencing with the lines :—

"Austriæ Sanctus canitur patronus,
Fulgidum sidus radians ab alto,
Scoticae gentis Colomanus acer
Regia proles."

It is curious, that although St. Colman could not be said

¹ "Wyennae ad Sanctum Stephanum in latere januae versus curiam Praepositi Wyennensis inclusus est unus lapis in quo litteris aereis scriptura sequens insculpta est. Hic est lapis super quem effusus est sanguis ex serratione tibiæ Sancti Colomanni Martyris quem huc collocavit Ill. Dom. Rudolfus IV., Dux Austriae II."

² "Rudolfus Dei gratia Achidux Austriae et Carinthiae, Dominus Carniolae, Marchiae Portnaonis, Comes Habsburg, Veretis, Kyburg et Athasis, Marchio Burgundiae et Landgravius Alsatie me fieri fecit in honorem Sancti Colomanni."

to have been put to death *in odium fidei*, yet, on account of the violent character of his execution, he is generally regarded as a martyr. Not only do all the early writers of Austria itself, but also the learned Baronius, and several Popes speak of him as a martyr. His, however, is not the only case in which custom has sanctioned a title which technically belongs by right only to those who give their lives for Christ as witnesses to the truth.

Several Popes conferred rich indulgences on all who would visit with the proper dispositions, the shrine of the great national patron. Those granted by Innocent IV., Honorius IV., Boniface VIII., Clement VI., Boniface IX., Benedict XIV., and by a great number of bishops, archbishops, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, are enumerated by Father Deppisch, in the admirable work on St. Colman, to which we have already made frequent allusion. It is but right to add that Gothalmus, the faithful companion and servant of Colman, who shared with his master the hardships of the journey and his cruel death, shares likewise in his glory; for he, too, is honoured as a saint, and his memory is faithfully cherished, and can never be dissociated from that of his master. Father Deppisch gives a full description of the solemnities that were celebrated in his time at Moelck and in other Austrian churches, in honour of St. Colman. We understand that they have lost nothing of their impressiveness and popularity in later times, and that they are always attended by some representative of the royal Hapsburgs, who regard St. Colman as one of the most faithful protectors of their own interests, and of those of their people.

J. F. HOGAN.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH

PART I.

“Thy Word is tried to the uttermost,
And Thy servant loveth it.”—Ps. cxviii. 140.

FROM the earliest centuries has the Church been harassed by heresies, but in these latter times the Reformation has taken theology out of the province of the Church, has given the upper hand to reason, and has made faith subservient to it, setting up individual reason as the basis of man's belief. The Bible has been reduced to the level of an ordinary book, and to this, as forming the groundwork of the Christian religion, have the rationalists turned their attention. The Pentateuch, inasmuch as it is the first part of Scripture, has had to bear the brunt of these attacks.

As, however, the Church has always come forth triumphant from the attacks of heretics; as the system of Catholic Dogma has, by the gradual press of circumstances, become more explicitly defined; so, too, have the books of Holy Writ been more diligently weighed, become more thoroughly understood, and risen superior to the attacks of their assailants. In fact, the more the Catholic religion has been assailed, the more fully do we behold its permanent integrity, its ever-youthful vigour. That religion is revealed to us in Scripture. The more, then, “neological scepticism” casts doubts on Holy Writ, the more do we revere and esteem the sacred writings, seeing in them a work to which all attacks have not proved harmful.

The Pentateuch forms the foundation on which was built the Jewish Law—a law which was but the type and prefiguration of the religion of Redemption. The five books of Moses have come down to us through all these ages uninjured, intact, and unaltered substantially, by means of a divinely-protected channel. Our faith in the veracity of Moses must, then, remain firm till such time as rationalists and historico-critical investigation can prove the preposterousness of our belief in the divinely-inspired book. This it never has done, and, what is more, never will do.

True, numberless works have been written denying not merely the inspiration of Scripture, but even the very existence of such a person as Moses. Hengstenberg, Ch. Havernick, Keil, Natali, Ubaldi, and others of equal erudition, have written defending the authenticity of the Books of Moses; and the doubts that have been cast, and the objections raised, have again and again received crushing retorts. Heedless of these, other critics boldly renew their attacks, and continue to broach their opinions, as though they were the most evident of facts. It is, moreover, surprising to notice the dogmatic way in which they speak. Kuenen,¹ for instance, speaks of his "Deutero-Isaias," the "priestly Leviticus," the "prophetical Deuteronomy," the "Redactor" of this or that book—all mere figments of his own imagination—as if these opinions were historical facts which had gained for themselves universal credence.

Moreover, one cannot help remarking the utter triviality their arguments not unfrequently betray. Colenso, for example, charges the Pentateuch with inaccuracy, because, in saying that six hundred thousand armed Hebrews came out of Egypt, it employs a "round number." Is then a

¹ Another example will show the dogmatism to which the "critics" have recourse. In the Hibbert Lectures (1882), Professor Kuenen expresses himself on "Yahwism," as he calls it, or the national religion of the Jews, to the following effect:—"Yahweh [thus he writes Jehovah] is a national god or deity as conceived by the Jews. In the time of Josiah and the Pontiff Hilakiah, the Deuteronomic Torah is introduced, and the Prophetic Yahwism or Prophetic Universalism is enforced. The champions of this universal religion are the pre-exilian prophets as Micha, Isaia, Jeremiah, and the 'Deutero-Isaia'—the spiritual son of Jeremiah (*sic*). There are, however, two parties, the prophets who preach Yahwism as an universal religion, and who, predicting the influx of the Gentile world to the fold of Yahweh, are rejected and persecuted by the other party, the adherents of which believe in Yahwism as a strictly national Judaism. In the course of time a new phenomenon occurs; Ezekiel sets forth the plan, Ezra and Nehemiah produce the priestly legislation, or the priestly Leviticus, and national Yahwism is established. The priests of Yahweh, from Ezekiel to Ezra, see their attempt crowned with complete success. Now it is that the Levitical Laws form one nation for one religion, and one religion for one nation, with the temple as the *only* place of worship." This, we believe, to be the sum of Dr. Kuenen's scheme of Yahwism; and we cannot but wonder at the arbitrary and dogmatic way in which Dr. Kuenen asserts as Bible fact what cannot be proved from the Bible. A short reference will be made to Yahwism in Part III. of the present essay.

“round number” so totally inaccurate? Thirteen months later this number is stated quite definitely in the census, made by Moses of persons of twenty years and above who were able to bear arms, thus:—אלף ישלשת אלפים וחמש מאות (603, 550). Besides, we must remark that in Exod. xii. 37, to which Colenso refers, Moses did not commit himself to a definite figure, but says כֶּשֶׁשׁ (kāshish) “about six, &c.,” using the modifier כ (kā), “about.”

Against those who oppose the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, it is our intention to treat the following theses:—

I. Moses, the leader and lawgiver of the Hebrews, is the author of the Pentateuch.

II. The hypothesis of “fragments,” or of divers documents existing before the time of Moses, which he employs in compiling the Pentateuch, has no foundation.

III. The Pentateuch has suffered no change, but is the same as that committed to writing by Moses.

THESIS I.—MOSES IS THE AUTHOR OF PENTATEUCH

Before entering on our thesis, it seems advisable to premise that at one time the very existence of such a person as Moses was called into question.¹ But so completely has this been disproved that the most advanced of Biblical critics² can no longer doubt the fact. The testimony of

¹ Voltaire, for example, concluded that, because (as he said) Moses was not mentioned by any of the ancient writers, “all the world before Ptolemy Philadelphus was ignorant of Moses.” In reply, we may answer that Manetho is fragmentary; that the history of Egypt previous to Ptolemy Philadelphus is conjectural; that the writings of Hermes Trismegistus are apocryphal. Strabo, however, did know Moses. Diodorus Siculus (l. i. Biblioth.) says: “Moses lived among the Hebrews, left to them the law of the God Jao, from whom he had received it.” Photius also quotes this last author in reference to the Exodus, and tells how “Moses divided the people into twelve companies (turmae), and gave . . . a law opposite to that of the existing nations,” &c.

² We may here mention that Biblical criticism is of two kinds:—*Critica Sublimior*, which seriously attacks the integral authority or the authenticity of the Holy Scripture, and which has as its object of criticism the human and historical composition of the Bible, as well as its divine and canonical authorship; *Critica Verbalis*, which criticizes the style and literature of Holy Writ.

pagan historians,¹ the constant belief of both Jew and Christian, place beyond all doubt the fact that such a person as Moses did live, so that the most ardent advocates of Biblical criticism are fain to concede this point. Dr. Driver, who may be taken as a very advanced Biblical critic, is willing to grant not merely the historical existence of Moses, but even to admit that the Israelitish law originated with him.²

The fact of the existence of Moses being satisfactorily granted, let us endeavour to gain a short insight into the history and nature of this controversy, and, in the first place, of the various contentions of our opponents. The Nazarenes in the first centuries rejected the Pentateuch as "fictitious"—an assertion which was ably combated by St. Epiphanius. The author of the Clementines, contended that the Mosaic authorship of these books was an impossibility. We must pass over the opinions of Ptolemy, the Manicheans, and others, remarking *en passant* that the assertion of the Bogomils, that the Pentateuch was composed at the instigation of the devil, κατ' ἐπινόϊαν τοῦ σατανᾶ συγγραφέντα, was condemned *per se* by the traditions of Jew and Christian alike.

In the middle ages two celebrated Rabbis appeared, expressing their doubts whether the *whole* Pentateuch was the work of Moses. Isaac Ben Jasos (eleventh century),

¹ For instance, Strabo says:—ΜΩΣΗΣ γὰρ τις 'Αιγυπτίων ἱερέων ἔχων τὸ μέρος τῆς καλουμένης χώρας, ἀπῆρεν ἐκέισε ἐνθεν δεδυσχεράνας τὰ καθεστῶτα, καὶ συνεξῆραν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον. Ἔφη γὰρ ἐκέινος καὶ ἐδίδασκεν, ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦνεν Αἰγύπτιοι θηρίους εἰκάζοντες καὶ βοσκήμασι τὸ θεῖον, &c. (Strabonis, *Geograph.*, lib. xvi., c. ii.; *Syria*, pp. 372-373.)

See also the first volume of Alex. Natalis, in which a long list of ancient profane writers who speak of Moses is given.

² "The 'Law of Moses' is, indeed, frequently spoken of [in O. T.], and it is *unquestioned* that Israelitish law did originate with him." Driver, *Introd. to the Literat. of the O. T.*, third edition, 1892, page 118, footnote. Again: "It cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and the religious life of Israel (*Comp. Wellh., Hist.*, pp. 434-438 f., endorsed by Keunen, *Th. T.*, 1883, page 199); and that he provided his people not only with at least the nucleus of a system of civil ordinances . . . but also with some system of ceremonial observances. . . . It is reasonable to suppose that the teaching of Moses on these subjects is preserved, in its least modified form, in the Decalogue and the Ark of the Covenant." (Ex. xx. 23.)—(*Id., ib.*, pp. 144-5.)

quoted by Iben Ezra (twelfth century), maintained that the fragment concerning the Kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 31, *sqq.*) was inserted in the reign of Jehosaphat, King of Judah. Iben Ezra opposed this opinion, but in his Commentary on the Pentateuch expressed doubts as to the genuineness of Gen. xii. 6, xxvi. 14, Deut. 1. i., iii. 2, and xxxiv., but he admitted the rest to be from the pen of Moses.

These doubts, though condemned by the Jews, presented a line of criticism which has been taken up by Calastodius, Thomas Hobbes, Isaac Peyreruis, Spinosa and Clericus, who sought to destroy the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and in whose steps have followed the modern rationalists, such as Rich. Simon, Vater, De Wette, Ammon, Hartman, Knobel, Ewald, Gesenius, Geddes, S. Davidson, Colenso, and others. In our own days, Dr. Driver, Kuenen, and others ably represent the most advanced class of Biblical critics; and their knowledge of Scripture lore, as well as the philological acumen would gain for them the highest praise, were it not for the direction in which they extend their learning. But it is now high time to come to our thesis, which will stand thus:—

Whatever has been universally accepted as authentic and true, must continue to gain for itself credence until sufficient evidence has been adduced to disprove the authenticity. It is our intention to prove that the Books of Moses have been considered authentic, and that evidence sufficient has not been adduced to a contrary effect.

And, firstly, we shall consider the external arguments.

1. The tradition of the Hebrews, and the history of their nation, tells us that, by universal consent, has not only the giving of the Thorah, but the actual composition of it, been ascribed to Moses; and under his name to this present day it is read in their synagogues. A tradition equally ancient, and opposed to this, would neutralize the effect of this argument; but such cannot be adduced.

2. In the Hebrew canon the books of Moses are named after the nature of their subject-matter: התּוֹרָה (hāthōrāh), the "Thorah," or Law. In the subsequent books of the Old and New Testament they are spoken of as סֵפֶר התּוֹרָה (sēphēr

hăthōrāh), "Book of the Law," or "Book of the Law of God," or ספר משה (sēphēr mōshēh), "Book of Moses," or simply Thorah. References are so many, that we omit them for brevity's sake. The books of Moses are not only prior to the other books of the Old Testament, but these latter are quite inexplicable without the aid of the former, which formed not only the rule and standard of the theocratic life of Israel, but also the basis of all the subsequent literature of the Jews. Consequently we may expect to find in the succeeding books frequent reference to the Pentateuch. And such is in reality the case.

The Book of Josue not only constantly refers to the books of Moses, but mentions expressly "The Book of the Law of Moses" (Jos. viii. 31). The Books of Judges and Ruth exhibit the Hebrews living under the law, and suffering the penalties resulting from the infraction of the Mosaic constitution. De Wette and others assert that Judges contains no reference to the Mosaic works—a statement quite at variance with the plain facts of the case. To exemplify: the address of the angel of Jehovah (Jud. ii. 1, *et sqq.*) is entirely compiled from the Pentateuch; while the first two clauses of verse 2 are word for word from Exod. xxxiv. 12, 13, and other places. The promise made to Gideon (vi. 16) is a repetition of that made to Moses (Exod. iii. 12). Jephtha's negotiation with the King of Ammon (xi. 15, *et sqq.*) presupposes chapters xx. and xxi. of Numbers, as also Numbers v. 14, 21. The angel of Jehovah promises a son to the wife of Menoah in the words which the angel spoke to Hagar; and even the unusual word

וְלָדָה (yōlădt), taken from Gen. xvi. 11, has been retained.¹ Moreover, we find that the people have one national sanctuary—the Tabernacle—and that the ritual of worship is in entire conformity with the Mosaic law; lastly, that the author (or authors) of these books judge the piety or impiety of their rulers, the merits and demerits of the people, entirely according to the standard of the Thorah. The prophetic

¹ Conf. Keil's *Introd. to the O. T.*, translated by Douglas, vol. i., pages 165, 166.

and poetical books also so absolutely presuppose the existence of the Pentateuch, that without it they are inexplicable.

Let us make a rapid survey of the books of the Old Testament, and we shall readily perceive their dependence on the Mosaic books. The books of Samuel (Kings i. and ii. are so named in the Hebrew canon) do not directly mention the Law, yet refer so frequently to it, and quote so often from it, that we cannot but recognise the testimony they afford. Mention of the Tabernacle, the "ark of the covenant," the priests, the consultation of God by the Urim-Thumim of the high priest, connected with the "ephod"—all these tend to prove the pre-existence of the Pentateuch. If the Pentateuch had not been in the ark, in the possession of Samuel and of the priests, how could we explain the following facts?—Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 33) exterminates the wizards, in accordance with the injunction of Deut. xviii. 10, 11; he confirms the prohibition of eating the blood, according to Gen. ix. 4, and Lev. iii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 13 is almost word for word¹ the same as Deut. xviii. 3; the speech of Samuel (xv. 29) bears unmistakable reference to Num. xxiii. 19. In the election of the king, the Hebrew expressions, referring to Deut. xvii. 14, are so similar that, as Hengstenberg truly remarks, "had the law of the Lord not been lying before the ark, Samuel would scarcely have thought of laying this writing here." The destruction of the Amalekites strongly favours our contention of the pre-existence of the Pentateuch, since Samuel must have been acquainted with Exod. xvii. 8, *et seq.*, and Deut. xxv. 17, 19.

Subsequent books abound, not, indeed, in indirect references to, but in actual quotations from, the Pentateuch. David, in his dying moments, gives his last charge to Solomon: "I am going the way of all flesh . . . keep the charge of thy Lord thy God to walk in all His ways, and observe His ceremonies and His precepts, and judgments and testimonies, *as it is written in the Law of Moses*" (1 Kings ii. 1, 4).

These ceremonies, precepts, &c., evidently refer to the entire code of the law, which is dispersed throughout the

¹ In this and similar passages we refer, of course, to the Hebrew text.

whole of the Pentateuch, and which is inseparably commingled with the historical portions of this work. The existence of the Pentateuch at the time of David is clearly proved by these words; for, as already said, the Jews were accustomed to call the Books of Moses by the simple term, "Thorah," or "Law."

The Psalms, too, speak of the glory of Israel springing from the observance of the law, and some of the later psalms repeat briefly almost the whole story written by Moses.

Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple is a commentary on the law, and especially on the blessings and curses set forth in Levit. xxvi. We may ask, *en passant*, how does Dr. Kuenen reconcile with this fact his statements that Leviticus was composed in the time of Esdras. Again, the Proverbs of Solomon are the production of a mind which had deeply pondered over the Law of Moses. In the last Book of Kings (xxi. 8) we meet the words, "according to the law of My servant Moses." To pass over Kings and Paralipomenon, the incident of King Amasiah (2 Paral. xxv. 3, 5) shows the acquaintance of the author with the Law of Moses. We are told how he put to death the assassins of his father, but spared their children, thus acting in perfect accordance with what is prescribed in Deut. xxiv. 16. The great feast of the Passover is fully described in Exod. xxi.; Levit. xxiii.; and Num. xxvii.; whereas the account in Deut. xvi. 1, 8, is very concise and insufficient of itself. Now, in the time of Hezekiah (2 Paral. xxx.) we find the feast celebrated "according to the disposition and law of Moses, the man of God"—a thing which could scarcely have been done without an intimate acquaintance with the Books of Exod., Levit., and Numbers.

The codex of Thorah found in the temple by the High Priest Helekiah under Josiah is thought by some¹ to have been the Book of Deuteronomy, but it is highly probable that it was the actual MS. written by the hand of Moses. In 4 Kings xxii. and xxiii. it is spoken of as

¹ Hibbert Lectures, 1882.

² Natali, vol. i., on *The Pentateuch*.

“the book of the law” (verse 8), “the words of the law of the Lord” (verse ii.); but in 2 Paral. xxxiv. 14, it is distinctly called “the book of the law by the hand of Moses.”

Space will not permit us to follow the history of the Pentateuch through all the succeeding books, but we must briefly mention that the only time the Pentateuch could, with any degree of probability, suffer mutilation would be at the time of the Captivity. But there is every reason to conclude such was not the case. Jeremiah gave the Thorah to the brethren as they were going into exile, that they might not forget the precepts of the Lord (2 Macc. ii. 2). And again, after the return to Jerusalem, we find the people begging Esdras (2 Esd. viii. 1) not, indeed, to re-write the Scriptures, but to bring the Book of the Law of Moses—doubtless the whole Pentateuch.

A further confirmation of our thesis is to be found in the words of our Lord and His Apostles. Christ tells the Jews that their disbelief in, and rejection of Him was condemned by what Moses had said of Him:—“For if you did believe Moses, you would perhaps believe Me, for he wrote of Me” (John v. 46). Evidently our Lord does not here refer merely to the legal portions of the Pentateuch, rather indeed to the prophetic parts. Gen. iii. 15, “*ipsa conteret caput tuum*,” is certainly prophetic; nor can objection be raised on the word “*ipsa*,” because the Hebrew *היא* (*hū*) may mean either “he” or “she,”¹ and thus St. Paul explains it (Colos. ii. 15; Heb. ii. 14; Rom. xvi. 20).

Another Messianic prophecy occurs in the same book, Gen. xlix. 10: “The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah . . . till Shiloh (*qui mittendus est*) come, and He shall be the expectation of nations.”² The Chaldean Paraphrase, the Talmud, R. Selmooh, and R. Kimchi, all concur in calling this a prophecy of the Messiah.

The prophecy in Deut. xviii. 15, “The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet . . . like unto me; Him shalt

¹ The Septuagint uses *αὐρος*, he.

² The appositeness to the Messiah of the word Shiloh, or Shiloach, requires a detailed comment: cf. *Revue Biblique*, Aug. 1893, *L'exégèse en Orient au IV^e siècle*, page 179.

thou hear," has been referred by some to Josue or Caleb; but the text of Deut. xxxiv. is at variance with this. Nor can any prophet of Israel be said to be really comparable with Moses; rather, then, must it be taken as a prediction relating to Christ.¹ To such prophecies must we understand Christ Himself to refer. It must further be noticed that to the time of Christ these predictions were all understood by the Jews as relating to the coming of the Messiah. St. Philip's words (John i. 45), "We have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write," evidently attest this belief among the Jews. Notice, too, that the word "law" is placed in contradistinction to the prophets (*nebiim*), and plainly signifies the Pentateuch. In Acts xvi. 21, and 2 Cor. iii. 15, we have a reference to the custom of reading the Scriptures in the synagogues, and the reference to Moses distinctly means the whole work of Moses or the Pentateuch. Repeatedly in the New Testament do we find the words "the law" or "the book of Moses," and we have already seen that this can signify the Pentateuch only, and in this acceptation it is used by the writers of the New Testament. Certainly, the Evangelists, and most certainly a scholar, such as was St. Paul, were as well acquainted with the Hebrew tongue as are the writers of the present day; yet, nowhere do we gather that they perceived in the Pentateuch a difference of style—that favourite theme of the rationalists.

Besides what we read in the books of the Jewish canon, there is a further confirmation of our thesis to be found in the Pentateuch of the Samaritans. This codex, written in the ancient Hebrew characters, is pre-exilian, and probably dates back to the seventh century B.C., when the priest came from Assyria to instruct the Samaritans. Now, these latter attributed the whole Pentateuch to Moses. A theory has been propounded, that to Manashi (Manassi)—the deprived priest who built, by permission of Alexander the Great, the temple on Mount Gerizim—the authorship of this codex is to be attributed; but this opinion has been exploded.

¹ Comp. Eusebius, l. 3, *Demons. Evang.*, ch. ii.; Natalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, t. i., page 3; and St. Peter's sermon, Acts iii.

There are, indeed, some slight variations between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs; we, however, incline to the opinion which affirms that the Samaritan text remained unaltered, while the Hebrew text suffered some slight changes, which remained when Esdras edited it. Walton thinks that these variations may be explained.¹ Before concluding the external arguments, which prove the reasonableness of our contention, let us review in brief a few of the objections raised against Mosaic authorship.

Richard Simon² contended that Moses is the author not of the whole Pentateuch, but only of the law contained therein.³ He further broached the opinion that the books of Moses are but a compilation of a somewhat confused nature, from various independent writings of the annalists, to whom Moses had committed the writing of his history; he further supposed that Moses derived his narration of the Creation, and of the ages previous to his own time, either from ancient documents in his possession, or from oral tradition.

Clericus maintained that various passages (*e.g.*, Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 4; xxxv. 21; xl. 15), and the geographical notices (Gen. ii. 12, and x.), were interpolations of a much later period; later he said, that the Pentateuch was the work of the priest who was sent to Samaria from Assyria to teach the Assyro-Israelitish colony. However, Clericus himself saw the untenableness of such views, and in his Commentary, published in 1693, retracted these opinions, claiming for Moses the whole authorship of the Pentateuch, with but the exception of some few parts which he considered interpolated. Vater's endeavours were directed to prove that the Pentateuch was *not* written by Moses, nor even in his time. De Wette remodelled the work of Vater, and affirmed that some portions of the Pentateuch were composed in the time of David, and that the whole volume as such dates back not further than the time of Josiah, just shortly before the captivity. In his second work, he qualifies the history of Moses and the giving of the law

¹ Cf. *Walton's Proleg.*, xi., No. 9.

² Oratorian of Paris, seventeenth century.

³ *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.*, ch. ii.

as unauthentic and unhistorical; at a subsequent time, however, he modified these opinions, maintained the three-fold redaction of the Hexateuch—Elohistic, Jehovistic, and Deuteronomic—and admitted the greater part of the legal sections as Mosaic and genuine.

There are others who say that the testimony of the subsequent writers refers to the Mosaic authorship of the *law* only; to such we reply that the “law,” as such, is not a separate treatise comprised in one volume by itself; that it is so combined with and fused into the whole, that its removal renders the entire volume disjointed and disconnected. Moreover, it frequently happens that a volume receives its name from the main theme of the whole argument, as already stated. Now the name “Thorah” (law) is applied to the whole Pentateuch, because the law is explained in these books; so that in the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrews the word Thorah had a force equivalent to the later name, Pentateuch. But of these and other objections, more will be said in a subsequent part of our article.

D. BENJAMIN.

(To be continued.)

LAMENNAIS¹

JUST sixty years have passed since the memorable attempt to link Catholicism with Liberalism was condemned by Pope Gregory XVI.² Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and other noble spirits, disgusted with the servile position to which the Church in France had been reduced by the Concordat, boldly advocated the entire separation of Church

¹ (1) *Œuvres complètes*. 12 tomes. Paris, 1836. (2) *Œuvres posthumes*. 6 tomes. Paris, 1855. (3) *Œuvres inédites*. 2 tomes. Paris, 1866. (4) *Lamennais*. Par E. Spuller. (5) *L'Ecole Menaisienne*. Par Mgr. Ricard. 4 tomes. (6) *Nouveaux Lundis, Portraits Contemporains*. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve.

² *Encycl. Singulari nos*, July 15th, 1834.

and State, and maintained that the great liberties proclaimed by the Revolution were part and parcel of the genuine teaching of the Church. Their views met with strenuous opposition from the French hierarchy; and when, in self-defence, they appealed to Rome, the case was decided against them. Thirty years later the hopes of their disciples, who still looked for a reconciliation between the Church and modern liberties, were dashed by the publication of the Syllabus (December 8th, 1864). Another generation has since passed away, and now a new spirit seems to have come over the Church. We have a Pope who is on the best of terms with republics, who preaches religious tolerance, who advocates short hours and the living wage. We in England have only lately lost a cardinal who was the recognised champion of the people's rights. There is another still living who holds a like position in the great Republic of the West. The views of the Irish hierarchy are too well known to require mention. Even the French bishops are rallying to the republic; and just a few months ago a distinguished archbishop did not hesitate to state openly that, though Lamennais and his party had made some mistakes, their opponents had made many more. We know well that the Church and her Supreme Head cannot err. Nevertheless there is an apparent opposition between the teaching and policy of 1834 and 1864, on the one hand, and the teaching and policy of 1894, on the other. Our enemies do not fail to reproach us with the contradiction. The present time, therefore, seems to be a fitting one to examine anew the aims and methods of Lamennais and his colleagues.

I.

Félicité Robert de la Mennais¹ was twenty-two years old when he made his first communion, and thirty-four when he became a priest. Born at Saint-Malo, in 1782, he had grown up amidst the excitement and confusion of the Revolution. He lost his mother, who was of Irish extraction, when he was so young that he could remember no more of her than seeing her say her rosary and play the violin. It was

¹ In later life he signed himself "*Lamennais*."

his uncle and aunt—his father's brother and his mother's sister—who had charge of him during his early years. They found him utterly unmanageable, but at the same time endowed with extraordinary intelligence and an insatiable appetite for books. La Chênaie, the country home of his mother and his aunt, possessed a library well stocked with the classics and theology, and the works of the eighteenth century philosophers. Here the boy was allowed to roam at will; nay, he was often, to his secret delight, shut up here in punishment for disobedience. He read everything that came to his hand, and thus filled his mind rather than trained it. Indeed, in spite of his great literary fame, he was never an exact scholar. Sainte-Beuve, who knew him intimately, gives ludicrous examples of the inaccuracy of his quotations from the classics. On the other hand, such early familiarity with the writings of Montaigne and Le Sage, Voltaire and Rousseau, could not fail to produce serious results. We are not surprised to learn that when the time for first communion drew nigh, the priest was shocked by the dispositions of the young candidate, and refused to recommend him. Hence that event, so important in the childhood of every Catholic, and especially of every French Catholic, was postponed till after manhood.

Meantime the wayward lad continued his studies with ardour. Among the ancient classics he gave most attention to Plato and Plutarch, Cicero and Tacitus. Of the literature of his own country, Montaigne was now, and all through life, his favourite; next came Pascal, Malebranche, and the Port-Royalists. Bossuet and Bourdaloue taught him eloquence; and to Rousseau we must trace the charming landscapes and idyllic touches which abound in his writings. Science and mathematics also were sedulously worked at. Finally, he applied himself to the study of modern languages, especially English and Italian, and became an ardent admirer of Milton and Dante. In spite of this devotion to books, and though his frame was small and delicate, he loved to be out in the open air, and to spend all the time he could in manly exercises. As a swimmer, he was bold even to rashness. He rode furiously over the

wastes and heaths around La Chênaie. Fencing became a passion with him, and stood him in good stead in a duel in which he wounded his adversary. And while these exercises served as an outlet for some of the passion which burned within him, he found in music a means of soothing what he could not expel. What would have been the fate of such a character brought up under such circumstances, we can only surmise. There are some vague allusions to love affairs; but whatever these may have been, he came soon after his twentieth year under an influence which changed the whole course of his life.

Félicité, or Féli, as he was generally called, had an elder brother, Jean. Seldom have two brothers been more unlike in disposition. Jean was the good child, who always did what he was told, and never gave any trouble. Though without the brilliancy of his junior, he was possessed of no ordinary intelligence, and was equally devoted to study. Mgr. de Pressigny, the last bishop of St. Malo, speedily discerned in him the marks of a vocation, and took him into his house to train him for the priesthood. During the Revolution his education was continued by Abbé Viel. Jean amply fulfilled the hopes of his early patrons. Even while yet a deacon he began the great work which is the glory of his name. Religious education had been impossible under the Convention and the Directory. A generation was growing up without any knowledge of God or a future life. Moreover, no means could be adopted to supply the place of the old clergy, who were fast dying out. As soon, however, as the Concordat became law, the young abbé opened a school at St. Malo for young children, and soon afterwards a high school, chiefly for those who were intended for the priesthood. Then he turned his attention to the foundation of schools in the neighbouring towns and villages. Though an illness compelled him to break off his labours and retire for some years to La Chênaie, he still continued to interest himself in education, and was able to take up the good work again. To extend it and secure its permanent existence he founded the institute of "The Brothers of Christian Instruction" for the education of boys; and a sisterhood,

"The Daughters of Providence," for the education of girls. Both of these are still flourishing, and have houses, not only in France, but in the French colonies, England, Canada, and the United States. Their pious founder continued to direct them for more than half a century, and at length died a holy death at the venerable age of eighty.

It was this brother, Jean, who now came to play so important a part in Lammenais' life. There were, no doubt, inner causes at work tending to bring about some changes in him. The heyday of youth was past; he had gone through some of the great sorrows and disappointments of life. His duel, too, may have suggested serious thoughts. There was his elder brother steadily advancing to the priesthood, and already doing good work in the world; while he himself was unsettled and hopeless, letting the years go by unprofitably. He felt the need of someone to take him in hand, and guide his steps. Who could better do this than the loving brother who was so famed for the soundness of his judgment and the skill of his direction? Under such able and tender treatment he soon began to turn religious, and was persuaded, though with some hesitation, to make his first Communion. Then he entered his brother's high school at St. Malo as professor of mathematics. Jean's illness, mentioned above, led them both to retire to La Chênaie (1807), where they lived together in complete solitude and steady reading and writing for three years. Their studies were almost entirely ecclesiastical: the Bible, the fathers and theologians, and the Church historians. Jean was here the guiding spirit, and it was he who gathered most of the material for their joint writings; but it was the younger who sorted and arranged this material, and gave it the stamp of genius, without which all the elder's industry would have been in vain. The first-fruit of their labours was a pamphlet entitled *Réflexions sur l'état de l'Eglise en France pendant le xviii^e Siècle et sur sa Situation actuelle*, in which the infidel philosophers are bitterly attacked, and the much-needed requirements of the Church are stated with admirable clearness and force. French critics find the style of this little work somewhat laboured, as though the writer was not

yet complete master of his instrument. Next came a lengthy work, *Traditions de l'Institution des Evêques en France*. Here the brothers prove the divinely established primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and endeavour to show by a *catena* of authorities that it had been continuously taught by the French Church. Such opinions were dangerous at a time when Napoleon held the Pope a close prisoner and filled the French sees with adherents of the Four Gallican Articles. Accordingly, the book did not see the light until 1814.

Meantime Lamennais had been induced to take the first steps towards the priesthood. In 1809, he received the tonsure and four minor orders. Beyond this, he would not go. The subdiaconate, from which there is no going back, terrified him. When Jean was called away to be Vicar-General of the diocese of Saint-Brieux, his brother implored him to stay: "Do we not owe each other more," he wrote, "than anyone else in the world? . . . I must have someone to guide and support me; someone who knows me, and to whom I can tell everything. On this, it may be, my salvation depends. Think well on this." But Jean had to go. Féli returned to Saint-Malo, and supported himself by once more teaching mathematics. In 1814, he wrote a bitter pamphlet against the university, and demanded its abolition. Next year Napoleon was back in triumph, and Lamennais had to fly to England. For seven months he stayed as master of studies at a boarding-school, in Kensington, founded by Abbé Carron. In this excellent priest he found the guide and support which he so needed. His long hesitation to take Holy Orders was overcome. He returned to France in November, 1815, and entered Saint-Sulpice. Next month he was made subdeacon; but, even still, he writes:—"This step cost me a great deal; God grant that it is for His glory." The diaconate and priesthood speedily followed, Jean and Abbé Carron urging him on in spite of his own terrible misgivings. His first Mass was an agony to himself, and the chosen few present. The unhappy celebrant was in a cold sweat; he dared not utter the sacred words; it seemed as though the ceremony would never come to an end.

I have dwelt thus at some length on the making of Lamennais, because both friends and foes have seen in it the explanation of his subsequent downfall. They have maintained that he never had the faith of a Catholic, much less the vocation of a priest. But this is surely going too far. Abbé Carron and his brother Jean knew him well, and fully realized the responsibility which they were imposing on him and on themselves. Many wild and wayward youths have entered the ministry in fear and trembling, and have made excellent priests ; while, on the other hand, many who have been blameless and have taken orders with a light heart, have afterwards fallen away. We may, however, grant that the want of the vigorous discipline of the seminary told upon him when he had to pass through trials which were more than usually severe. Had he borne the yoke in his youth he might have submitted and kept silence. Had he been treated with the consideration due to his great services, perhaps even his untamed disposition might have been soothed into obedience. But it was not to be. Carelessness and harshness on the part of his adversaries, obstinacy and resentment on the part of Lamennais—here were some of the elements of the most mournful of the many tragedies in the later history of the Church.

II.

Towards the end of the year 1817, a book appeared in France which at once excited universal interest and provoked the liveliest discussion. It was entitled *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*. The author's name did not figure on the title-page ; but whoever he was, it was agreed on all hands that he was worthy of a place beside Bossuet and the early apologists of the Church.

The time was ripe for the appearance of such a book. More than a quarter of a century had passed since the old religion had been swept away by the great tempest in which so many other ancient institutions had perished. A generation had grown up not so much hostile to the faith as utterly careless about it. The bishops, indeed, were back in their palaces, the priests in their presbyteries, and

services were performed in the churches. But for the vast majority of Frenchmen this restoration had only an antiquarian interest. They looked upon the churches as so many museums, and the clergy as fossils; while a bishop meant no more to them than a Bonze or a Brahmin. Chateaubriand's splendid genius had, however, invested religion with a halo of poetry and romance. De Maistre and De Bonald, too, had impressed thinking minds with its important place in philosophy and politics. But much more was wanted. Men had to be made to realize that religion was the one thing needful; that their origin, their destiny, their duty to God, were matters of supreme interest. Who could make the dry bones live? Not surely anyone of the inert mass of the clergy. The bishops were for the most part courtly prelates, whose zeal was blighted by Jansenist rigour and Gallican prejudices. The priests cowered under government tyranny, popular contempt, and episcopal suppression. Laymen, especially those just named, had done good service to the Church, but this was not layman's work. While pious and thoughtful souls were longing, but without hope, that a prophet might be raised up, they suddenly found to their delight that he was already among them. A voice that could wake the dead was ringing through France. Keen logic, fierce invective, bitter irony, brilliant figures, a style replete with every charm—all these roused the faithful to an extraordinary pitch of enthusiasm, and compelled the attention and admiration of the foe. Here, at last, was a priest who could write. But who was he? The episcopal bench could not claim him, nor could any of the cathedral chapters. He did not belong to Paris, or to any of the other great centres of culture. It was discovered before long that the author of the *Essai* was a newly-ordained priest living in Brittany, and was no other than Félicité de La Mennais.

The need of an appeal to the intelligence as a supplement, or rather as a basis, to Chateaubriand's appeal to the heart, had long been discerned by Lamennais. But he was convinced that any attempt to work on the old theological lines was doomed to certain failure. Arguments from miracles and prophecies would make no impression on men

whose reason told them beforehand that such abnormal phenomena were impossible, and the records of them false. What must be done was to go straight at reason itself, and show that authority was the sole means of acquiring certain knowledge. Accordingly he disclosed to his brother and Abbé Carron his design of composing a work to be called *Esprit du Christianisme*. The vastness and the difficulties of the undertaking were fully apparent to him and to his advisers; but they, being well aware of his great powers, gave him the warmest encouragement. He himself, however, suffered greatly from depression as he proceeded with his task. Despairing of bringing it to a completion, he determined to publish a preliminary volume, with the modest title of *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*. His opening words explain the choice of title and the scope of the argument:—

“The age that is most diseased is not one which is devoted to error, but rather one which has no care for the truth. As long as there are violent convulsions there is still hope; but when all movement has come to an end, when the pulse has ceased to beat, when cold has gained possession of the heart, what can we then expect but a sure and speedy dissolution? . . .

Who will breathe upon these bones, and bring them back to life?

Good and evil, the tree of life and the tree of death, nourished by the same soil, grow up side by side, and the people take the fruit of the one or the other without raising their head or caring which they get.

Religion, morality, honour, duty, the most sacred principles and the most noble sentiments, are now no more than mere dreams and dazzling phantoms, which hover for awhile in the far-off background of the mind, only to vanish without hope of return.

Never, never before, has the like been seen; never could it even have been imagined . . . Long and persevering efforts, a ceaseless strife against conscience and reason, were needed before such brutal recklessness could be reached . . . Looking with equal disdain upon truth and error, man affects to believe that the two cannot be distinguished, in order to confound both alike in common contempt: the lowest stage of intellectual corruption to which he has fallen. *Impius cum in profundam venerit, contemnit.*”

This deadly disease from which the world is suffering is the denial of the principle of authority. The divine authority of the Church is rejected in the supernatural

order ; revelation is rejected in the philosophical order ; divine law in the political order ; and the law of charity in the social order. Bring back respect for authority, and the health of the world will be restored. Let all acknowledge that there is no salvation out of the one fold ; let all recognise the Church's right to interpret revelation and to guide human reason, and her right to apply the divine law in the region of politics ; let her be allowed to resume her works of charity, and continue to be the peacemaker between the different classes of society.

Whether such remedies were the right ones or not, there can be no doubt of the "convulsions" which immediately followed. In spite of the bulk and price of the volume, forty thousand copies were rapidly sold ; in spite of the subtle character of much of the reasoning, the *Essai* was discussed and quoted in every salon. The author at once became the most celebrated and revered priest in France. His admirers even styled him the last of the fathers. Friends and foes alike eagerly looked forward to the appearance of a further instalment. Encouraged by this unexpected success, Lamennais went steadily to work, and brought out a second volume in 1820.

Continuing the line of thought already indicated by him, he set about the complete overthrow of reason and the establishment of authority as the sole basis or criterion of certainty. The infidel party, so sorely stricken by the first volume, now leaped for joy, while the Catholics, lately so exultant, were filled with dismay. Both saw clearly enough—what the author was blind to—that the new theory of certainty was nothing but the rankest scepticism. Lamennais had been quite right in his attacks on the rationalists for rejecting all authority. But his own system of rejecting reason was even more erroneous. Both reason and authority are *criteria* of truth ; and of these the ultimate criterion must be our own individual reason just as our own conscience is our ultimate rule of conduct. I need not reproduce here the arguments on this subject which are already familiar enough to us from our text-books of philosophy. Only a man who had had no scholastic training

was capable of falling into such an error. From being the last of the fathers and a second Bossuet, the great apologist came to be considered in some quarters as a more dangerous enemy than Luther or Voltaire. Jesuits and Jansenists, Gallicans and Ultramontanes, the Sorbonne and Saint Sulpice, all joined in a chorus of condemnation, while the unbelievers hailed with joy the overthrow of their mightiest assailant at the hands of his own friends.

Lamennais was deeply wounded and still more astonished at this treatment. To him the second volume was simply a continuation of the first. He could not understand how men could reject the one and accept the other.

"After all [he says in his *Défense* (ch. x.)], what do we establish in the first volume? That whoever cuts himself off from the Catholic Church is necessarily either a heretic, or a deist, or an atheist; that these three great systems of error rest upon the same basis. That is to say, the heretic, the deist, and the atheist, starting from the common principle of the supremacy of human reason, imagine that each man, apart from all faith and authority, can find out the truth by his reason alone, or, what comes to the same thing, by Scripture interpreted by reason alone; and hence, should admit nothing as true except what is clear, evident, and proved to that same reason; that this principle necessarily lands the heretic in deism, the deist in atheism, and the atheist in absolute scepticism. This is what we prove in the first volume.

What do we say in the second? That whoever sets out from the principle of the supremacy of human reason—that is to say, whoever holds that apart, from all faith and authority, he can find the truth by his reason alone; and hence, should admit nothing as true except what is clear, evident, and proved to this same reason—falls, if he is logical, into universal scepticism.

Now this proposition, which is exactly identical with the preceding one, cannot be true in the first volume and false in the second. To attack the latter is to attack the whole work or to fall into open contradiction."

We deplore the fierceness of the onslaughts made upon the *Essai*. If Lamennais was wrong, he should have been refuted. Contempt and abuse should have had no place in a controversy where the orthodoxy of the greatest living Catholic champion was under discussion. True, indeed, he had spared none of his opponents, whatever their rank or

religious profession. The Gallicans especially, who still counted among their number many of the most venerated of the bishops, had been assailed by him with contempt and ridicule. But, like so many other violent disputants, he was keenly sensitive to the slightest attacks upon himself. He had felt confident that he had settled, once for all, every religious controversy, and instead of this he had only raised a fresh and fiercer discussion. He determined to appeal to Rome, but even while doing so he wrote:—"If my theses are rejected, I do not know any other means of solidly defending religion: if the decision goes against me, I will write no more." Could there be any plainer refutation of his own system?

The Holy See, be it noted, was careful to keep out of the strife. An Italian translation of the *Essai* was allowed to appear, accompanied by a letter of eulogy from the Master of the Sacred Palace; but the ordinary tribunals came to no decision on its doctrines. Lamennais himself, however, was received by Leo XII. with the warmest welcome. Rooms in the Vatican were even placed at his disposal, and when he was received in private audience he was gratified to find his portrait in a place of honour on the Holy Father's table. It was confidently expected that a cardinal's hat was in store for him. Indeed, the Pope declared in an allocution that he had created as cardinal a man of great talents, an accomplished scholar, whose writings drawn *ex authenticis fontibus* had not only rendered great services to religion, but had delighted and astonished Europe—whom, however, he reserved *in petto*. There could be no doubt that Lamennais was the person so designated; and the reason for the reservation was the opposition of M. de Villèle, who would suffer no Frenchman to be a cardinal except on the King's nomination.¹ Although he had not obtained the approval of his system of philosophy, and had been disappointed of the honours intended for him, he, nevertheless, returned to France (1825) well pleased with his reception in Rome.

¹ See Wiseman's *Last Four Popes*, page 209, *sqq.* Crétineau-Joly gives a very different and unlikely account of Lamennais' reception by Leo XII. (*L'Eglise Romaine en face de la Révolution*, ii. 338).

III.

From its first appearance the *Essai* had found its most ardent admirers among the younger clergy. The older ones, with memories of the dark days of the Revolution, were well content to be allowed to live at all, and resented any measures which threatened to disturb their peaceful existence. Not so their youthful brethren. Indignant at the degraded position to which the Church had been reduced, they felt that stagnation was worse even than persecution, and they resolved to fight rather than to rust and rot away in ignoble ease. Lamennais was the man for them. They were filled with delight as they saw him drive their impious foes into headlong flight, and wither with scorn the cowards who refused to join in the fray. Two distinguished chaplains of the Collège Henri Quatre in Paris—Abbe Salinis and Abbé Gerbet—became especially attached to him, and soon gained a name for their skill and ardour in defending his doctrines. To them he unfolded a plan which he had long been turning over in his mind. One man, he was convinced, could do little for the regeneration of France; something might be hoped for from a number associated together. Why should not his two young friends throw up their posts at the college, and join him in a life of study and writing? Others would soon follow, and so a great work might be done. Gerbet alone set out for La Chênaie with Lamennais, early in January, 1825. Such was the beginning of the renowned “*École Menaisienne*.”

La Chênaie we know already as the early home of the brothers Jean and Féli, and the scene of their joint labours. Many of those who went there to join the new society have told us what the place was like. Let us hear one of them describe it:—

“Here I am writing to you from the bosom of the woods, in the deepest and wildest of retreats. For three weeks I have been a recluse, but a recluse of my own accord, a recluse finding in the desert what is, indeed, rare—the most affectionate companionship and the sweetest friendship. There are four of us here, fugitives from the world, who have come to seek shelter and light from the Master; and surely this is the place to find refuge in study and in our Lord. La Chênaie is a sort of oasis

in the midst of the steppes of Brittany. In front of the chateau there is a large garden, divided by a terrace planted with lime-trees, with a small chapel at the end. This oratory, where one can breathe the peace of solitude and the peace of our Lord, is my favourite spot. In the springtime we say our prayers across two rows of flowers. Some little distance from the chateau, on the eastern side, sleeps a small lake between two woods, which are thronged with birds in the warm weather; and then on the right, on the left, on every side, woods, woods, everywhere woods. Just now it is rather sad, as everything is bare, and the forests have put on their rusty hue. The Breton sky, too, is always cloudy, and so low down that it seems ready to crush you.”¹

Truly a man's surroundings are the symbols of his inner life. As we picture to ourselves the gloomy abode of the solitaries, we seem to see in it a figure of the sombre genius of the Master, and the melancholy destiny of his school. For a time, however, that school was a most brilliant one. The ablest priests and laymen from all parts of France were proud to join it. Their names are better known in their own country than on our side of the channel, but three at least are famed all the world over: Sainte-Beuve, Montalembert, and Lacordaire. Here again, the admirable organizing power of Jean de La Mennais was of good service. For some years past there had existed at Ploërmel a flourishing congregation of priests founded by him for giving missions and directing the diocesan seminary. These now begged to cast in their lot with the brethren at La Chênaie. The scheme soon began to take a definite shape. The name “Congregation of St. Peter” was chosen. The objects were: to restore faith in Jesus Christ, and respect for the authority of His Vicar, the successor of St. Peter; to reconcile religion and science, the Church and the world. Let the founder himself tell of one part of his aims:—

“The Church, even in scientific matters, has a magnificent part to play; to her it belongs to fertilize the chaos and separate once more the light from the darkness. To accomplish this it is not enough to perfect our early clerical studies; we must take a wider view and set before ourselves a loftier aim. Formerly the Church held in her hand the sceptre of science, and this was one of the causes of her control over men's minds. If she

¹ Maurice de Guérin, *Lettres*.

regained it, she would be mightier than ever, and she would turn to men's advantage those sciences which are in themselves indifferent, but which, when not directed by religion, infallibly produce more harm than good."

A house of higher studies was established at Malestroit, near Ploërmel, in which the leading principle was to allow the freest scope for individual genius. Blanc and Rohrbacher, the famous historian, were the directors. La Chênaie served as a preparatory novitiate, and was under the immediate care of Lamennais himself. Here, too, there was more freedom than in similar institutions. In the evening languages and literature, ancient and modern, were the only subjects studied. The Master's delight was to give lessons in Dante or Milton. During the weekly walk some foreign language was always spoken. Masters and pupils were devotedly attached to each other; and at recreation there was the keenest emulation to excel in the games. According to the testimony of the members, there prevailed the utmost unity and peace.

But it is time for us to see something of the personality of the Master. We are assured that all the portaits of him fail to reproduce his real physiognomy, "which was mobile, impressionable, ever changing with the impressions of his vast and ready genius."¹ Maurice de Guérin, who has already been quoted, thus describes him:—

"The great man is short, thin, pale, with grey eyes, an oblong head, a nose thick and long, a forehead deeply furrowed with wrinkles, which reach down to the root of the nose; dressed from head to foot in grey cloth; rushing about his room so as to tire my young legs, and when we are out walking, always keeping in front, with a battered old straw hat on his head, . . . When I first saw M. Féli (for this is what we call him familiarly) I felt that mysterious agitation which always seizes one in approaching divine things and great men; but soon this agitation changed into ease and confidence. M. Féli forced me, so to speak, to forget his great fame, by his fatherly kindness and by the tender familiarity of his conversation. His whole disposition overflows with kindness."

Cardinal Wiseman, big and burly himself, could not understand how one whose bodily presence was so weak, could

¹ Ricard, i. 115.

exercise such sway over others. Yet even he was fascinated with Lamennais' marvellous power of speech. Sainte-Beuve, too, tells us that the Master would enter impetuously into any lofty subject—metaphysics, mathematics, music, &c.—and pour out for hours together, without any special knowledge of the particular matter, any number of original ideas, exact and beautiful and weighty, all the while marching up and down with hasty strides, and quivering all over with emotion. This feverish, over-sensitive temperament, this impatience of delay, should be well noted. They will help us to understand some of the causes of the tragedy that was soon to be enacted.

And now the reader may feel tempted to ask: "Did Lamennais and his friends expect to convert the world by learning alone? Had they no trust in piety and prayer?" Here we have some thorny ground to traverse. When a priest forsakes his sacred calling, his former life is often held up as a warning. But in speaking of him, we must be sure of our facts. An apostate may have been a drunkard, a liar, a thief, or worse. If we have certain proof that he was one of these, we can account for his apostacy; but we cannot argue that because he was an apostate, therefore he must have been a thief. When Lamennais left the Church various causes were assigned for his fall. Among them the common one was that he had never been a man of prayer, and, in particular, that he had neglected to say his office. This latter accusation has been strenuously denied by those who knew him best. Unknown to him a dispensation had been obtained from the Pope on account of his weak eyesight, but he refused to avail himself of it. We are assured of his ardent piety and of his fervour while saying Mass. But his own writings are the best answer to his accusers. We must not think of him simply as the slayer of infidels and Gallicans. His edition of Blossius, brought out in conjunction with his brother, under the title of *Guide Spirituel ou Miroir des Ames Religieuses*, has been the delight of devout souls for three generations, and is still highly prized. For his young students he wrote the admirable *Guide de la Jeunesse*, a dialogue on the

dangers of the world, the end of man, fidelity to duty, and frequenting the sacraments. The *Journée du Chrétien* was a collection of prayers drawn from the Church's treasures, to which he added pious aspirations of his own. The needs of "the devout female sex" were not forgotten. The *Bibliothèque des Dames Chrétiennes* contained some of the best of the older ascetical treatises. No one can read any of his writings without being struck by the familiarity with the matter and words of Holy Writ, and so we are not surprised to find that he translated the Four Gospels. But the book which is the best indication of his inner life is his edition of the *Imitation*. Dissatisfied with the existing translations he determined to bring out a new one, with an introduction and reflections:—

"The *Imitation* [he says] requires a heart already prepared. Up to a certain point we can enjoy its charm and admire it, but without experiencing any change in the will or in our conduct. Nothing is of service to salvation except what is based on humility. If you are not humble, or if at least you do not desire to be so, the word will fall upon your soul like dew upon the barren sand. To believe in self alone, to love self alone, is the characteristic of pride. Void of faith and love, what can man accomplish? What good can be done to him by the most solid instructions or by the most moving exhortations? Everything is lost in the emptiness of his soul, or is dashed to pieces by his hardness. If we humble ourselves, faith and love are granted to us; if we humble ourselves, salvation will be the reward of the victory gained over our pride. When the Lord wished to show His disciples the road to heaven, what did He do? Jesus, calling a little child placed it in the midst of them, and said: 'Amen, I say to you, except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"

He who wrote this could not have been a monster of pride; and the *Reflections*—of which it was said that they were the postscript left by Thomas à Kempis himself—could never have been composed but by a truly devout mind. Long years afterwards when Lamennais was asked which was the best of his works, he answered: *The Imitation*. He had reason to say so. His patrimony and the profits of his early works had been swallowed up in unsound speculations; his later books did not sell; his newspapers ruined all who

took shares in them. One little volume alone did not fail. Year after year it continued to be bought by the faithful for the food and nourishment of their souls, and thus it continued to provide its poor fallen author with his scanty daily bread.

T. B. SCANNELL.

DISCALCED CARMELITE MARTYRS OF THE IRISH PROVINCE

A.D. 1642-43.

“Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori . . . illi autem sunt in pace.”—(*Sap.* iii.)

SINCE the victories of her martyrs reflect glory on the Church, each one should regard it as a matter of duty, not a mere question of choice, to do what is in his power to prevent that lustre from growing dim through forgetfulness in the course of time. It would seem that an unavoidable want of documentary evidence is the reason why the Discalced Carmelite martyrs of the Irish province do not appear more prominently among our other confessors of the faith. But the little that is known concerning them ought not, on this account, to be withheld from those who take a deep and edifying interest in the cause of Ireland's martyrs. If the narrative of their martyrdom must needs be brief and unassuming, perhaps it will read all the more like the simple records which we possess of the sufferings of the confessors who died during the early ages of the Christian Church.

With regard to the sources of information at my disposal, there is not much to be premised; and I can only hope that that little will prove satisfactory. Having carefully collated the various authorities on this subject, and seen them agree in every essential detail, I deemed it advisable to confine myself to the one which, I venture to say, will be found eventually of greatest practical importance. It is the *Enchyridion Chronologicum* of the Discalced Carmelites, compiled by Father Eusebius, written in Latin, and published at Rome in the year 1737. This author, as we learn

from the duly approved *Collectio Scriptorum Carmelitarum Excalceatorum*,¹ filled the responsible office of Definitor-General several times, and was the recognised historiographer of the Order. As a writer he is remarkable for a pleasing conciseness of style which increases our appreciation of a laborious task requiring a most persevering patience, and the utmost diligence in wearisome research. However, it is solely the trustworthiness of his work we are to look to now; and our surest guarantee in this respect is the approval merited by the *Enchyridion* as a safe medium of historical information. Not alone does it bear the sanction of the Superior-General of the Discalced Carmelites, and the formal testimony of the censors; but, also the *imprimatur* of the learned Dominican Zuaneli, the then Master of the Sacred Palace; and a decree of approbation from the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. We are to bear this in mind while considering Father Eusebius's notice on the martyrdom of "Three Discalced Carmelites in Ireland."²

The question will suggest itself, as a matter of course: Whence did Father Eusebius derive those facts which he states with a positive assurance of their authenticity? In the preface to the *Enchyridion* he tells us that whenever it was feasible he sought information from the various provinces of the Order, and guarded himself against all unwitting deception by inquiring into the events narrated according to the principles of rigid criticism. He had exceeding great difficulty in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the history of the Irish province. And this he attributes to the sudden expulsion of the religious from their convents; after which the fathers were constrained to fulfil their missionary duties by stealth, in daily peril of their lives. Several of these Carmelites visited Rome in after years; and one of them furnished an official report, still extant, on the actual *State of Ireland*, which is a veritable concise history of the

¹ Vol. i. E., p. 192.

² I may mention that the details of their holy death were published in substance a few years ago by the late Rev. P. A. Callanan, O.D.C.; but the very interesting brochure (*Three Carmelite Friars*. Dublin: Dollard, 1887) has been out of print for some time.

persecution then waged against the faithful. Probably other Irish missionaries committed their own fearful experiences to writing, together with what they had heard from eye-witnesses concerning the martyrdom of the three confessors; and the facts, thus preserved, our annalist has transmitted to us in permanent form. Indeed, Father Eusebius himself joined the Carmelites when the trials of the Religious in "St. Patrick's province" must have been a topic of absorbing interest among the communities of the Order throughout the world. At all events, the *Enchyridion* received the unqualified approbation of those whose duty it was to satisfy themselves fully of its orthodoxy regarding matters of faith and morals, and of its genuineness as a history of the Carmelite Order.²

We have an interesting proof of the widespread fame of our martyrs, even a short time after their demise, in a splendid oil-painting still excellently preserved at the Carmelite Convent of Linz, in Austria. It is the work of a talented lay brother, who died towards the end of the seventeenth century. The holy confessors are represented in a group, with angels overhead, bearing crowns and palms; underneath are the names, and the text from the *Book of Wisdom* with which I have opened these pages.

I. FATHER THOMAS AQUINAS OF ST. TERESA
Martyred at Drogheda, A.D. 1642.

When rumours of *another* persecution were daily growing more rife throughout Ireland, a young man applied to the Discalced Carmelites of Dublin for admission to our Lady's Order. He was of Irish birth, very intelligent, and already well trained in the required preliminary studies. The signs of vocation to the Order must have been manifest in his case, for he was received into the novitiate immediately. In conformity to the pious usage of the Teresian Carmelites,

² " . . . in quo (*Enchyridion*) non modo nihil orthodoxae fidei, aut bonis moribus adversum suspexi, verum etiam omnia cum sententiarum acumine, ac verborum splendore ita reperi concinnata, ut ea, dissolutis ambagibus, ad Excalceatae Carmelitarum Familiae decorem, ac ad genuinam ejusdem Sacrae Religionis Historiam mira felicitate revocet, Adm. Rev. Pater Eusebius." (*Ex Decreto* p. xx.)

he renounced his name in the world. We shall henceforth recognise him by the names of his Patron Saints, Thomas of Aquin, and Teresa of Jesus. This novice's first fervour was most edifying, and Brother Thomas never lost it. His love of suffering was such, that not even the severities of the Church's austere Order could satisfy his spirit of mortification. Obedience was his guiding-star. It is the infallible test of genuine holiness ; and the Discalced Carmelite is early taught to depend on it mainly for the acquisition of persevering sanctity.

Very soon the time for solemn profession came round, and Brother Thomas took the vows that bound him exclusively to God for ever. And now it was necessary that he should apply himself to the long course of studies by which was to be forwarded the twofold object of his vocation—his own spiritual advancement, and the sublime work of man's salvation. At length the great day arrived, all too speedily, no doubt, for the humble young Religious ; and Father Thomas Aquinas celebrated Mass for the first time. He had not long to remain in seclusion, meditating on his newly-acquired wonderful power ; he was called upon to help his brethren in their perilous missionary duties. As usual, he obeyed with cheerful submission, sometime in the year 1641.

The Puritans had already begun openly to persecute the Catholics of Ireland. Every other day there were reports of the faithful being cruelly tortured, or ruthlessly murdered in cold blood. Grossly ignorant of the nature of true religion, as heretics always are, the fanatics tried the fear of death as a means of disseminating their doctrinal views, when their victims would not hearken to the most lavish promises of temporal reward. But both bribery and threats were equally despised by the glorious confessors of the Irish Church. St. Patrick's spiritual children knew how to value the inestimable gift of faith ; and the ardent zeal and persuasive eloquence of the young Carmelite friar encouraged them wonderfully in their heroic perseverance. The Puritans became aware of this, and quickly decided on Father Thomas's fate.

There dwelt in the vicinity of Drogheda an influential family whom our Carmelite had converted to the true faith. On making open profession of the Catholic religion, the father and his only son were seized, and cast into prison. The wife and mother was sorely tempted to simulate the errors of their persecutors, in order to preserve the lives and property of her husband and child. But Father Thomas, on hearing of her struggle, came at once to her assistance; assured her of the sinfulness of such a design, and counselled her to save herself by timely flight, leaving the rest to God's protecting care. While still engaged in this office of charity, he was betrayed into the hands of the Puritans. Diligent search was made for the priest, the house having been previously surrounded by the watchful soldiery; but all to no purpose. He was there, they knew, and to expedite matters instant preparations were made to fire the dwelling, so that the hateful friar might perish in the flames. Fearing for the safety of his timorous friend, Father Thomas came forward of his own accord, and delivered himself up to his implacable enemies. It is to be regretted that the reader cannot be informed of the subsequent fortunes of the family about whose welfare our confessor was so self-sacrificingly anxious.

Strange to say, that the friar's great act of generosity only rendered him more obnoxious to the Puritans. They dragged him with brutal violence into Drogheda; but, like the apostle, Father Thomas gloried in the outrages heaped upon him for his Divine Master's sake. And he, too, was not left without soothing solaces in the interval of his cruel captivity. One of his fellow-prisoners was a Franciscan priest, who attended assiduously to the spiritual wants of a number of Catholics suffering for the "sacred cause." By the assistance of this religious, Father Thomas was enabled to gratify a dearly-cherished desire, to die clothed in the holy habit of Carmel. There was yet a more special favour in store for him: the humane governor of the prison allowed him to offer the Dread Sacrifice daily. As no notice was taken of the Carmelite for the space of several days, the time was chiefly devoted to works of charity—more particularly

to the consoling of captives prone to despondency. And what must have been the effects of his words on the persecuted ones, when the grim Puritan jailers themselves were unable to resist the confessor's winning gentleness. Many of the heretics esteemed him a holy man, and were truly grieved for him. That sweetness of disposition, which endeared him to all, was entirely due to the young Carmelite's extraordinary spirit of humility. No one is more lovable than the man who is brought very near to God by this virtue.

A messenger came early in the morning of the sixth day of Father Thomas Aquinas' detention, to inform him that he had been sentenced to die by the halter within an hour. The priest was not in the least dismayed; he had just said Mass, and was making his "thanksgiving." Duly rejoicing at his speedy deliverance, he added a fervent petition for the necessary grace. It was the "appointed time" for him, and he felt that his work was done. His years were not many, it is true; but this matters little in the service of God. Loud and pitiful were the wailings of his companions when he visited them for the last time to say good-bye. But the expression of his countenance reassured them, revealing what he might not explain. And they knelt for his blessing, and implored him not to forget them, as he went forth with his guard, clasping a crucifix to his breast, and calmly telling his beads.

A remarkable incident occurred on their way to the scaffold. An unhappy woman was about to be put to death for some crime she had committed; and, to Father Thomas's horror, he heard her being promised an unconditional pardon, together with abundant means of livelihood, if she would renounce her faith to adopt the erroneous doctrine of the Puritans. Heedless of everything save the imminent peril of that poor creature's soul, the zealous son of Elias called out to her, and admonished her of the danger then threatening her—the danger which causes misery ineffable throughout eternity, and even in time. His appeal and warning were not in vain; and God's saving grace did the rest also. The condemned friar had the consolation of knowing that Satan had lost a victim, who was already safe in heaven, while

his executioners were imprecating him for the charitable interference which had saved an immortal soul.

Notwithstanding this, the Puritans were so shameless as to tempt the confessor himself to apostacy. They professed an eagerness for his spiritual welfare, and their own notions of the supernatural order were very *obscure*—to say the least of them. But the faithful follower of the Angel of the Schools silenced his persecutors quite easily; and, in silencing them, would have taught them a salutary lesson, if their irrational bigotry had not made them so criminally callous of heart:—

“What! [he exclaimed] do you ask me to forfeit my redeeming faith for the superstitious credulity that depends on the varying tastes of men? Rather should ye return to the secure fold of that Church, in loyalty to which your own country was once foremost among the world’s nations. As for me, it is my only ambition to show myself a true, if unworthy, child of hers in the trial that awaits me now.”

The preliminaries for the ghastly office were few, and the executioners eager for their work. It was a scene that can be realized with graphic vividness, and we almost forget that it is the imagination supplies local colouring for the striking picture which fancy frames. But we *know* that the mail-clad Puritan soldiers were there, and in their midst the self-possessed young priest, wearing his beautiful habit of white and brown. Above them the gibbet, barely outlined against a still darksome sky. The cord is well fixed by rude hands, and the fatal word given, and cruelly obeyed. Father Thomas does not die! The strong rope has parted in twain,¹ and one yet more surely tested proves equally inefficient. They raise their victim from the ground, and he stands before them uninjured. To their amazement he addresses them in a clear, high voice: “Before God, I can accuse myself of no crime. Why, therefore, will you put me to this unmerited death?” “Are you not a *papist*, and a *priest*, and a *monk*?” hissed back the heretical officer in charge. “Such is my profession,” replied the confessor

¹ . . . “effracto laqueo, alioque praevalido fune,” &c. (*Enchyridion*, p. 205.)

fearlessly, "in testimony of which I am now most willingly ready to suffer." Father Thomas was placed beneath the scaffold once more; and, with a last prayer on his lips for his murderers, this time secured his crown.

When the ignorant soldiery had gone away, smitten with superstitious awe, some Catholics came and bore the martyr's body to the ruins of an Augustinian friary, outside the walls of Drogheda. They interred it within the sacred precincts, and kept watch by the grave all day. But as the night-guard was being mounted on the ramparts, the Puritans drove them thence lest miracles should be attributed to the intervention of the slain priest. This was by a wonderful dispensation of Divine Providence. For, later on, when the tortured city had been at length relieved of the droning of the Puritan's evening hymn; when the camp-fires made visible the darkness around—one of the vigilant sentinels beheld a marvellous sight in the ruined abbey. Lighted torches, most beautiful in appearance, hovered in mid-air over the place wherein the soldier knew the remains of our martyr lay. He drew a comrade's attention to this spectacle most strange, and both warriors fled precipitately to the quarters of the commander himself. Instead of censuring them for cowardice and desertion, that officer came immediately to verify for himself his subordinates' strange tale. He, too, saw the apparition; and tried, in vain, to dissemble his fear. Bah! It was merely the lanterns of the papists, who were stealing the dead monk's corpse away. He would go, and see. A number of his more courageous men volunteered to accompany him. On their near approach to the ruins the marvellous lights vanished; but the soldiers carried burning matches in their hands.

Having hastily removed the loosened clay and stones, the Puritans gazed in wonder on the confessor's countenance. It was all radiant with that loveliness which the death-peace of the saints leaves after it always. They told each other that surely a just man had been slain without cause, and most heartily did they repent their own part in that cruel deed. One of them took possession of the Carmelite's mantle; another the crucifix still clasped to Father Thomas's

breast. These the heretics intended to preserve in memory of him who had died so singularly happy a death. Hardly had they replaced the body with reverential care, when a new *terror* put them to instant flight. The “torches” reappeared, poised high in the heavens, as if waiting there to descend, and illumine again the martyr’s grave.

II. BROTHER ANGELUS OF ST. JOSEPH

Martyred in Louth, A.D. 1642

The country consecrated by a martyr’s blood is most richly blessed, even when it may not claim him by title of birth and parentage. We are also to consider the Irish Province of Discalced Carmelites especially favoured in possessing another Christian hero in the person of a young Englishman, who came over to join their Order here at the beginning of the year 1640, and who bore in the world the name of George Halley. He had been educated by an Irish Carmelite missionary, while yet in his native Hereford; and his father and mother, earnest Catholics that they were, gave thanks to God for having called their child to the religious state. It was the youth’s intention to remain in Ireland until his ordination, after which event he ardently hoped to be sent back to England, to labour there for the conversion of his heretical compatriots. Divine wisdom had decreed otherwise; and the grace that had guided our confessor from infancy enabled him to understand very early the grand secret of human happiness—loving submission to God’s good pleasure always and in everything during the course of one’s life. His name in religion was typical of the childlike guileness, which increased with his years—Angelus of St. Joseph.

A good resolution—one *seriously* made—is a certain incentive to virtue; and Brother Angelus began his religious career by determining, with gracious aid from on high, to be a true Carmelite at all events, be his life’s success as God might please. Only the instinct of sanctity could have directed him to the surest, and most *easy* way of acquiring consummate holiness. Thus was it his ceaseless effort to advance in the fervent observance of the Primitive Rule: not even while a

prisoner with the Puritans would he avail himself of a dispensation from the very severest of its ordinances. He was permitted to take the solemn vows in the twenty-first year of his age, the unanimous consent of the Chapter testifying to his admirable piety and zeal.

Brother Angelus's first trial was one which young Carmelites must invariably encounter, even in our own times, namely, departure from the Novitiate for another *home* in the House of Studies. He left Dublin not very long after his profession ; and had just entered on his scholastic course in the college at Drogheda, when that city was taken by the Puritans. Of course the friars were expelled their convents ; and those deemed themselves fortunate who had escaped with their lives. Our student was among the number who did elude the enemy ; but he was arrested later on that same year. He was endowed with a courageous spirit, which his persecutors thought to break by subjecting him to the most painful tortures. Worst of all, a Puritan minister endeavoured to draw him into controversy concerning matters of Catholic doctrine. But Brother Angelus was too prudent to notice their sophistries ; and simply replied to their vain boast of possessing the only *pure* form of religion : " I know God's law must be undefiled ; but what you teach is revolting in its sinfulness." Failing thus to shake his faith, they had recourse to another means of persuasion in vogue with persecuting heretics of every age—*bribery*. The young Carmelite's indignant contempt almost put the shameless Puritans to shame.

Meanwhile, he bore his sufferings with an heroic patience ; and God comforted him in his loneliness. In lowly imitation of St. John of the Cross who so knew the nature of humility that he would have no favour from the graciousness of the Most High save constancy in humiliations and trials, Brother Angelus yearned for yet greater afflictions, and for reproaches more hard to bear. His was a loving heart—and he was very young—so can we well understand what keen pangs of grief he endured at the thought of fond parents sorrowing for him in that distant English home. Then, there was still more tender affection for his brother religious—the " Brothers of

Carmel's Queen"—and how he must have wondered which of those he had lived with were already wearing the martyr's robe and crown! But the long hours of his captivity did not drag on wearily with the fervent friar; they were passed, as we are told, in sublimest meditation on the eternal truths. That young Carmelite was quite a *proficient* in the contemplative life; for even the novices of the Order are encouraged to aspire to the very highest form of mental prayer. Thus it was that Brother Angelus's fellow-prisoners found in his simple words a most soothing solace for their own poor troubled hearts—a sympathy which can only flow from a rare intersenseness of divine love. He would suffer no allusion to his cruelly protracted torments, or to his expected violent death. And those who beheld the joyful expression of his features knew that God had vouchsafed to him the martyr's grace.

To the surprise of many, Brother Angelus was one day set at liberty. The Puritans failed to pervert him; and it was deemed inexpedient to detain him any longer, or murder him outright just then. He left Drogheda instantly with the intention of seeking some of the other Carmelites dispersed all over the country. He directed his course to a certain fortified place in Louth, which cannot be now recognised from its Latin name.¹ On his way thither, he met a number of nuns, travelling under a *safe-conduct*. He entered the fortification with them; and that same night the place was occupied by the troops of Lord (*Baron*) Moore, one of the Puritan generals.

Brother Angelus seems to have been favoured with a divine premonition of his approaching death; but he betrayed not the least anxiety, and tried successfully to reassure and console his terrified companions. They all assisted at Mass on the following morning, and had the much-desired happiness of receiving the Blessed Eucharist. We can only conjecture how they managed to obtain a privilege so extraordinary under such difficult circumstances.

¹ "Quod ralatio Anglicana vocat Sedanum, P. Philippus vero Charigiam." (*Enchyridion*, p. 207.)

Brother Angelus then advised the nuns to present their passport to Lord Moore; and in order to encourage them he unhesitatingly accompanied them to the general's tent. He reminded them of God's watchful care over His servants in presence of their persecutors, dwelling enthusiastically on the reward reserved for those who would be true to their profession at the sacrifice of liberty or life.

The Puritan treated the friar's companions with condescending courtesy, and gave them permission to depart when, and whithersoever they willed. Our confessor was received quite differently. "I know *you*," said the general, with a sinister smile. "You are an Englishman and a *monk*. On a former occasion you *escaped* from prison; not so easily shall you get out of my hands." However, there *was* a means of escape—nay, of acquiring the lasting friendship of Lord Moore himself; if the Carmelite would merely renounce the *superstitions* of Catholicism. A new and *dangerous* series of tortures had to be encountered; but God led His brave athlete safely through the ordeal. Brother Angelus told his persecutors that he had not left his own country to barter his faith for so poor an exchange as this miserable life and its transient pleasures. And the heretics saw it was useless to continue importunities that fell on deafened ears. Lord Moore could not help admiring the courage of his young countryman and reiterated the promises held out before, if the friar would wisely yield. But exasperated at length by such *perverse obstinacy*, he summoned his officers to form a court-martial; and they, at his bidding, condemned Brother Angelus to death for the *crime* of being a papist and a monk. It was the Feast of our Lady's Assumption.

Hardly able to conceal his joy on being informed of their decision, the holy religious told them how eager he was to shed his blood for the cause they had proscribed. He begged them not to defer his execution beyond that day, in order that he might worthily celebrate the grand prerogative of the Queen of Carmel by this voluntary offering of his life. Incensed beyond all measure by that request, the general ordered him to be shot forthwith; and his ready emissaries hastened to carry out his brutal design. Brother

Angelus began to invoke aloud the Blessed Virgin's further aid, thanking her also for her never-failing protection. They made a final effort to overcome his fortitude, but he sternly rebuked them in the words of our Saviour, silencing the tempter of all men.

A file of soldiers took him apart, and, while they were preparing their deadly weapons, the holy youth chanted the praises of the Queen of Martyrs. Three fierce Puritans advanced close to where he was kneeling, and discharged their heavily-shotted firearms at his unprotected breast. The smoke cleared away, revealing Brother Angelus in his kneeling posture, praying as calmly as if he alone were not concerned in that terrible tragedy! Yet so manifest a sign of Divine intervention did not deter his barbarous persecutors in the least. Like the pagan tyrants of old, Lord Moore now had recourse to the sword, which did not *fail*,¹ because God showed mercy to His faithful servant; and Brother Angelus gazed on the marvellous splendour of the "Beauty of Carmel" in heaven.

His death was witnessed by the nuns whom he had befriended. These sisters communicated the foregoing facts to the Carmelite Fathers; and told them, moreover, that the martyr's body was buried secretly at first. But in more peaceful times the Catholics of the district bore the remains to their favourite church, and deposited them there with every token of pious veneration. They rightly deemed themselves fortunate in possessing the relics of one, about whom the words of Wisdom had been so strikingly verified: "Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time: for his soul pleased God" (chap. iv.).

III. BROTHER PETER OF ST. ANDREW

Martyred at Dublin, A.D. 1643

Were these brief sketches of a more pretentious kind, a very apposite commentary on the martyrdom of the third of our Carmelites might be taken from St. Ambrose's beautiful interpretation of a certain passage in the Gospel narrative of

¹ "Quam (mortem) cum tera glande Milites non intulissent, unus, jusu Ducis, illum ense confodit." (*Enchyridion*, p. 209.)

St. Luke.¹ In this instance we have a remarkable illustration of how the sophistry of the worldly-wise may be refuted by the knowledge granted to "little ones." We shall see a man without human learning argue well and profoundly, in strict conformity to the irrefutable principles of dogmatic theology and mystical.

Brother Peter of St. Andrew received the habit of Carmel in the humble capacity of one whose vocation it is to sanctify himself by devoting all energy of mind and body to the domestic affairs of the community. With the Discalced Carmelites the lay brothers enjoy the same privileges as the other religious, and are so esteemed in the Order that they are called "Donati"—as being specially *given* by the Blessed Virgin to advance her glory in their own proper sphere. They do not ambition the science acquired by their brethren in the schools: the constant study of crucifix and rosary suffices for them all through the course of their useful lives. And thus, being firmly established in the virtue that maketh saints, they proceed, without pausing, in the way of perfection; swelling widely the ranks of those hidden ones, whose holiness is rendering the world more dear to God.

Little is known concerning Brother Peter's earlier years. It is said that his parents were of limited means, and resided in Dublin at the time of his birth. Here, also, he embraced the religious state. He soon became thoroughly acquainted with his various duties, being an indefatigable auxiliary to the fathers in their toilsome missionary work. He was noted for a rare prudence in business transactions; and an unbounded confidence in the Blessed Virgin was his chief characteristic in the spiritual way. Donning an ingenious disguise, he volunteered to continue with the fathers, who, after their convent had been seized and plundered by the Puritans, would still remain in Dublin to assist the persecuted Catholics during the awful troubles of 1643. Brother Peter's great charity merited the "hundredfold" reward, including, in his case, the glorious palm and crown.

The heretics had been apprised of the zeal of this Carmelite

¹ Lib. vii., cap. 10, 66.

and they accordingly singled him out as their victim. He was discovered, and made prisoner by them early in the March of that year. Once in the power of his enemies, the good brother's martyrdom began, for they took a fiendish delight in torturing him. These sufferings were too much for one whose strength had been well-nigh spent in braving the perils and privations of the previous months, and hour after hour he lay prostrate, writhing in a very agony of pain. His persecutors had no pity for him—until, on the vigil of the Annunciation, they condemned him to die on the scaffold next day.

And now our confessor had to enter on the most trying conflict of all; God permitted him to be tempted for a while with an overwhelming horror of that shameful death. But grace triumphed in the end, and joy ineffable filled his soul at the thought of his approaching martyrdom. Some political prisoners, also Catholics, who were confined with Brother Peter, implored him to allow them to appeal to the Puritan commander in his behalf, hoping to secure a reprieve, so pitiable was the poor friar's condition. They were yet ignorant of the wonderful change brought about by the *special* grace: that grace which is mercifully given to sustain one in every more grievous trial, whose issue the Almighty alone can previously know. Without it, Brother Peter was what he declared himself to be—a despondent, timorous man; from it he received the martyr's confidence and strength. Far from hearkening to the kindly solicitations and remonstrances of his friends, he assured them that he did not fear the gallows now at all; on the contrary, he longed to suffer the death which men abhor. He besought them to beseech God to pardon his pusillanimity, for he did desire to die a loyal son of Holy Church, a religious worthy of the habit which he wore. Let them not be moved by his bodily sufferings; these were necessary to prepare his soul for the consummation on the morrow. He would humbly beg of them to unite with him in fervent prayer, Brother Peter himself selecting by choice the rosary and litany of Mary.

In the morning he was brave and calm when the soldiers

were conducting him to the place of execution; and the faithful praised God for the victory of His servant. Brother Peter, devout client of Mary that he was, did not cease to thank her aloud, in the name of all men, for having consented to become Mother of the Incarnate Word. Over and over again he repeated the Angelic Salutation, heedless of the impious taunts of an heretical minister, who reprehended him for paying those tributes of honour to the Blessed Virgin, contrary to the right reading of Sacred Scripture. But Brother Peter reminded him of what the Holy Ghost Himself had proclaimed through Mary's own pure lips, and added that the reason why heretics blaspheme the Immaculate Mother of the Saviour was owing to the fact of their not belonging to the generation of the faithful, who alone worship the Living God in truth. After this the Puritan did not dare interrupt the loving homage shown to the Queen of Heaven.

The scaffold was reared in the most frequented part of the city, in order to mortify and intimidate the co-religionists of the friar about to be so disgracefully executed. This, however, served to remind the Catholics forcibly of the Cross set high on Calvary for the infamous death of that Carmelite's Divine Master. Having arrived in view of the terrible gibbet, Brother Peter prostrated himself to the ground in sign of his utter unworthiness of being numbered among those who had borne testimony to the truth by the voluntary shedding of their blood; and having mounted the steps leading to the platform, he reverently kissed the instrument of doom. Then he renewed his profession of faith and his holy vows, and gave expression, again and again, to acts of deepest contrition for having offended his Creator, although he was not conscious of ever having knowingly injured human being. A zealous son of the Prophet of Carmel, he manifested his eagerness to give up this life for the greater glory of the "Lord of Hosts." "A very foolish thing on your part," blasphemed the executioner, with sarcastic terseness. "Yes," replied the confessor, meekly, "this is the folly of the Cross, which you fail to understand." At the age our Saviour died to redeem

us all, Brother Peter of St. Andrew thus gladly suffered a cruel death in vindication of the Christian faith.

Despite the menacing frowns of the Puritans, the Catholics took immediate possession of the holy friar's body, and did not fear to inter it publicly. They derived unwonted courage from the martyr's heroic constancy; and their persecutors did not attempt to interfere. Perhaps the Puritans were beginning to realize that there must needs be *something strange* which enabled those despised Papists to defy their power, or rather to seem to ambition Brother Peter's awful fate. The light of truth was wanting to show them that those who pass hence as he had died, merely enter on the enjoyment of everlasting life.

So concludes the narrative of the martyrdom of our three Discalced Carmelites of the Irish Province. Short as is the record in each instance, there is abundant matter for a lengthy and interesting biography, a praiseworthy work for some less faulty pen. In these pages the simple facts are but indifferently knit together; all critical comment, and much desirable reference to contemporary events, being left to the discretion of the martyrs' future historian. Yet, personally, I prefer the bare facts, as the annalists of remoter periods were wont to relate them; for even the mere record of the death of the saints is sure to suggest many a profitable meditation on their wonderful lives.

If express mention has been made in the *Enchyridion* of three martyrs only, we may not thence infer that no other Discalced Carmelites died for the faith in Ireland during those troublous times. We are told¹ that convents of the Order were plundered and ruined at Dublin, Drogheda, Kinsale, Limerick, Kilkenny, Loughrea, Athboy, Galway, and Ardee; but who shall say whether all the friars that dwelt in them timely escaped with their lives? Neither do we know the ultimate fate of those missionaries who would not forsake the faithful when the priest's head was priced with the wolf's. The reward of Ireland's unknown confessors is equally certain with God; and voluminous, indeed, should

the martyrology be that contained a summary of their names.

True, casual mention is made by certain authors to several other martyrs of the Discalced Carmelites in Ireland ; but I did not consider the facts concerning them so well authenticated as those relating to the confessors by whose holy death I wished the reader to be edified. If apology be necessary for bringing Father Thomas Aquinas and his companion martyrs under notice now, the opening paragraph contains it. I will only add, it is my sincerest desire that all on whose courteous patience such trespass has been made may be pleasingly interested in what has proved for me a most grateful duty of reverence and fraternal love.

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL
" PROPRIUM SANCTORUM "

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST.

August 2. *St. Alphonsus Maria de Ligori, C.P.D.* The Introit at once tells us to-day's lesson : " The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed Me, and hath sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to heal them that are broken in heart " (St. Luke iv.) These words of Isaias our Divine Master solemnly used when He began His public ministry, and they tell us about the apostolic vocation to which we are called. The Holy Ghost is upon us overshadowing us with His power, because He hath anointed us with the unction which abides in us in the sacramental grace of Order (cf. 1 St. John ii.), and in His strength, and as His instruments, we are sent to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to heal them that are broken in heart. Who are the poor ? Not only those who have not this world's goods, but far more those who are stricken with that true and real poverty, who have no grace, whose heart, instead of being wholly devoted to

God, is broken and given to the things of the world. These are the poor and the heart-broken to whom we are sent to preach the Gospel of penance which will give back the riches of God lost by sin, and will heal the wounds of the heart by the saving use of the sacraments. The whole life of St. Alphonsus was a continual pleading with sinners "to turn away from their sins and to live" (cf. Ezek. 18, xxxii.), and to use the means of grace so abundantly prepared for them. In season, and out of season, he never wearied, in the words of the Psalm, calling on the people to give heed to his teaching and to listen to his words; and by his writings and the spirit he has left in such abundance to his spiritual children he still calls upon the people to repent and live to God. Now this is our very work to-day; for this are we set up as teachers and as dispensers of God's mysteries. So in the Epistle (2 Tim. ii.) Holy Church teaches us how we are to labour in this apostolic charge which enters into the very idea of the priesthood. We must be *strong* in the grace which is in Christ Jesus; and being so united to Him, we have the most abundant means of grace whereby we can be strong. We must be *faithful* by the grace of our calling, if we would be fit to teach others; for how can we efficaciously teach men to repent and to follow the Royal Road of the Cross unless we are steeped through and through with the spirit of a victim? We must be *good soldiers*, and hence must keep ourselves free from all that hinders our work for souls. How can we preach against worldliness, if we be entangled in the love of the world? How can we preach humility, if we are striving unlawfully for the mastery? We cannot expect to sow virtues in the souls of our people, nor see them produce a rich crop thereof, unless we, the husbandmen, first be users of that seed. Who are the best preachers, who the best directors, whose labours are most abundantly rewarded with measure heaped up and overflowing? (cf. St. Luke vi. 38). The priest who considers all the apostolical advice given in this Epistle, and to whom the Lord hath given understanding in all things. This gift of understanding is one of the Holy Ghost's, and it is ours together with the other six when we are in a state of grace;

but how often we let our talents lie hidden instead of using them ! How seldom do we deliberately set to work, and, in our daily common life, use these seven great gifts which will make us saintly priests and most powerful instruments for good. They are a treasure inexhaustable at our very door, and we remain in our poverty because we will not stretch out our hand to use it !

The Gradual tells us we must join to our preaching penance for the souls we are striving to help. The awful judgments which await sinners, and the thought that we can avert that judgment by God's gracious acceptance of our penances and prayers on their behalf will keep us in fervour ; and when we see them at the thought of the hideous torrent of sin which overwhelms the land, we shall be consoled with the remembrance that we can do a real solid work which will stem the tide of iniquity, and save many from destruction.

The Offertory teaches us to devote to God's service, as did St. Alphonsus, all the natural gifts (our substance), and all the fruit of our talents ; and, for His sake, put ourselves entirely at the disposal of our neighbour. To be the servant of God's servants ; to leave Christ only to find Him in His members ; to claim nothing, and to refuse nothing, this is the perpetual life of sacrifice, and the honouring God with the very substance of our being. How can we refuse to take this generous view of our apostolic work when Jesus, the Eternal Priest, is going to place Himself in the Blessed Sacrament so entirely at our disposal, leaving us, therefore, an example ?

In the Communion we have, besides the picture of St. Alphonsus, the great priest who did so much to strengthen the Church, the secret of his success. It was by his union with the Great High Priest, that the saint could do what he did, and this Great High Priest is now at this moment engaged on the work of propping up by His grace the house He has chosen to abide in, and is now strengthening us to be His temple. He is a bright fire, and is longing to warm our heart with His love, and to burn up all that is deadly therein. In the midst of the fire He casts from His

sacred heart there ascends the incense of His divine prayer for us to the "Father of Lights, from whom comes down every good and perfect gift" (St. James i. 17).

August 6. *The Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus, the Christ*. "It is good for us to be here" (cf. Evangel.), and to contemplate awhile the unspeakable glory of Him in whose familiar service we are. He so hides His Majesty in the Holy Eucharist, and is so indeed the God-hidden in His action in the Church, that did not Holy Church, from time to time, bid us contemplate His awful Majesty, we might forget how great is the God, and how full of splendour is He whom we hold day by day in our hands. Hence in this Mass we gaze at the Eternal High Priest transfigured before us with the essential glory which is His from all eternity. The first words of our Matins, which, as is the custom, we have said as a preparation for the Sacrifice, fill us with awe; "The High King of Glory, the Christ, let us adore;" and in the whole office we contemplate Him as the King of Nations, the King of the Elect, promised to Father Abraham and his seed for ever; Him as foretold and witnessed by Prophets; testified from heaven by the Father's voice which orders us to hear and believe in Him (cf. *Hymn ad Mat.*); Him the fairest among the children of men, crowned with honour and glory, the Fount of Life, clothed with light as with a vesture, whose face shines as the sun, whose raiment is white as snow (cf. *Antiph.*); Him who is our Saviour and God, who reforms the body of our lowliness making it like to the body of His own brightness (cf. *Capit. ad Laud.*); Jesus the fair light, who puteth to flight the darkness of sin and filleth us with all sweetness, who giveth joy to those He visiteth, who is the sweet radiance of our true home, the splendour of His Father's glory, the love surpassing understanding (cf. *Hymn ad Laud.*). This majestic image of the Divine Victim we are going to offer in sacrifice must needs fill our heart with awe, for in the words of the Introit (Ps. lxxiv.), the flashes of lightning which emanate from His glory light up all the world of our heart, and shakes and makes it tremble to its very foundations. Yet "it is good for us to be here" in this blinding light, for we get self-knowledge,

and we begin to know ourselves even as we are known by God. Then, also, the visions of His sweet beauty, and the fairness of His tabernacles make our heart sigh after and long for the courts of God, where we shall see the King in all His ravishing beauty; for, as the Collect says, we have received the fulness of the adoption of sons, and are made co-heirs of the all-glorious kingdom, and sharers in His marvellous majesty. This gives us strength to bear "the eternal weight of glory" (2 Cor. iv. 17) which is laid up for us, and of which we here get a glimpse. Did we not know that it was our Elder Brother's glory, and that some day, by His mercy, we should share therein, our heart would be troubled for fear of His majesty, for He, our Lord, is very admirable, and His face is full of grace; down prostrate would we fall and swoon away, and be overcome with His beauty, and have no more spirit within us (cf. *Esther*, lv). We are made, as St. Peter tells us, witnesssss of the wonder of the Transfiguration, which takes place day by day, as He, the All-Majestic, appears before us in all the lowliness of the Sacred Species. When we offer Him in sacrifice, the Eternal Father from His magnificent glory tells us that He is well pleased with the victim we present. When we are on the mystic mount of Calvary, sometimes the glory of Thabor visits us, and our faith is quickened, and we see Him, oh! so plainly, beneath sacramental veils, and He is transfigured before us; and, oh! the rapturous joy that fills our heart, the burning adoration and blissful worship which wells up without effort from the lowest depth of our being, when we thus see the breaking of the day and the morning star arising in our heart, and the day of the Lord seems so very near at hand.

On occasions like these, our faith is deepened, and our love grows warmer. The world and self seem so paltry and little when we see Him in the light of eternal majesty. So, we come back from the altar as another Moses from the mount, or, as one come back from the dead, having seen and heard things which are not given to human tongue to tell; and the graciousness of this vision rests upon us, and its glory remains with us, and we are never the same men afterwards, "for no man can see God and live" (1 St. John iv. 12)

his old life. We must either advance rapidly, or sink down to greater misery. But the vision we have seen we tell to no man, for no one can understand but him who has heard, and no man can see save him who has seen. The favour we have received, and the sense of the infinite majesty we have seen, seal up our lips, and in reverence we keep silence about the great things God has done for us, and we ponder over them in our heart. Silent, because the light which comes from the throne shows us ourselves in all our utter nothingness ; hence, humility guards our tongue ; silent, because the infinite condescension of our God makes His favours far too secret, far too private for us to tell to others. When the sons of men are risen from the dead, then can we speak with safety about secrets of the King ; then can those who listen understand, and we need not fear to lose anything of the happiness we enjoy. *Secretum meum mihi.*

August 7. *St. Cajetan, C.* For the lessons of this Mass, see I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 712.

August 10. *St. Laurence, M.* Why is it we have so little heroism in our life and, find it even difficult to keep the dead level of ordinary virtue ? Why is it that we feel so small and mean when we compare ourselves to some of the great saints ; for instance, to St. Laurence ? He was only a deacon, and yet he achieved so much, and we who have the greater grace of the priesthood, and can so more easily attain the heights of holiness, do so little ? The Epistle (2 Cor. ix.) tells us the reason : " He that soweth sparingly, sparingly also will he reap." We grudge God our service, and do not trust Him with all our life ; we keep back something, perhaps many things, some cherished disposition, some unwise friend, some dangerous employment, some unnecessary study ; we let these stand in our way, and we will be generous with God in everything else save this particular. We make our service one of necessity, not one of love ; hence we sow in the field of our heart but sparingly, scattering only a few grains, when out of the abundance of sacramental grace we have in Holy Orders we ought to cast huge handfuls into the furrows. No wonder then that the result is so meagre. Were we as generous in our sowing

as was St. Laurence, we too would reap a harvest worth the garnering, for “God is powerful to make all grace abound in us,” so that we may always have in all cases, and at all times, a sufficiency of grace to correspond with our opportunities, and thus abound in all good works, and increase the harvest of our justice.

As the Gospel (St. John, xii.) tells us, if we love our souls with that selfish love which seeks its own and not the things of God; if we dethrone Him, and set up self as Lord and Master, we shall lose eternally that soul we have so slavishly served. But if we are generous with God, and keep him ever on the throne of our heart, we shall lose our soul in this life by losing the mastery of self-worship, and we shall find it in the safe keeping of our Maker, who will guard it for ever, and we shall be honourable, and set among the chosen of the kingdom.

August 12th. *St. Clare, V.* See I. E., RECORD, vol. xiv., page 716.

August 15th. *The Assumption of Blessed Mary the Virgin.* This day of rejoicing for the triumph of God’s sweet Mother, is a day of family festival, for it is the triumph of our Mother too. To us, priests, who share so much in the work of our ever dear and blessed Lady, and who are in such a special way her children, being clothed, as we are, with the very Person of her Divine Son, it is a day of special delight, and it is a foreshadowing of the good things to come to us after our course is over.

The Introit well represents the sentiments of our heart rejoicing with the angels upon the coronation of their Queen, and praising the Son of God who has so glorified His Mother. If He has so glorified His earthly Mother, what will He not do for us who are, if I may say, His sacramental mothers? This is “the good word” with which our heart breaks forth, no longer able to contain itself, and our works, our Masses are what we may indeed tell to the King, for we know they will be acceptable to Him. One lesson of the many this Mass contains, is to be drawn from the Gospel (St. Luke x.), where we read that in the town Jesus visited there were two sisters, Martha and Mary. In

our heart, to which He comes so often in such sweet intimacy, we can find two ways of serving Him: by deed and by loving worship, by the active and the contemplative life. But our Lord tells us that the spirit of Mary, the loving worship of contemplation, is the better of the two. He does not, blessed be His name! value us for the *works* we do, but for the love with which we do them. He loves to see us ready to work if He so wills, "at His work to let down the net," and get to find our real, true, and solid happiness at His feet in the loving worship of contemplation, in the interior activity of the soul which fixes upon Him who is the source of all life. This is the better part; for it is of value by itself, consisting as it does in the union of our will with that of God; and because no one can take it from us, for nothing can break this union save our own free and deliberate act. The outer life is only of any profit in as far as it is joined to the inner life, nor is it in any real sense complete without it. Again, the inner life is the better, because it is the safer: for this reason, because the life of exterior activity, unless firmly founded on the inner, eats away our spiritual growth by the cares and constant round of distracting occupations which are inseparable from it, and tend to absorb the whole man to his loss. Whereas the inner life depends wholly upon God; it deepens our spiritual life, and shuts out as far as possible all earthly things which can dim the visions of peace.

This being so, do we not make a great mistake when we *seek* our spirituality in exterior works: "the kingdom of heaven is within." If God in His wisdom wills us to undertake them, that is one thing; but for us to seek them, and to make them the one thing necessary, instead of that which God has so made, must end in a disorder, for it inverts the rule as laid down in this day's Gospel. The feverish activity of modern life, the wild race against time which characterizes our day, is a potent weapon in the hand of the devil to rob us of that peace which the strong man enjoys who is armed with the weapons of union with God in contemplation, and it is one which unless we are on our guard will take from us all our wealth. He only is safe in

the outer life who makes the inner life of worship, of which Mary is the example, his joy and the source of the strength he shows against the distractions of life.

How often do we hear others say, and sometimes say ourselves : " I am drying up and my soul is become a thirsty land and an arid desert. My Mission is burdened with debt, and all my time is taken up with labouring to gather pence here and there. I have become a mere money-making machine " ? Alas ! this terrible disease attacks most of us in the midst of our poverty and the life we lead, with one hand building up the walls of our Sion, and with the other trying to hold the sword with which we repel the enemy. It can best be met with this thought : " The Master does not want us to free our missions from debt at the loss of our spirituality. " His first law is : " Seek ye first the kingdom of God (which is within), and all else shall be added unto you. " He does not require us to succeed ; that is a matter entirely in His own hands ; and He has no need of *us* to bring about what His wisdom has ordained. But He does require that what we do in obedience to His will we should do in the spirit of loving worship and with an eye single fixed on " God alone. "

And how are we to get this spirit of loving worship unless we drink often and deep of the fountain of love which springs forth at His footstool, where we prostrate ourselves, and listen, like Mary, to what He deigns to say ? This contemplative spirit is best cultivated, then, by the recollection, the practice of the presence of God, and the habit of listening to what God says to our soul. So often we miss this Voice, so low and gentle, because we do not give ourselves time to listen, but are so busy in speaking ourselves. We read that Mary was sitting at our Lord's feet, *hearing His word*. We do not read that she was talking. Our true attitude is that of listeners, not speakers ; and it is because we usurp our Lord's place, and try to make Him sit at our feet, and hear our word, that we fail so in prayer. If we have not got the profit out of our prayer, it is because we have attempted to let in the activity of the world into the realms of prayer, and are puffed up with the idea that

of everything that has to be done, we must have the doing. Let us cultivate the spirit of Mary, and then we shall never lose our inner life in the midst of any work God sends us; for we will never lose the union of our will with His. Then will we be quite content and at peace, whether our work be crowned with success or remain unfinished; for our mind will be at perfect peace, because it is stayed upon Him. Then, indeed, will we do the work for as long as He wishes, in the manner He wishes; and the work will be to our profit, for it will be done in love to Him. When He takes away from us the means of carrying on the work, well, we shall only be laying down an instrument which had been useful to us, which was no longer so; and we shall not repent it nor repine. Our ever-dear and blessed Lady, who so perfectly practised these two lives (hence the choice of this Gospel), and who, in the midst of her earthly business, "always kept all these things in her heart," will teach us by her example, if we only consider it well, how to do what God wills, *in the way* God wills.

This same lesson, our true strength being in the contemplative life, is again enforced in the Communion, but now on the grounds of the closeness of the union which exists between Jesus and our soul. The greatest help to a priest for preserving his union with God amid all the cares of life, is the thought of the Mass that is over and the Mass that is coming. This is the fruit of "always giving thanks," which St. Paul so often recommends in his Epistles. How can we allow anything to destroy this union? Nothing will, and nothing can unless we so choose: "Who shall separate me from the love of Christ," who has been our Guest this morning, and who will be ready to come again as another morning breaks; and who is with us, even now, in the closest spiritual union: his soul knit with ours, as was Jonathan's, the King's son, to David's, the poor shepherd.

August 28. *St. Augustine, C.P.D.* See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 720.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

PRIVATE MASSES ON THE VIGIL OF PENTECOST

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I request you to solve what to some may appear a stupid difficulty?

It is the interpretation of the rubric of the Missal for the commencement of "Private Mass" on the Eve of Pentecost. The rubric is: "In Missis autem Privatis hujus Vigiliis omissis prophetiis, orationibus, et Litaniis, Missa absolute incipitur ab Introitu, ut infra."

Now, the difficulty is, how to interpret correctly the words "absolute incipitur ab Introitu." Do they mean that the form usually gone through at the foot of the altar is to be omitted, and that the Mass on this day is to be commenced on the predella, as the Mass of the Pre-sanctified on Good Friday?

There are those who say "yes," and, it appears to me, give plausible reasons for this interpretation.

They say that the words, "absolute incipitur," are invariably interpreted in this way, and they bring forward a number of examples. To begin with:—

We find attached to the Introit for Passion Sunday a rubric as follows: "Non dicitur Gloria Patri . . . sed finito Psalmo absolute repetitur Introitus usque ad Psalmum." Here "absolute" has an unmistakable meaning.

Again, we find the rubric for the beginning of the Passion on Palm Sunday is: "Passio absolute incipitur," &c.; and, of course, we know the meaning of these words.

Now, on Holy Saturday, when the Mass is to be commenced in the ordinary way, the rubric is detailed, and says: "Et dicto psalmo 'Judica' cum Gloria Patri facit Confessionem ut moris est in loco consueto." Here the rubric is plain.

Finally, to take an example from the Breviary, we find the rubric for the opening of the Matins on the Epiphany is: "Omissis v. Domine . . . 'incipitur' ab Ant."

Hitherto I have followed what I believe to be the general practice, viz., to commence the Mass on the Eve of Pentecost in

the ordinary way; but finding a difference of opinion on the point, I will be thankful for your view of the matter.

AN INQUIRER.

We are glad to find that the difficulty which our correspondent proposes has, in his case at least, been hitherto confined to the domain of theory, and has not induced him to adopt a practice which we consider would be wholly erroneous, and entirely devoid of foundation. Apart altogether from the arguments with which the rubrics supply us in refutation of the novel theory put forward by our correspondent, its very novelty is of itself sufficient to show that it must be erroneous. It is surely very unlikely that on one, and only one day out of three hundred and sixty-five, and then, too, without any apparent reason, the Church should prohibit the usual introductory prayers at the foot of the altar, and command that the Mass should begin with the Introit, read as usual by the priest standing on the predella at the Epistle side. It would elicit no little comment from even the most uneducated, and inattentive of the faithful, if the priest, after arranging the chalice on the corporal, and opening the Missal, should proceed at once to read the Introit without descending to the foot of the altar. Had the Church really intended to derogate so far from the ordinary law on this one day in the year, she should have made her intention so plain that there could be no second opinion about what it was. Nor can it be urged that the rubrics are sometimes obscure, or that they lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. On the contrary there is not, we venture to state, in existence a collection of laws so clear, so full, and so easily interpreted as are the rubrics, both general and special, of the Missal and Breviary. It would be strange, therefore, if in one point only these same rubrics were so obscure that the true interpretation was not discovered until more than three centuries after they were compiled under the direction of Pius V. For we take it for granted that had any writer on the rubrics ever heard of, or discovered for himself, so extraordinary a deviation from the ordinary practice, he would have mentioned it either to approve or condemn. But so far as our reading

of liturgical works has gone, we have never met even a hint at the possibility of the rubric to which our correspondent refers bearing the above interpretation, which we believe is now published for the first time.

The silence of liturgical writers is emphasized by the general practice of priests. This our correspondent himself admits, and admits also that he has hitherto followed this general practice. We hope he will see that a general practice, hoary with antiquity, is not to be abandoned because certain words of the rubrics *might possibly* bear an interpretation which would be adverse to it.

But the rubrics themselves exclude even the possibility of this novel interpretation of the rubric for the Vigil of Pentecost being the correct interpretation. In the first place, in the rubrics of the Missal we read regarding the psalm *Judica* :—

“Qui psalmus *nunquam praetermittitur* nisi in Missis defunctorum et in Missis de tempore a Dominica Passionis inclusive usque ad Sabbatum sanctum exclusive.”¹

Now, the words “*nunquam praetermittitur*” which we have printed in italics forbid all exceptions other than those mentioned in the rubric itself; for so minute are all the directions relating to the Mass, that even a single exception to a general law would be mentioned. This anxiety on the part of the compilers of the rubrics to prevent doubt or misinterpretation is strikingly illustrated by the directions given for the recitation of the *Gloria in excelsis*. Having laid down the general rule that the *Gloria* is to be said in the Mass when the *Te Deum* is said in the Matins of the divine office, they go on to point out the only two exceptions :—

“ . . . praeterquam in Missis Feriae quintae in Coena Domini, et Sabbati Sancti, in quibus *Gloria in excelsis* dicitur, quamvis in officio non sit dictum *Te Deum*.”²

Again, the special rubric for the solemn Mass on the very day of which there is question—the vigil of Pentecost—

¹ *Ritus Servandus*, tit. iii., n. 6.

² *Rub. Generales*, P. i., tit. viii., n. 1.

directs the recitation of the usual prayers at the foot of the altar in the words which follow :—

“ In fine Litaniarum cantatur solemniter, *Kyrie eleison* pro Missa et repetuntur ut moris est. Quo incepto sacerdos cum ministris procedit ad altare et *facit confessionem*; deinde ascendens illud osculatur.”

It is unnecessary to point out that the word *Confessio* is often used to signify the *Confiteor* itself, but also the psalm *Judica*, together with the versicles and responses usually recited at the foot of the altar. Now, since these preliminary prayers at the foot of the altar are to be recited in solemn Masses on the vigil of Pentecost, it must be evident to anyone that, unless there is a very explicit statement to the contrary, they should be also recited in private Masses on the same day. There are, indeed, occasions on which certain commemorations are to be omitted in solemn Masses, though they are to be made in private Masses on the same day; but we know of no case in which prayers omitted in private Masses are to be said on the same day in solemn Masses.

What, then, is the meaning of the phrase “*absolute incipitur*,” which has excited our correspondent’s doubts? It means, as he correctly implies, that something usually said is to be omitted. But wherever this phrase is employed, though the context may indicate with perfect clearness what is to be omitted, the rubrics do not permit us to determine this for ourselves, but, with that minuteness of detail which characterises them, mentions everything that is to be omitted. This is strikingly true of everyone of the examples which our correspondent brings forward in support of his novel theory. We will examine one or two of these examples for the purpose of illustrating this.

On Passion Sunday the Rubric is not satisfied with saying, *Finito psalmo absolute repetitur Introitus*—though had it confined itself to this statement, we hardly think that anyone could have been misled—but it explicitly states, *Non dicitur Gloria Patri . . . sed finito psalmo, etc.* Now the *Gloria Patri* alone is to be omitted; hence, the meaning of *absolute incipitur* is strictly and explicitly defined.

Again, though we may, as our correspondent says, know, as a matter of course, the meaning of the words *Passio Domini incipitur absolute*, still the Rubric does not presume that we know any such thing; for it goes on to mention in detail everything we are to omit, just as if the phrase "*incipitur absolute*" had not been used, or as if we did not know the meaning of the phrase. We give the whole context:—

"*Passio Domini incipitur absolute: non dicitur Munda cor meum, non petitur benedictio, non deferuntur luminaria, nec incensum; non dicitur Dominus vobiscum, nec respondetur Gloria tibi Domine: et celebrans seu diaconus dum pronuntiat Passio Domini nostri non signat librum neque seipsum.*"

We need not go over the other examples brought forward by our correspondent. The two we have examined show clearly that whenever the phrase "*absolute incipitur*" is employed, care is taken to mention in detail everything that is to be omitted. We have taken these two, not because they suit our purpose better than the others, but solely because they are given first in order by our correspondent. A glance will show that an equally clear and convincing argument in favour of the principle we wish to establish can be drawn from the others, or indeed from any context in which the phrase "*absolute incipitur*" is found. And having now established this principle, it is easy to interpret, without the possibility of error, the special Rubric regarding Private Masses on the Vigil of Pentecost. The words of the Rubric are:—

"*In Missis privatis hujus vigiliae, omissis Prophetiis, Orationibus, et Litanis, missa absolute incipitur ab Introitu ut infra.*"

According to our principle of interpreting the phrase "*absolute incipitur*," only those things are to be omitted of which explicit mention is made. Here mention is made only of the prophecies, prayers, and litanies recited in the solemn function, previous to the solemn Mass. Hence only these are to be omitted by priests who celebrate privately on that day.

D. O'LOAN.

Documents

APOSTOLIC LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

EPISTOLA APOSTOLICA PRINCIPIBUS POPULISQUE UNIVERSIS

LEO PP. XIII.

SALUTEM ET PACEM IN DOMINO

Praeclara gratulationis publicae testimonia, quae toto superiore anno, ob memoriam primordiorum episcopatus Nostri, undique accepimus, quaeque proximo tempore insignis Hispanorum pietas cumulavit, hunc imprimis attulere Nobis laetitiae fructum, quod in illa similitudine concordiae voluntatum eluxit Ecclesiae unitas, eiusque cum Pontifice maximo mira coniunctio. Videbatur per eos dies orbis catholicus, quasi rerum ceterarum cepisset oblivio, in aedibus Vaticanis obtutum oculorum animique cogitationem defixisse. Principum legationes, peregrinorum frequentia, plenae amoris epistolae, caerimoniae sanctissimae id aperte significabant, in obsequio Apostolicae Sedis cor unum esse omnium catholicorum et animam unam. Quae res hoc etiam accidit iucundior et gratior, quia cum consiliis coeptisque Nostri admodum congruens. Siquidem gnari temporum et memores officii, in omni pontificatus Nostri cursu, hoc constanter spectavimus, atque hoc, quantum docendo agendoque potuimus, conati sumus, colligare Nobiscum arctius omnes gentes omnesque populos, atque in conspicuo ponere vim pontificatus romani salutarem in omnes partes. Maximas igitur et agimus et habemus gratias primum quidem benignitati divinae, cuius munere beneficioque id aetatis attigimus incolumes: deinde viris principibus, episcopis, clero, privatisque universis, quotquot multiplici testificatione pietatis et obsequii dedere operam ut personam ac dignitatem Nostram honore, Nosque privatim opportuno solatio afficerent.

Quamquam ad plenum solidumque solatium, multum sane deficit. Nam inter ipsas popularis laetitiae studiique significationes, observabatur animo multitudo ingens, in illo gestientium catholicorum consensu aliena, partim quod evangelicae sapientiae est omino expers, partim quod, licet christiano initiata nomini, a

fide catholica dissidet. Qua re graviter commovebamur, commovemur : neque enim fas est sine intimo doloris sensu cogitationem intendere in tantam generis humani partem longe a Nobis, velut itinere devio, digredientem. Iamvero, cum Dei omnipotentis vices in terris geramus, qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, cumque Nos et sera aetas et amara curarum ad humanum urgeant exitum, visum est redemptoris magistrique nostri Iesu Christi in eo imitari exemplum, quod proxime ad caelestia rediturus summis precibus a Deo Patre flagitavit, ut alumni sectatoresque sui et mente et animo unum fierent : *Rogo . . . ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint.*¹ Quae quidem precatio obsecratioque divina quoniam non eos tantum complectitur qui tunc in Iesum Christum crederent, sed etiam quotquot credituri reliquo tempore essent, idcirco dat illa Nobis causam non ineptam aperiendi fidenter vota Nostra, conandique, quoad possumus, ut homines, nullo generis locorumve discrimine, ad fidei divinae unitatem vocentur atque incitentur universi.

Urgente propositum caritate, quae illuc accurrit celerius, ubi opitulandi necessitas maior, primum quidem provolat animus ad gentes omnium miserrimas, quae Evangelii lumen vel nullo modo acceperunt, vel acceptum, incuria seu longinquitate, restinxerunt : proptereaque Deum ignorant, et in summo errore versantur. Quoniam salus omnis a Iesu Christo proficiscitur *nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo nos oporteat salvos fieri,*² votorum Nostrorum hoc est maximum, posse sacrosancto Iesu nomine cunctas terrarum plagas celeriter imbui atque compleri. Qua in re munus efficere sibi demandatum a Deo Ecclesia quidem nullo tempore praetermisit. Quid enim undeviginti saecula laboravit, quid egit studio constantiaque maiore, quam ut ad veritatem atque instituta christiana gentes adduceret ; Hodieque frequenter maria transmittunt, ad ultima loca progressuri, ex auctoritate Nostra praecones Evangelii : quotidieque a Deo contendimus ut multiplicare benigne velit sacrorum administros, dignos munere apostolico, qui scilicet commoda sua et incolumitatem et vitam ipsam, si res postulaverit, pro Christi regno amplificando non dubitent devovere.

Tu vero propera, humani generis servator et parens Iesu Christe : exequi ne differas quod olim te dixisti facturum, ut cum exaltatus esses a terra, omnia traheres ad te ipsum. Ergo illabere

¹ John xvii, 20, 21.

² Acts iv. 12,

aliquando, atque ostende te multitudini infinitae, beneficiorum maximorum, quae cruore tuo peperisti mortalibus, adhuc experti : excita sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis, ut radiis illustrati sapientiae virtutisque tuae, in te, et per te sint *consummati in unum*.

Cuius quidem unitatis sacramentum cogitantibus, occurrit Nobis universitas populorum, quos ab erroribus diuturnis ad evangelicam sapientiam divina pietas iamdiu traduxit. Nihil profecto ad recordationem iucundius, neque ad laudem providentissimi numinis praeclarius veterum memoriâ temporum, cum fides divinitus accepta patrimonium commune atque individuum vulgo habebatur : cum exultas humanitate gentes, locis, ingenio, moribus dissitas, licet aliis de rebus saepe dissiderent, dimicarent, nihilominus in eo, quod ad religionem pertinet, fides christiana universas coniugabat. Ad huius recordationem memoriae, nimis aegre fert animus, quod successu aetatum suspicionibus inimicitisque commotis, magnas ac florentes nationes de sinu Ecclesiae romanae male auspicata tempora abstraxerint. Utrumque sit, Nos quidem gratiâ confisi misericordiaeque omnipotentis Dei, qui novit unus opitulandi maturitates, et cuius in potestate est eo, quo vult, voluntates hominum flectere, ad eas ipsas nationes adiicimus animum, easdemque caritate paterna hortamur atque obsecramus, ut redire, compositis dissidiis, velint ad unitatem.

Ac primo peramanter respicimus ad Orientem, unde in orbem universum initio profecta salus. Videlicet expectatio desiderii Nostri iucundam spem incohare iubet, non longe abfore ut redeant, unde discessere, fide avita gloriaque vetere illustres, Ecclesiae orientales. Eo vel magis quod non ingenti discrimine seiunguntur : imo, si pauca excipias, sic cetera consentimus, ut in ipsis catholici nominis vindiciis non raro ex doctrina, ex more, ex ritibus, quibus orientales utuntur, testimonia atque argumenta promamus. Praecipuum dissidii caput, de romani Pontificis primatu. Verum respiciant ad initia, videant quid maiores senserint sui, quid proxima originibus aetas tradiderit. Inde enimvero illud Christi divinum testimonium, *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam*, luculenter extat de romanis pontificibus comprobatum. Atque in Pontificum numero lectos ex Oriente ipso non paucos prisca vidit aetas, imprimisque Anacletum, Evaristum, Anicetum, Eleutherium Zosimum, Agathonem : quorum plerisque contigit, ut universae christianae reipublicae administrationem sapienter sancteque gestam, profuso

etiam sanguine consecrarent. Plane liquet quo tempore, qua caussa, quibus auctoribus infelix excitata discordia. Ante illud tempus, quo tempore homo separavit quod Deus coniunxerat, sanctum erat apud omnes christiani orbis gentes Sedis Apostolicae nomen, romanoque Pontifici, ut beati Petri successori legitimo, ob eamque rem Iesu Christi in terris vicario, Oriens pariter atque Occidens consentientibus sententiis sine ulla dubitatione parebant. Hanc ob causam, si respiciatur ad initia dissidii, Photius ipse oratores de rebus suis Romam destinandos curavit: Nicolaus vero I Pontifex maximus Constantinopolim legatos suos, nullo contra dicente, ab Urbe misit, *ut Ignatii Patriarchae causam diligenter investigarent, et Sedi Apostolicae plenius ac veracibus referrent indiciis*: ita ut tota rei gestae historia primatum romanae Sedis, quacum dissensus tum erumpebat, aperte confirmet. Denique in Conciliis magnis tum Lugdunensi II, tum Florentino, supremam romanorum pontificum potestatem nemo ignorat, facili consensione et una omnes voce, latinos graecosque ut dogma sanxisse.

Ista quidem ob hanc rem consulto revocavimus, quia ad reconciliandam pacem velut invitamenta sunt: eo vel magis, quod hoc tempore perspicere in orientalibus videmur multo mitiorem erga catholicos animum, imo propensionem quamdam benevolentis voluntatis. Id nominatim non multo ante apparuit, cum scilicet nostris, pietatis caussâ in Orientem advectis, egregia humanitatis amicitiaeque praestita officia vidimus. Itaque *os Nostram patet ad vos*, quotquot estis, graeco aliove orientali ritu, Ecclesiae, catholicae discordes. Magnopere velimus, reputet unusquisque apud se illam Bessarionis ad patres vestros plenam amoris gravitatisque orationem: *Quae nobis relinquetur apud Deum responsio, quare a fratribus divisi fuerimus, quos ut uniret et ad unum ovile redigeret, ipse descendit de caelo, incarnatus et crucifixus est? quae nostra defensio erit apud posteros nostros? non patiamur haec, Patres optimi: non habeamus hanc sententiam, non ita male nobis consulamus et nostris*. Quae sint postulata Nostra, probe per se ipsa et coram Deo perpendite. Nullâ quidem humana re, sed caritate divina, communisque salutis studio permoti, reconciliationem coniunctionemque cum Ecclesia romana suademus: coniunctionem intelligimus plenam ac perfectam: talis enim esse nullo modo potest ea, quae nihil amplius inducat, quam certam aliquam dogmatum credendorum concordiam fraternaeque caritatis commutationem, Vera coniunctio inter

christianos est, quam auctor Ecclesiae Iesus Christus instituit voluitque, in fidei et regiminis unitate consistens. Neque est cur dubitetis, quidquam propterea vel Nos vel successores Nostros de iure vestro, de patriarchalibus privilegiis, de rituali cuiusque Ecclesiae consuetudine detracturos. Quippe hoc etiam fuit, idemque est perpetuo futurum in consilio disciplinaque Apostolicae Sedis positum, propriis cuiusque populi originibus moribusque ex aequo et bono non parce tribuere. At vero redintegrata nobiscum communione, mirum profecto quanta Ecclesiis vestris dignitas quantum decus, divino munere, accedet. Sic igitur vestram ipsorum supplicationem Deus perbenigne audiat, *Fac cessent schismata ecclesiarum*,¹ atque, *Congrega dispersos et reduc errantes, et coniunge sanctae tuae catholicae et apostolicae Ecclesiae*;² sic ad illam restituamini unam sanctamque fidem, quam ultima vetustas nobis perinde vobisque constantissime tradidit; quam patres ac maiores vestri inviolate servarunt: quam ipsam splendore virtutum, magnitudine ingenii, excellentia doctrinae certatim illustravere Athanasius, Basilius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Ioannes Chrysostomus, uterque Cyrillus, alique magni complures, quorum gloria ad Orientem atque Occidentem, tamquam communis hereditas aequae pertinet.

Vosque nominatim compellare hoc loco liceat, Slavorum gentes universae, quarum claritudinem nominis multa rerum gestarum monumenta testantur. Nostis quam egregie de Slavis meruerint sancti in fide patres Cyrillus et Methodius, quorum memoriam Nosmetipsi honore debito augendam aliquot ante annis curavimus. Eorum virtute et laboribus parta plerisque e genere vestro populis humanitas et salus. Quo factum ut Slavoniam inter et romanos pontifices pulcherrima vicissitudo hinc beneficiorum, illinc fidellissimae pietatis diu extiterit. Quod si maiores vestros misera temporum calamitas magnam partem a professione romana alienavit, considerate quanti sit redire ad unitatem. Vos quoque Ecclesia pergit ad suum revocare complexum, salutis, prosperitatis, magnitudinis praesidium multiplex praebitura.

Caritate non minore ad populos respicimus, quos, recentiore memoria, insolita quaedam rerum temporumque conversio ab Ecclesia romana seiunxit. Variis exactorum temporum casibus oblivione dimissis, cogitationem supra humana omnia erigant,

¹ Παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (In liturg. S. Basilii).

² Τοὺς ἐσκαρπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, τοὺς πεπλανημένους ἐπανάγαγε, καὶ σύναψον τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (ib.)

animoque veritatis et salutis unice cupido, reputent apud se constitutam a Christo Ecclesiam. Quacum si velint congregationes conferre suas, et quo loco in illis religio sit aestimare, facile dabunt, se quidem multis maximisque in rebus, primordiorum oblitos, ad nova errore vario defluxisse; neque diffitebuntur, ex eo velut patrimonio veritatis, quod novarum rerum auctores secum in secessionem avexerant, nullam fere formulam fidei certam atque auctoritate praeditam apud ipsos superesse. Immo vero illuc iam devenit, ut multi non vereantur fundamentum ipsum convellere, in quo religio tota et spes omnis mortalium unice nititur, quod est divina Iesu Christi Servatoris natura. Pariter, quos antea novi veterisque Testamenti libros affirmabant divino afflatu conscriptos, eis nunc talem abnegant auctoritatem: quod sane, data cuilibet potestate interpretandi sensu iudicioque suo, omnino consequi erat necesse. Hinc sua cuiusque conscientia, sola dux et norma vitae, qualibet alia reiecta agendi regula; hinc pugnantes inter se opiniones et sectae multiplices, eademque persaepe in *naturalismi* aut *rationalismi* placita abeuntes. Quocirca, desperato sententiarum consensu, iam coniunctionem praedicant et commendant fraternae caritatis. Atque id sane vere: quandoquidem caritate mutua coniuncti esse universi debemus. Id enim maxime Iesus Christus praecepit, atque hanc voluit esse sectatorum suorum notam, diligere inter se. Verum quí potest copulare animos perfecta caritas, si concordēs mentes non effecerit fides?

His de caussis complures eorum de quibus loquimur, sano iudicio, veritatisque studiosi, certam salutis viam in Ecclesia catholica quaesivere, cum plane intelligerent nequaquam se posse cum Iesu Christo tamquam capite esse coniunctos, cuius non adhaerescerent corpori, quod est Ecclesia: nec sinceram Christi fidem adipisci, cuius magisterium legitimum, Petro et successoribus traditum, repudiarent. Ii videlicet in Ecclesia romana expressam verae Ecclesiae speciem atque imaginem dispexere, inditis ab auctore Deo notis plane conspicuam: ideoque in ipsis numerantur multi, acri iudicio subtilique ad antiquitatem excutiendam ingenio, qui Ecclesiae romanae ab Apostolis continuationem, dogmatum integritatem, disciplinae constantiam scriptis egregiis illustrarint. Igitur horum virorum proposito exemplo, compellat vos plus animus quam oratio, fratres nostri, qui tria iam saecula nobiscum de fide christiana dissidetis, itemque vos, quocumque deinceps quavis de causa seorsum a nobis

abiistis. *Occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei et agnitionis filii Dei.*¹ Ad hanc unitatem, quae nullo tempore Ecclesiae catholicae defuit nec potest ulla ratione deesse, sinite ut vos invitemus, dextramque peramanter porrigamus. Vos Ecclesia, communis parens, iamdiu revocat ad se, vos catholici universi fraterno desiderio expectant, ut sancte nobiscum colatis Deum, unius Evangelii, unius fidei, unius spei professione in caritate perfecta coniuncti.

Ad plenum optatissimae unitatis concentum, reliquum est ut ad eos, quotquot toto orbe sunt, transgrediatur oratio, quorum in salute diu evigilant curae cogitationesque Nostrae: catholicos intelligimus, quos romanae professio fidei uti obedientes facit Apostolicae Sedi, ita tenet cum Iesu Christo coniunctos. Non ii quidem ad veram sanctamque unitatem cohortandi, quippe cuius iam sunt, divina bonitate, compotes: monendi tamen ne, ingravantibus undique periculis, summum Dei beneficium socordia atque ignavia corrumpant. Huius rei gratiâ quae Nosmetipsi gentibus catholicis vel universis vel singulis alias documenta dedimus, ex iis cogitandi agendique normam opportune sumant: illudque imprimis velut summam sibi legem statuunt, magisterio auctoritatique Ecclesiae non anguste, non diffidenter, sed toto animo et perlibente voluntate omnibus in rebus esse parendum. Qua in re animum advertant, illud quam valde sit unitati christianae perniciosum, quod germanam formam notionemque Ecclesiae variis opinionum error passim obscuravit, delevit. Ea quippe, Dei conditoris voluntate ac iussu, societas est genere suo perfecta: cuius officium ac munus est imbuere praeceptis institutisque evangelicis genus humanum, tuendaque integritate morum et christianarum exercitatione virtutum, ad eam, quae unicuique hominum proposita in caelis est, felicitatem adducere. Quoniamque societas est, uti diximus, perfecta, idecirco vim habet virtutemque vitae, non extrinsecus haustam, sed concilio divino et suapte natura insitam: eademque de caussa nativam habet legum ferendarum potestatem, in iisque ferendis rectum est eam subesse nemini: itemque aliis in rebus, quae sint iuris sui, oportet esse liberam. Quae tamen libertas non est eiusmodi, ut ullum det aemulationi invidiaeque locum: non enim potentiam consecratur Ecclesia, neque ulla cupiditate sua impellitur, sed hoc vult, hoc expetit unice, tueri in hominibus officia virtutum, et hac ratione, hac via, sempiternae eorum saluti consulere. Ideoque facilitatem

¹ Eph, iv. 13.

indulgentiamque maternam adhibere solet : imo etiam non raro contingit, ut plura temporibus civitatum tribuens, uti iure suo abstineat : quod sane pacta ipsa abunde testantur cum imperiis saepe conventa. Nihil magis ab ea alienum, quam rapere ad se quicquam de iure imperii : sed vicissim vereatur imperium necesse est iura Ecclesiae, caveatque ne ullam ex iis partem ad se traducat. Nunc vero, si res et facta spectentur, cuiusmodi est temporum cursus ? Ecclesiam videlicet suspectam habere, fastidire, odisse, invidiose criminari nimis multi consuevere : quodque multo gravius, id agunt, omni ope et contentione, ut ditioni gubernatorum civitatis faciant servientem. Hinc sua ipsi et erepta bona, et deducta in angustum libertas : hinc alumnorum sacri ordinis circumiecta difficultatibus institutio : perlatae in Clerum singulari severitate leges : dissolutae, prohibitae, optima christiani nominis praesidia, religiosorum sodalitates ; brevi, *regalistarum* praecepta atque acta acerbius renovata Hoc quidem est vim afferre sanctissimis Ecclesiae iuribus : quod maxima gignit civitatibus mala, propterea quod cum divinis conciliis aperte pugnat. Princeps enim atque opifex mundi Deus, qui hominum congregationi et civilem et sacram potestatem providentissime praeposuit, distinctas quidem permanere eas voluit, at vero seiunctas esse et configere vetuit. Quin immo cum Dei ipsius voluntas, tum commune societatis humanae bonum omnino postulat, ut potestas civilis in regendo gubernandoque cum ecclesiastica conveniat. Hinc sua et propria sunt imperio iura atque officia, sua item Ecclesiae : sed alterum cum altera concordiae vinclo colligatum esse necesse est. Ita sane futurum, ut Ecclesiae imperiique necessitudines mutuae ab illa sese expediant perturbatione, quae nunc est, non uno nomine improvida, bonisque omnibus permolesta : pariterque impetrabitur, ut non permixtis, neque dissociatis utriusque rationibus, reddant cives *quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, quae sunt Dei, Deo.*

Simili modo magnum unitati discrimen ab ea hominum secta impendet, quae *Massonica* nominatur, cuius funesta vis nationes praesertim catholicas iamdiu premit. Turbulentorum temporum nacta favorem, viribusque et opibus et successu insolescens, dominatum suum firmiter constabilire, latiusque propagare summa ope contendit. Iamque ex latebra et insidiis in lucem erupit civitatum, atque in hac Urbe ipsa, catholici nominis principe, quasi Dei numen lacessitura consedit. Quod vero calamitosissimum est, ubicumque vestigium posuit, ibi in omnes sese ordines

in omniaque instituta reipublicae infert, si tandem summam arbitriumque obtineat. Calamitosissimum id quidem : eius enim manifesta est quum opinionum pravitas tum consiliorum nequitia. Per speciem vindicandi iuris humani civilisque societatis instaurandae, christianum nomen hostiliter petit : traditam a Deo doctrinam repudiat : officia pietatis, divina sacramenta, tales res augustiores, tamquam superstitiosa vituperat : de matrimonio, de familia, de adolescentium institutione, de privata omni et publica disciplina, christianam formam detrahare nititur, omnemque humanae et divinae potestatis reverentiam ex animo evellere populorum. Praecipit vero colendam homini esse naturam, atque huius unius principiis aestimari ac dirigi veritatem, honestatem, iustitiam oportere. Quo pacto, uti perspicuum est, compellitur homo ad mores fere vitaeque consuetudinem ethnicorum, eamque multiplicatis illecebris vitiosorem. Hac de re, quamquam alias a Nobis gravissimeque est dictum, Apostolica tamen vigilantia adducimur in idem ut insistamus, etiam atque etiam monentes, in tam praesenti periculo nullas esse cautiones tantas, quin suscipiendae sint maiores. Clemens prohibeat Deus nefaria consilia : sentiat tamen atque intelligat populus christianus, indignissimum sectae iugum excutiendum aliquando esse : excutiantque enixius, qui durius premuntur, Itali et Galli. Quibus armis, qua ratione id rectius possint, iam Nos ipsi demonstravimus : neque victoria incerta eo fidentibus duce, cuius perstat divina vox : *Ego vici mundum*.¹

Utroque depulso periculo, restitutisque ad fidei unitatem imperiis et civitatibus, mirum quam efficax medicina malorum et quanta bonorum copia manaret. Praecipua libet attingere.

Pertinet primum ad dignitatem ac munera Ecclesiae : quae quidem receptura esset honoris gradum debitum, atque iter suum et invidia vacuum et libertate munitum pergeret, administra evangelicae veritatis et gratiae ; idque singulari cum salute civitatum. Ea enim cum magistra sit et dux hominum generi a Deo data, conferre operam potest praecipue accommodatam maximis temporum conversionibus in commune bonum temperandis, caussis vel impeditissimis opportune dirimendis, recto iustoque, quae firmissima sunt fundamenta reipublicae provehendo.

Praeclara deinde coniunctionis inter nationes accessio fieret, desideranda maxime hoc tempore, ad taetra bellorum discrimina

¹ John xvi. 33

praecavenda. Ante oculos habemus Europae tempora. Multos iam annos plus specie in pace vivitur, quam re. Insidentibus suspicionibus mutuis, singulae fere gentes pergunt certatim instruere sese apparatu bellico. Improvida adolescentium aetas procul parentum consilio magisterioque in pericula traditur vitae militaris: validissima pubes ab agrorum cultura, a studiis optimis, a mercaturis, ab artificiis, ad arma traducitur. Hinc exhausta magnis sumptibus aeraria, attritae civitatum opes, afflicta fortuna privatorum: iamque ea, quae nunc est, veluti procincta pax diutius ferri non potest. Civilis hominum coniunctionis talemne esse naturâ statum? Atque hinc evadere, et pacem veri nominis adipisci, nisi Iesu Christi beneficio, non possumus. Etenim ad ambitionem, ad appetentiam alieni, ad aemulationem cohibendam, quae sunt maximae bellorum faces, christiana virtute imprimisque iustitia, nihil est aptius: cuius ipsius virtutis munere tum iura gentium et religiones foederum integra esse possunt, tum germanitatis vincula firmiter permanere, eo persuaso: *Iustitia elevat gentem*.¹

Pariter domi suppetet inde praesidium salutis publicae multo certius ac validius, quam quod leges et arma praebent. Siquidem nemo non videt, ingravescere quotidie pericula incolumitatis et tranquillitatis publicae, cum seditiosorum sectae, quod crebra testatur facinorum atrocitas, in eversiones conspirent atque excidia civitatum. Scilicet magna contentione agitur ea duplex causa, quam *socialem*, quam *politicam* appellant. Utraque sane gravissima: atque utrique sapienter iusteque dirimendae, quamvis laudabilia studia, temperamenta experimenta sint in medio consulta, tamen nihil aliud tam opportunum fuerit, quam si passim animi ad conscientiam regulamque officii ex interiore fidei christianae principio informentur. De *sociali* causa in hanc sententiam a Nobis non multo ante datâ operâ, tractatum est, sumptis ab Evangelio, itemque a naturali ratione principiis. De *caussa politica*, libertatis cum potestate conciliandae gratiâ, quas multi notione confundunt et re intemperanter distrahunt, ex christiana philosophia vis derivari potest perutilis. Nam hoc posito, et omnium assensu approbato, quaecumque demum sit forma reipublicae, auctoritatem esse a Deo, continuo ratio perspicit, legitimum esse in aliis ius imperandi, consentaneum in aliis officium parendi, neque id dignitati contrarium, quia Deo verius quam homini paretur: a Deo autem *iudicium durissimum*

¹ Prov. xiv. 34.

iis qui praesunt denuntiaturum est, nisi personam eius recte iusteque gesserint. Libertas vero singulorum nemini potest esse suspecta et invisa, quia nocens nemini, in iis quae vera sunt, quae recta, quae cum publica tranquillitate coniuncta, versabitur. Denique si illud spectetur, quid possit populorum ac principum parens et conciliatrix Ecclesia, ad utrosque iuvandos auctoritate consilioque suo nata, tum maxime apparebit quantum salutis communis intersit ut gentes universae inducant animum idem de fide christiana sentire, idem profiteri.

Ista quidem cogitantes ac toto animo concupiscentes, longe intuemur qualis esset rerum ordo in terris futurus, nec quidquam novimus consequentium bonorum contemplatione iucundius. Fingi vix animo potest, quantus ubique gentium repente foret ad omnem excellentiam prosperitatemque cursus, constituta tranquillitate et otio, incitatis ad incrementa litteris, conditis insuper auctisque christiano more, secundum praescripta Nostra, agrorum, opificum, industriorum consociationibus, quarum ope et vorax reprimatur usura, et utilium laborum campus dilatetur.

Quorum vis beneficiorum, humanarum atque exultarum gentium nequaquam circumscripta finibus, longe lateque, velut abundantissimus amnis, deflueret. Illud enim est considerandum, quod initio diximus, gentes multitudine infinitas plura iam saecula et aetates praestolari, a quo lumen veritatis humanitatisque accipiant. Certe, quod pertinet ad sempiternam populorum salutem, aeternae mentis consilia longissime sunt ab hominum intelligentia remota: nihilominus si per varias terrarum plagas tam est adhuc infelix superstitio diffusa, id non minima ex parte vitio dandum subortis de religione dissidiis. Nam, quantum valet mortalis ratio ex rerum eventis existimare, hoc plane videtur Europae munus assignatum a Deo, ut christianam gentium humanitatem ad omnes terras sensim perferat. Cuius tanti operis initia progressusque, superiorum aetatum parta laboribus, ad laeta incrementa properabant, cum repente discordia saeculo xvi deflagravit. Discerpto disputationibus dissidiisque nomine christiano, extenuatis Europae per contentiones et bella viribus, funestam temporum vim sacrae expeditiones sensere. Insidentibus discordiae caussis, quid mirum si tam magna pars mortalium moribus inhumanis et vesanis ritibus implicita tenetur? Omnes igitur pari studio demus operam ut concordia vetus, communis boni caussâ, restituatur. Eiusmodi reconciliandae concordiae, pariterque beneficiis christianae sapientiae late

propagandis, opportuna maxime fluunt tempora, propterea quod humanae fraternitatis sensa nunquam altius in animos pervasere, neque ulla aetate visus homo sui similes, noscendi opitulandique causâ, studiosius anquirere. Immensos terrarum marisque tractus celeritate incredibili currus et navigia transvehuntur; quae sane egregios usus afferunt, non ad commercia tantummodo curiositatemque ingeniosorum, sed etiam ad verbum Dei ab ortu solis ad occasum late disseminandum.

Non sumus nescii, quam diuturni laboriosique negotii sit rerum ordo, quem restitutum optamus: nec fortasse deerunt, qui Nos arbitrentur nimiae indulgere spei, atque optanda magis, quam expectanda quaerere. Sed Nos quidem spem omnem ac plane fiduciam collocamus in humani generis Servatore Iesu Christo, probe memores, quae olim et quanta per stultitiam Crucis et praedicationis eius patrata sint, *huius mundi* obstupescente et confusa *sapientia*. Principes vero et rectores civitatum nominatim rogamus, velint pro civili prudentia sua et fideli populorum cura concilia Nostra ex veritate aestimare, velint auctoritate et gratiae fovere. Quaesitorum fructuum si vel pars provenierit, non id minimi fuerit beneficii loco in tanta rerum omnium inclinatione, quando impatientia praesentium temporum cum formidine iungitur futurorum.

Extrema saeculi superioris fessam cladibus trepidamque perturbationibus Europam reliquere. Haec, quae ad exitum properat aetas, quidni, versa vice, humano generi hereditate transmittat auspicia concordiae cum spe maximorum bonorum, quae unitate fidei christianae continentur?

Adsit optatis votisque Nostris *dives in misericordia Deus, cuius in potestate tempora sunt et momenta*, benignissimeque implere maturet divinum illud Iesu Christi promissum, *fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*.¹

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xx Iunii anno MDCCCXCIV, Pontificatus Nostri decimoseptimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ John x. 16.

Notices of Books

LA DEVOTION AU SACRE-CŒUR DE JESUS. Par R. P. Jean Baptiste Terrien, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

MANY books have been written on Devotion to the Sacred Heart, yet the subject is an inexhaustible one, and every new writer, treating of it, who can produce a really valuable work, such as that before us, need have no fear of a cold reception.

Father Terrien treats of this devotion almost exclusively in its dogmatic aspect, discussing its object, end, and fruits; how it fits in with the established worship of the Church, with other approved devotions; and, finally, the circumstances of time and place under which God, in His wisdom, thought proper to propose it to the faithful. Bringing to his subject a thorough intimacy with the fathers, a profound Scriptural knowledge, and a mind well trained in theology, the author imparts much valuable information in simple language. Against the many opponents of this devotion he shows that the object of our worship is the physical material Heart of our Saviour, together with the divine love which that Heart symbolizes, and this worship is truly and properly *Latria*. In truly eloquent terms the writer touches on the tenderness and depth of God's love for us, and shows that no more fitting object of our worship could be found than the Heart of Jesus, which "offers us by Itself a living manifestation of divine love. In it, as in a mirror of matchless perfection, we can contemplate all that our Divine Saviour has done, and is doing, for the love of His Father, and especially for the love of us" (p. 158).

Anyone who is anxious to obtain a clear, full, satisfactory, and scientific explication of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, cannot do better than read Father Terrien's book. P. K.

CARMINA MARIANA. An English Anthology in Verse, in Honour of, or in Relation to, the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected and arranged by Orby Shipley, M.A. Second Edition. London: Burns and Oates.

It is only a few months since we called attention to a notable book which had just come from the press—*Carmina Mariana*, or a collection of sacred poetry, in English, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, compiled by Orby Shipley. We then anticipated

for the work a ready sale, and we are rejoiced to find that already a new edition has been called for.

The few things in the first edition, that might be improved, have been attended to in this new edition; a few misprints have been corrected, and the contents have been printed anew, with a variation of type, and a footnote, which make them more easy to be consulted.

An interesting appendix is added, containing extracts from the criticisms of the reviews—Irish, English, Continental, and American; and the unanimity of their commendation is the highest testimony to the literary merit of the collection. The Catholic reader will have the additional pleasure of seeing in this most varied collection of poetic gems, a world-wide testimony to the love and tenderness inspired by reflection on the character and virtues of the Mother of God.

THE LAYMAN'S DAY. By Percy Fitzgerald. London:
Burns & Oates.

THERE are numberless laymen in the world, who play the part of Mary's sister, who are busy and troubled about many things, but who are wanting in solicitude about the one thing necessary. For such our author writes endeavouring to set before them the great truth that salvation, while it is a serious business, an affair of the highest importance, is not to be secured on the easy terms of merely attending at chapel on a Sunday or holiday. The author sketches for his reader a very vivid picture of the daily life of the ordinary layman, pointing out, as he goes along, the defects that are noticeable, and indicating at the same time how religion may, and ought to exercise its influence on a man's every action.

A little volume such as this, replete with solidly pious thoughts and practical suggestions, and written in an easy and interesting style, will be read with pleasure, and could not, we feel certain, be read by any reflecting person without much profit.

J. F.

EXPLANATION OF DEHARBES' SMALL CATECHISM. By James Canon Schmitt, D.D. Translated from Seventh German Edition. Freiburg: B. Herder.

THIS is an excellent English translation of a valuable manual of religious instruction. Canon Schmitt aims at presenting

the great doctrines of our religion to the minds of the young in a simple, homely, and attractive way. The work is divided into three parts. In the first part, the author discusses the great truths of religion, which all must know and believe; the second part deals with the commandments of God and of the Church; while the third treats of the sacraments and of prayer. Written in the simplest language, containing a vast amount of information, and numerous illustrations that cannot fail to affect the youthful mind for good, this book will be of great utility to any one on whom the important duty of teaching Christian doctrine to children devolves.

SICK CALLS. From the Diary of a Missionary Priest. By Rev. E. Price, M. A. London: R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row.

THE work before us is a new edition of a very interesting book. It is a chapter from the life of a zealous priest. It tells the story of some bed-sides of the dying that he attended in the performance of his sacred duties. The scene of his labours was England, and especially London, that little world where people of every walk of life are to be met with. Its Catholics are not a very prosperous race; hence it is not surprising that many scenes of sorrow come before our English priest in going among his people. Some of Fr. Price's experiences in this way are narrated in his little book. Poverty under its many forms appears in its stories, and ever allied to it is confidence in God. The poor have always been God's special friends, and certainly many of the Catholic poor of London are not without God's best gifts, as can be seen from their dying moments.

Bad literature is one of the greatest evils that now-a-days saps the foundations of spiritual life. Young men and women are led into the worse vices that human nature is subject to, by the reading of immoral books. The faith of many a once zealous Catholic is undermined by the infidel works that now abound. Hence good Catholic books are of immense value. Fr. Price has done his part towards providing such books for the people. His work is full of interesting scenes and graphic descriptions. No Catholic reading-room should be without a copy of it. We should like to see it also in Catholic homes.

J. M. H.

RECENT EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE
GOSPELS: TATIAN'S "DIATESSARON." By Michael
Maher, S. J.

MODERN infidels, in their attacks upon the authenticity of the Gospels, have laboured to show that the works attributed to the Evangelists were written in the middle of the second century, and, consequently, at a time when their supposed authors had long since gone to their reward. But this theory of the infidels—if it ever had an air of plausibility—must go to the ground when it is shown that a harmonized version of the four Gospels was made and circulated among the Christians early in the second century. Such was the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, written about 160 A. D., and brought to light a few years ago. Father Maher gives us the history of this interesting document; discusses the changes that may have taken place in the original version, and shows that in substance and order the work is the same as when composed by Tatian, and is, therefore, a powerful weapon in the hands of orthodox biblical critics against those who deny the authenticity of the Gospels.

P. K.

SIMPLICITY IN PRAYER. From the French. New York:
Benziger Brothers.

THIS small volume is made up of a number of counsels intended to show the faithful how they may pray with confidence and fruit. The counsels are taken from the lives of the saints and the writings of Boudon and Rigolene. The various methods of prayer and their advantages are touched upon.

- I. LIFE OF THE BLESSED GERARD MAZELLA. By Rev.
O. R. Vassall, C.S.S.R. London: Charles M. Rock.
- II. LENTEN SERMONS. By Rev. P. Sabela. London:
Burns & Oates.
- III. PAROCHI VADE-MECUM.

I. THIS very interesting and highly edifying monograph deserves our highest commendation. It is an excellently written sketch of the life and miracles of the Blessed Gerard, a Redemptorist lay brother of the last century, in whose marvellous life no student of the lives of the saints can fail to discern all the distinguishing traits of a remarkable servant of God. Indeed, as Father

Vassall says, "Almighty God seems to have raised up this lay brother to confute, in the very age of Voltaire, the flippant scepticism of a false philosophy by the stern logic of incontestable facts." Moreover, we believe that the study, with the proper spirit, of such a life, would be an efficacious antidote to the shallow scepticism and growing infidelity of our own time.

II. This is a second edition of a short course of well-written sermons, suitable for the holy season of Lent. The little volume contains six sermons on the Passion of our Lord, one on the Seven Dolours of His Blessed Mother, and a charity sermon. The sermons on the Passion develop at length the Gospel narratives of the Evangelists, and should be found very useful in the preparation of Lenten discourses.

III. We wish to draw the attention of missionary priests to this tiny volume, in 32mo, having the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Birmingham. It contains the rubrics and prayers in Latin for the administration of the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction, and for imparting the last blessing; also, in English, the prayers for the recommendation of a departing soul. J. F.

THE FIRST AND SECOND RESURRECTIONS. By C. H.
London: Burns & Oates.

THE author of this pamphlet tries to show that a spiritual *Millenium* will intervene between Christ's second coming and the general judgment. He argues chiefly from the account of the second advent given in Apocalypse (chaps. xix.-xx.), to his singular interpretation of which he adapts the accounts given in the Synoptic Gospels, and other texts bearing on the second coming. We think a more natural process would be to interpret the obscure and highly figurative passages of the Apocalypse in the light of the commonly received interpretation of the Gospel accounts. The author lays great stress on the fact that his theory was held by St. Irenæus, Papias, and a few other early Christian writers; but he is seemingly oblivious of the fact that it was discarded by the bulk of the fathers, and reprobated by practically all commentators. We do not think that this pamphlet will induce many Catholics to abandon the traditional view sustaining the simultaneity of the general judgment with the second advent of Christ. P. J. B.

LIFE EVERLASTING. A Sermon by the Right Rev. Dr. Hedley, O.S.B. Art and Book Company, London.

THIS is an excellent sermon. After briefly showing that the belief in a life of eternal happiness for the first prevailed among men from the earliest time, the preacher discusses the nature of this life, and pictures in glowing terms its surpassing excellence, closing with a warm appeal to his hearers to strive earnestly to attain it. It is truly a sermon calculated to lift the heart of the Christian above the cares and sorrows of this life, to the thought and desire of that true life, to which the good Christian will be introduced by death.

P. J. B.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT ; OR, HOW THE PROBLEM WAS SOLVED.
By Francis T. Finn, S.J. New York, Cincinnati,
Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, the hero of this tale, cannot fail to excite the keenest interest ; his vivacity and sunniness are contagious, and we follow him through his escapades with unflagging interest and amusement. Notwithstanding his extreme wildness, however, his simplicity and candour, and the beautiful dispositions he displays in his preparations for that "greatest day of his life"—his first Communion day—excite our greatest admiration. The plot of the story is good, and is excellently worked out, the characters being very true to life, and such as everyone has met with ; yet the tone of the whole tale is so high, that we cannot rise from the perusal of it without feelings of great pleasure and satisfaction ; and, at the same time, of having derived considerable benefit from the maxims of piety, docility, and candour, so well inculcated in it.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

WE have received a number of the publications of the Catholic Truth Society, the merit and variety of which demand from us as detailed a notice as the space at our disposal will allow. The place of honour in our notice is, we think, deserved by the anonymous *Life and Letters of Father Damien* a brief record of the life and labours of the devoted Belgian missionary whose self-sacrifice and heroism, displayed in his fourteen years' ministry among the lepers of Molokai, have won for him the admiration even of Protestants. The book, though simply written, being mainly composed of Father Damien's own letters

is interspersed with graphic pictures of the scenes amidst which he laboured. We read every page with lively interest, and arose from the perusal with the feeling that we had been reading the history of one of God's great saints. Besides the life of Father Damien, which can be procured for a shilling, we have also received the lives of St. Anselm, St. Dominic, and Margaret of Scotland, the latest contributions to penny biographical series of the Society, and we can cordially recommend them to our readers.

A shilling volume of *Historical Papers*, edited by Father Morris, S.J., next claims our attention. It contains excellent articles on the Spanish Inquisition, the False Decretals, the Pallium, Cranmer, and Boleyn, the Immuring of Nuns, and the Huguenots. These articles, which are written in a popular style, will give the general reader a good deal of useful information on the different subjects with which they deal, and should have a most beneficial effect on the mind of any honest Protestant who happens to read them. Other papers of a like nature, published separately, are *St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572*, *How the Church of England Washed her Face*, and *The Rood of Boxley*, which are equally meritorious publications.

A pamphlet of a different kind from any of the foregoing is Father Bridget's *A Flag of Truce*, which is an attempt to convince Protestants of the reasonableness of certain Catholic practices, such as the invocation of saints, and the use of images, by putting before them the spontaneous, unprejudiced admissions of writers of their own sect. This little book is more ingenious than solid, and we think that Father Bridget would have better chance of winning the sympathy of our Protestant opponents, by giving them, in the same popular form, a clear statement of the Catholic view of the various points he discusses, with the arguments in favour of it.

We have nothing but words of praise for a shilling volume of brightly written tales, called *The Sevenfold Treasure*, by Miss Louisa Dobrée. It is a collection of charming stories on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and will be pleasant and instructive reading both for the young and old.

Two little books of practical and suggestive meditations, by Father Clarke, S.J., on *Charity*, and on *Faith and Hope*, a booklet by Father Morris, S.J., on *The Heroic Act of Charity*, and another by Father Lescari, S.J., called *The Eucharistic Month*,

are the latest additions to the Devotional Series of the Society. They are useful little volumes, full of practical piety.

Other neat and cheap volumes issued by the Catholic Truth Society, are *Mère Gilette*, *Under a Cloud*, and *A Mother's Sacrifice*. In *Mère Gilette* we are given a pleasing picture of the simple life in a Norman village, and afterwards, in strong contrast, we are shown life in the Paris slums. The whole story which is very well told, serves to show how delusive are the promises held out by the Socialists and Communists of the present day.

Under a Cloud is the history of a young man who nobly foregoes his prospects rather than compromise his religion; and we afterwards see how his constancy is recompensed.

In the volume entitled *A Mother's Sacrifice* we have a number of short stories, all well written and interesting. In fine, the attractive form of these stories, as well as their extreme cheapness, ought to secure them a well-deserved popularity and a wide circulation.

P. J. B.

The Gordon Riots. By Father Morris. This is an interesting and ably-written account of the last great persecution to which the Catholics were subjected in England.

The First Experiment in Civil and Religious Liberty. By J. Carmont. This is the story of a settlement of humble Catholics in Maryland, organized and successfully carried out under Lord Baltimore, in time of Charles I.

Saint Helen. By M. James. The author gives a pleasing and interesting sketch of the great saint, who was privileged to find the true cross.

Per Parcels Post By Louis Dobree. This is a well-told and instructive tale for the young.

P. K.

VARIOUS SMALLER PUBLICATIONS.

WE have received a number of publications to which we can give but brief notice. A readable pamphlet by the Rev. T. A. Bourke, styled *Diocesan Seminaries, and the Education of Ecclesiastical Students*, discusses the proposal, made last year in the *Tablet*, to establish a central-ecclesiastical college for the southern dioceses of England, and opposes it as retrogressive, and contrary to the Church's ideal. Father Bourke suggests an alternative plan, and incidentally discusses a number of important

questions regarding the studies, discipline, &c., in ecclesiastical colleges.

In an article reprinted from *The Month*, Father Kelly, S.J., gives us the gratifying assurance that everyone has "a voice," and he lays down some instructive rules to guide us in managing and developing it. *Father John Morris, S.J.*, is the title, and the subject of a sympathetic character-sketch by Rev. Richard Clarke, S.J. The writer pays a warm tribute to the virtue and learning, and fine natural qualities of his departed brother. All the foregoing publications are issued by Messrs. Burns and Oates.

The Schism of the West, and the Freedom of Papal Elections (New York: Benziger Brothers), is a scholarly essay by the Rev. Henry Brann, D.D., LL.D., on the great schism that began with the election of Urban VI. in 1378, and continued to the scandal and bewilderment of the Catholic world, till the unanimous election of Martin V. in 1417. Father Brann is clearly master of the subject.

Readers with antiquarian tastes will find *A Visitation of St. Mary's Church* (Washbourne, London), by the Right Rev. Mgr. Brownlow, M.A., interesting reading. It contains much curious information about the condition of English rural churches during the fourteenth century.

P. J. B.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE GOSPELS OF THE SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS. From the Italian of Angelo Caguola. By Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL.D. Together with an EXPLANATION OF CATHOLIC WORSHIP. From the German, by Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This highly useful and much-needed little volume will well repay perusal. Those who are engaged in the ministry of the Word, will find therein the Gospels of the Sundays and holydays throughout the year, explained with conciseness and accuracy. The explanations take the form of question and answer, and are both doctrinal and devotional. We have rarely seen those elements so successfully combined. We predict that this work will prove a boon to both clergy and laity, especially to the latter, who cannot easily have access to the standard scriptural commentaries. The explanations of the different Gospels, plain, practical and intelligible as they are, convey much solid and

edifying instruction in the simplest language. The *Explanation of Catholic Worship* is a hand-book of useful information, and contains much that may be read with profit by every sincere Catholic.

THE ROMAN MISSAL. Adapted to the use of the Laity, with English and other Appendices, and a Collection of Prayers. London: R. Washburne, 18, Paternoster-row.

THIS neat and handy manual, the third edition of which, in a considerably enlarged form, has just come from the press, is well suited to its pious purpose. It enables the laity, for whom it is intended, to unite themselves more closely with the priest in offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By its aid they will become acquainted with those variable portions of the Mass, selected with such care by the Church to honour her numerous body of saints. The present edition is very full, as it embraces almost all the Masses that we find in the general calendar of the Roman missal. In the appendices are added the calendars of the English and Irish churches, also the calendars peculiar to the Jesuit and Benedictine Orders in England. The collection of prayers contained in the book will serve admirably as a preparation for Mass.

J. R.

A MARTYR OF OUR OWN TIMES. From the French of Right Rev. Mgr. D'Hulst. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE can never sufficiently admire the conduct of the generous priest who, leaving friends and country, goes away to spread the faith in distant lands. Such a priest was just De Breténieres, whose biography has been admirably translated into English by Very Rev J. Slattery. The future martyr's seminary days were days of holiness and assiduous toil, yet "without noise, without show." Filled with zeal for apostolic work, to be a priest, with the young student, just meant to be a missionary; and when he heard the scene of labour marked out for him by his superior, he joyfully exclaimed, "Corea for ever, the land of martyrs." In 1866, the desire of his heart was gratified when he suffered a cruel death for the faith.

LITTLE BOOK OF INSTRUCTIONS FOR CHRISTIAN MOTHERS
By Fr. Pustet. New York : Pustet & Co.

THAT on a child's early training depends to a great extent its happiness in this life and the life to come, it were idle to repeat. Now this early training devolves first of all on the mother ; and hence the importance of Christian mothers being well-instructed, and thoroughly convinced of the responsibility laid upon them by God. Fr. Pustet's little book gives the mother valuable instructions, exhorts her to give good example by her own life, and shows her how she may most effectually combat vice, and foster virtue in her child from its earliest years.

A BOOK OF NOVENAS. In honour of God and His blessed Saints. By the Very Rev. John Baptist Pagani, Author of the "Anima Devota." Art and Book Company London and Leamington.

GLANCING hurriedly through this little book, we find a very good collection of Novenas for all the principal feasts of our Lord and the saints, most of which are richly indulgenced. This little book then, ought to prove very useful to the faithful as embracing in such a small space so many beautiful and richly indulgenced prayers, for use in the various Novenas of the Catholic year.

FLOWERS OF THE PASSION. Thoughts of St. Paul of the Cross. Gathered from the writings of the saint by the Rev. Louis Th. De Jesus Agonisant. Translated by Ella A. Mulligan. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THIS collection of beautiful maxims and prayers culled from the writings of that saint who was *par excellence* the apostle of the Passion, ought to prove most acceptable to the faithful who cultivate that most beautiful of devotions, love of the Passion. Having carefully examined it, and feeling sure it will tend to promote love of this beautiful devotion, we hope that this little book may long continue to spread far and wide love of the Passion and Sufferings of Christ.

PURGATORIAN MANUALS.

A Purgatorian Manual, entitled *All Souls Forget-Me-Not*, by Louis Gemminger, Priest of the Archdiocese of Munich, translated and edited by Canon Moser, has reached us from Mr. R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row, London. That this little Manual has reached a second edition, shows that it is already well known and appreciated, and deservedly so, as it contains many very beautiful prayers and a considerable amount of spiritual reading. We are given short lives of the saints who were particularly devout to the holy souls; and there are no less than five methods of hearing Mass for these poor captives, including the Mass for the Dead, taken from the Roman Missal. That this little book, having so much to recommend it, should have prospered in the past, we do not wonder; and we heartily wish it an increase of that circulation in the future, more particularly as it is published with the charitable object of raising funds to build a church dedicated to the holy souls at Peterborough in England.

Another Purgatorian Manual, entitled *Suffering Souls*, has come to us from Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati. It is written for the use of the Purgatorian Society, established in the archdiocese of New York, and contains many beautiful prayers and devotions applicable to the souls in purgatory. W. B.

ANINA. By a Member of the Congregation of Sisters of the Holy Cross. The *Ave Maria* Press.

THIS is a drama in three acts, intended for children, and well calculated to interest and instruct them. It shows how the pursuit of virtue, and not the pleasures of sense, can bring the soul true peace.

PAX VOBISCUM. London: Burns and Oates.

THIS is a manual of prayer specially adapted to the wants of the infirm. Besides carefully-selected prayers, and various devotions suitable to the faithful in general, it contains special devotions for the sick, and several beautiful hymns. The type is large and clear, well-suited for those whose eyes are growing dim from age or infirmity.

PASTIME PAPERS. Cardinal Manning.

THESE essays are somewhat of a departure from the ordinary course pursued by Cardinal Manning in his writings. He wrote

not for the sake of literature, but for religion. Here we have a dissertation on a theme not formally religious. A few of the ruling passions that hold sway over men are subjected to a critical analysis. Clearly and concisely does he lay before us what we are to pursue, and what to avoid, if we would act a man's part well in the rôle of social life. Cardinal Manning has brought to his work all the research and erudition of a finished scholar. Written in a style chaste and flowing, and abounding in happy expressions, the present work is well worthy to take its place beside the twenty-nine others that have proceeded from the Cardinal's pen.

D. O'C.

LETTERS AND WRITINGS OF MARIE LATASTE. Vol. II. Translated from the French. By E. Thompson, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati. Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE first volume of this work was published some twelve years ago, and was received with considerable favour. M. Lataste was a lay-sister of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart, and the communications made to her by God as disclosed in her writings will afford the faithful edifying and useful spiritual reading.

The translation is a masterly one; the language is clear, simple, and forcible.

P. K.

NEW MONTH OF THE HOLY ANGELS. ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, 32mo cloth. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a beautiful little book, translated by a Nun of the Visitation Order, and bearing the approbation of Cardinal Gibbons. It contains a short meditation on the angels, with some edifying examples—drawn chiefly from life of St. Francis—for every day in the month.

THE EVERLASTING LIFE AND LOVE OF JESUS, AND HEAVEN OUR ETERNAL HOME. By Rev. J. A. Maltus, O.P. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS tiny little volume consists of a number of devout aspirations of love towards our Lord, and earnest petitions that God would give His children the grace to love Him here, and be happy with Him hereafter. It contains many ejaculatory prayers to which rich indulgences are attached.

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By Thomas à Kempis. Translated by Bishop Challoner, with Practical Reflections and Prayers.

In this edition of the *Imitation*, a short reflection is inserted at the end of each chapter, which, practically, is an epitome of the teaching contained in that chapter. This again is followed by a prayer suggested by what has just been read. In the end of the work is given a table marking out special chapters as useful for various classes of persons and for various needs.

DEVOTION TO ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA. By Rev. C. Deymann, O.S.F. San Francisco: A. Waldteufel.

THIS little book gives a short outline of the life of St. Anthony, and contains a novena in honour of this great saint through whom many miracles have been wrought.

LIFE OF DR. O'HURLEY. By Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G. Dublin: Gill & Son. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS beautiful sketch of a noble-souled ecclesiastic, who, appointed Archbishop of Cashel in dark days of persecution, hesitated not to visit his flock and brave a martyr's death, deserves to be read by every Catholic Irishman at home or abroad. Too long has Dr. O'Hurley's name been forgotten, even by his own countrymen. "Abroad the learned few knew something of him: at home on the banks of the Shannon where he was born, on the Suir where he was arrested for the faith, and on the Liffey where he shed his blood for Jesus Christ, he is unknown." In language eloquent, yet intelligible to all, Dean Kinane has given us a most touching, most edifying account of a life dedicated to God and heroically sacrificed in His service.

WHY, WHEN, HOW, AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO READ.
Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P.

THIS little book is full of practical hints that will be found of great assistance in forming habits of study as well as a safeguard in our selections, if our desire to read with real advantage. Books, magazines and papers now come pouring in on us with such rapidity that, without some rule to discern the true from the false, the danger must be considerable. The plans suggested by the author are such as will commend themselves to every Catholic. His discourse on the reading of novels, and the

instructions he lays down for the young, are all that could be desired. It is a work that may be gone over again and again with interest, and is sure, if carefully adhered to, to produce satisfactory results.

D. O'C.

FIVE O'CLOCK STORIES. By S. H. C. J.

WE have here a collection of pious anecdotes, each set forth in brief space, and intended to attract the minds of the young. The style is very simple, just what children can appreciate, and yet not so childish that they may not recur to it with pleasure in after life. A work such as this should be put into the hands of all children, as being sure to develope a taste for the reading of pious books, and to enkindle in youthful hearts a true love of virtue.

D. O'C.

THE HERMIT OF THE ROCK: A TALE OF CASHEL. By Mrs. J. Sadlier. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

OUR imaginative prose literature has of late years been so much confined to the class of stories which get a "run through the newspapers" to be heard of no more, that any attempt to rise above such a low standard should be gratefully acknowledged. The present work is a step in the right direction. Irish life is portrayed with accuracy and, where occasion requires, with dramatic power; and the story is told in language which, if occasionally rhetorical, and even affected, is on the whole graceful and even eloquent. One fault we notice common to almost all writings in which the Irish peasant figures prominently, and that is their failure to represent accurately what is called the "brogue;" But the English language is not well suited to the task, and authors cannot make the English language other than what it is. The book is somewhat commonplace, both in matter and in plan, and has little of the humour which forms such an attractive feature of works such as those of Carleton and Lover. What a pity that we have not more novelists in a country so well suited for their efforts. It is to be hoped that a kindly reception of Mrs. Sadlier's work will induce other and more successful attempts in the same direction.

J. B.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

SEPTEMBER, 1894

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH

PART II.

IN the previous part of our article we have seen how the constant tradition of Jew and Christian, how the name of the book in the Hebrew canon, how the references made in subsequent books, how the sayings of Christ and His Apostles have all combined to show that the Pentateuch is the handiwork of Moses. Let us now, in imitation of the "higher criticism," question the work itself, and we shall see how its internal structure bears most unmistakable evidence of coming from the pen of the Hebrew Legislator. And we must premise that we advisedly adhere to the term "Pentateuch" as the new name of "Hexateuch" has no "fundamentum in re," and is opposed alike by history and by the books themselves. But of this more anon.

I. Of late years we have been hearing a great deal of the "composer" of this verse and that verse, the "redactor" of this book and that book. Now, a really unprejudiced examination of the books of Moses makes the unity of their origin evident. From a rhetorical point of view, the plan of the work is one, and is evidently arranged on strictly oratorical lines. Thus, Genesis forms the "Proœmium," and is the introduction, without which the subsequent parts are unintelligible; Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers constitute the "Corpus" (antithesis or contentio), setting forth the whole substance of the Law, and having as their end in view the establishment of the theocratic constitution of

Israel; Deuteronomy is the "Peroratio," containing a recapitulation of the history, the pith of the Law, and also a necessary exhortation to fulfil the precept embodied in the whole work. As to the alleged rhetorical defects in the composition, there is to be found no prolixity as opposed to precision, no intricacy as opposed to simplicity, no tautology as opposed to conciseness. Rationalists talk to us of two authors—Jahvistic and Elohist—of the "Redactor" and the "Supplementer" who in later times produced the Pentateuch as we now possess it. This is but a fallacy founded on a misconception of the plan of the books of Moses, and what they call "Elohist and Jahvistic sections" is but a variation resulting from the order of importance.

Let us now examine the Pentateuch itself, and we shall see that the "*usus loquendi*," the manner of description—in a word, the composition of the whole work—point to the unity of its authorship, and that, too, Mosaic.

Firstly, the "*usus loquendi*" by its employment of archaisms, words of Egyptian origin, and by its peculiar and characteristic description tends to satisfy the requirements of the case. Most of the Rationalists conclude on this point of language, that a tongue which has long been vernacular must of necessity undergo many changes, and that the writings of one period can readily be distinguished from those of an earlier or a later time by the sole difference in the words and mode of expression. Though this statement does carry with it a good deal of truth, yet it is not so absolutely true that we can at once pronounce that, given a certain number of years and centuries, a complete (or even general) change must have taken place. On the contrary, we know that certain languages, particularly those of Semitic origin, have preserved much more rigidly the early type, and have flowed on in much the same course for a lengthy period. This is exemplified very clearly in the case of Syriac. When Syriac was a current language of literature, we find but very little orthographical and grammatical change; so much so, that the language of the time of St. Ephrem does not differ remarkably from that of the time of Bar-Hebraeus.

Now on account of the great uniformity of language and similarity of expression prevalent throughout nearly the whole of the Old Testament, Rationalists dogmatically affirm that it must all have been written about the same period, and that period too, they say, a late one. Still linguistics shows that though a language may not change on the whole, yet various exceptions are to be found in parts. Such are called "archaisms," and, as the name indicates, point to an earlier period of writing than that which is taken as the norm. The books of Moses abound in such, in words which never (or seldom) occurs in later writers; and many even which do occur are either changed orthographically or assume new significations. A few examples will suffice.

(a) In the Pentateuch we find the pronouns **היא** (hū') and **כֶּרֶךְ** (nă'är) employed as feminines, whereas in later writings they are always masculine. In the Massoretic text of the books of Moses we find the form **היא** (hī') some eleven times, and this form is equally archaic; in later writers **נֶרֶךְ** (nă' är) is always masculine.

(b) The demonstrative pronouns plural **אל** (ēl) and **האל** (hā'-ēl) are peculiar to the Pentateuch, and these forms in the lapse of years become in the subsequent books of the Old Testament, **אלה** ('ellēh), and **האלה** (hā'ellēh), the suffix ה being attached.

(c) **כֶּשֶׁב** (chēsēb) is a Mosaic word, which later on appears as **כֶּבֶשׁ** (chēbēsh).

(d) Instead of the **זֶכֶר** (zäccūr) of Moses, we find subsequently **זָכָר** (zācār). Other examples, to which we can but allude, are, **אֲבִיב** (äbīb), Deut. xvi. 1.; **שָׁגֵר** (shēgēr), Exod. xiii. 12, &c.; **גֹּזָל** (gōzāl), Gen. xv. 9; Deut. xxxii. 11; **גִּבּוֹר** (gībboṛ), Gen. vi. 4; Deut. x. 17, &c.

(e) Again, as regards grammatical forms, we find that the third person masculine plural of the future often ends in **וּ** (ūn), while the third person feminine plural has not the final ה of the later writers; for example, in the

Pentateuch we find תִּמְצָאָה (tĭmcs'ē'nā), instead of the later equivalent, תִּמְצָאָה (tĭmcs'ē'nah).

Further notice must be paid to the origin of some of the words employed by the author of the history of the Israelites. In cases where the words found are not of Hebrew origin, it is in the original language of Egypt that we turn to find their derivation ; such, for instance, as the name of Joseph, as פַּעְנָה (pānāh), צִפְנָת (tsāphnāth), and שַׁאֲתֵנֶז (shāātnēz). The inference to be drawn from these facts—and many more such examples could have been cited—is decidedly favourable to the antiquity of Pentateuchal literature.

II. The manner of description. Our thesis is further confirmed by the characteristic description, which argues an eye-witness, and one, too, thoroughly conversant with the customs of the people, and with the topography of the places mentioned ; in fact, so accurate is the narration, that modern geographers can find nothing that requires rectification. The account of the fertility of the land of Goshen, the knowledge of the fruits of Egypt (*vide* Numbers xi. 4, 5), the remarkable note at the end of the seventh plague, would raise in us wonderment, were we not aware that the writer was one “instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians” (Acts vii. 22). Our adversaries admit that the description of the plagues is quite in harmony with the climate of Egypt. The changing of the water into blood would cause such dread, as we find that Moses narrates, not only because water was (and is) scarce in Egypt, but because the waters of the Nile were esteemed divine. Again, before the word עֲרֹב ('Arōb), the demonstrative ה is prefixed, to designate a particular kind of musca or fly, and that, too, one well known. Recent research bears out the description of the baker of Pharaoh, as the Mosaic account corresponds accurately with the sculptures of the country. Attention must also be called to the account of the embalming, burial, and medicine of the Egyptian ; and this, with the significant fact that the name Moshi is of Egyptian origin, is strongly in favour of our contention.

The section treating of the exodus and wanderings of the Israelites, the description of the different stations, their names, situation, and distances, form striking proofs of the veracity of the account. More convincing evidence still is discernible in the fact that the author always speaks of the land of Chanaan in the future, and, as it were, in the manner of one who goes only by hearsay.

Let us here select various sections, and the assertion, so often repeated, of "later composition," will be evident to the reader as being but a weak objection:—

1. The law of Offering. This law is given in the seventeenth chapter of Leviticus. We must here premise that Kuenen and others consider the book of Leviticus to have been written after the Babylonian Captivity.

The words of the law are (Lev. xvii. 3, *sq.*):—"Any man whosoever of the house of Israel, if he kill an ox, or a sheep, or a goat, in the camp, or without the camp, and offer it not at the door of the tabernacle, shall be guilty of blood, &c." This must refer to the time when Israel had a camp, and not to the period when the Jews had the temple at Jerusalem, and when they had neither camp nor tabernacle. Supposing the law to have been written after the exile, would it not, thus framed, lack all meaning, and be wholly inadequate to the requirements of the time? Verse 7 clearly shows that the law was specially promulgated to eradicate idolatry; in fact, the Israelites still were, as Bleek points out, favourably inclined to the worship of goats, שְׁעִירִים (sě-irim, demons); at short, a period after the Exodus was the law drawn up. A similar allusion to the worship of calves is made in 2 Paral. xi. 15.

Particular attention is to be paid to the precise wording of the law: (1) it concerns the killing of animals *within the camp* and *without the camp*; (2) the non-offering at *the door of the tabernacle*. In the first case there is no reference to any future state of the Israelites, and would be meaningless at a later time, when there was a temple at Jerusalem. In the second case, the omission to offer an animal killed would have argued some illegal motive, were it not presented at

the door of the tabernacle, when this was so easy a thing to do in the wilderness. For the future state, when the circumstances of the Chosen People should be changed, there was a special law in Deut. xii. 13, 14. We must remark that the law refers to sacrificial killing; many animals, &c., could be killed in any place; certain things, however, first-lings, tithes, holocausts, and vows were to be offered at one place—the door of the tabernacle. If attention be paid to these two considerations, the inapplicability of the law to a later period will be evident.

2. The laws promulgated in the first seven chapters of Leviticus lead us to infer that the Pentateuch was composed in *the Arabian Desert*. The repetition of the formula אל־מחוצ למוֹחֶה (ēl-michū lāmāchāneh), outside the camp, without the pre-supposition of the wilderness and the camp, would be purposeless. Moreover, the priests are mentioned by name, not in general terms, “Aaron and his sons,” &c.; it is only in the book of Deuteronomy (and subsequently) that we find the expression הַלְלֵוִים, הַכֹּהֲנִים (hăllēvīm, hăkkohānīm), “the priests, the Levites;” the reason of which is, we are inclined to believe, that in the former case Aaron was still alive; whereas in the latter, we conclude that he was dead.

In the mention of the sin-offerings of the anointed priests, the heads of families, &c., no reference whatever is made to the king. Could such an omission be conceived as possible in a post-Davidic age? Chapters xiii. and xiv. Leviticus, which contain the legal ordinances with regard to the uncleanness resulting from leprosy, would be wanting in force, unless modified, and formally explained, were we to imagine Israel living in houses and cities, as the critics wish us to believe. This fact is also noteworthy, that in all these chapters there is not one whit of “difference of style” to disintegrate the whole of these enactments.

3. We have seen that as the manner of writing proves an eye-witness of the events narrated, so the detailed and minute account of the religious ceremonies, the legal ordinances, all induce belief in the fact that these books were written at the time of the first institution of such

legislation. Schouppé observes that the Pentateuch is rather a memorandum or journal than a methodical and consecutive history.

The absurdity of the supposition of a later composition, is evident to a thinking person. What answer, we ask, can be found to the three following questions?—(1) What could have induced anyone wilfully to corrupt the record at a later time? (2) Suppose the book to have been written at the periods the critics wish, would such important enactments have been so wholly inapplicable? (3) How could such an imposture have been palmed off on the Jews, who guarded their laws with such scrupulous care and religious respect?

4. In Exodus xxv., xxxi., a free-will contribution towards the building of a sanctuary to Jehovah is set on foot, the plan and the nature of which sanctuary is explained in detail. Rationalists, and, in particular, De Wette, conclude from the tenor of these ordinances, that they must have been written in an age subsequent to that of Moses, as the Israelites, they allege, could hardly have possessed so great abundance of gold and silver. Hence they infer that the section is from the pen of a later writer, who, beholding the temple of Solomon, transferred the account to an antecedent epoch.¹

Based as this argument is on false premisses, its conclusion falls naturally; the idea that the Israelites could not have possessed so large a quantity of gold and silver being advanced as fact. Exodus xxi. 35 and 36, show the Jews to have borrowed from the Egyptians, "the Lord gave favour to the people in the sight of the Egyptians . . . and they stripped the Egyptians;" while Exodus xxxi. 3, *sq.*, demonstrate that there were among the Israelites men who could work the materials.

There is a further consideration, which we have already hinted at, viz., how could an author living in times nearer the Christian era so cunningly compose a narrative in an archaic style as to hide completely the characteristic method of writing peculiar to his day? *Aliquando Homerus,*

¹ See Bleek's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Venables.

dormitat, and in some unguarded moment something of a self-condemnatory nature must certainly have slipped out unconsciously.

From the various considerations we naturally pass on to ask who this author was. Certainly no person more thoroughly competent for the task can be conceived than Moses, "learned" as he was "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Exodus (xvii. 14), and innumerable other passages in the Pentateuch furnish the answer. "And the Lord said to Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book."¹ Other such passages affording similar testimony, are Exod. xxiv. 4, 7; xx. 2, 11; xxi.; xxiii.; Deut. xxxi. 9, 11; Deut. xxviii. 58, 61.

Thus, arguments based on intrinsic and extrinsic considerations, the impossibility of later composition, the personal fitness of the Jewish lawgiver for such a task. compel us to give a ready consent to the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

PART III.

In this part of our essay it is our intention to review briefly a few of the objections raised against the authenticity of the Pentateuch; and we must at the outset acknowledge our indebtedness to the learned works of Ubaldi, Cornely, Keil, and others. These objections we will reduce to four heads.

I. *Want of Chronological Accuracy.*

1. In Gen. xii. 6, it is said, and repeated in xiii. 7, that when Abraham came to the land of Chanaan, "The Chanaanite was *then* in the land." Hence an inference made that when the author of Genesis wrote the above the Chanaanite was *not then* resident in Chanaan; or, in other words, the above was written after the conquest of Chanaan

¹ We here quote from the Douay Version, but wish to call the reader's attention to the inaccuracy in the text in the use of the indefinite for the definite article. The Hebrew has בַּסֵּפֶר (bassēphēr), "*the*" book, *i.e.* one destined for the purpose; the definite article is indicated by the dagesh in samech. The Septuagint also omits the article εἰς βιβλίον.

which took place after the death of Moses, and consequently Moses could not be the author of the statement. Such a deduction is, however, unwarrantable, and is refuted by the real use of the particle ^{אז} (āz), which indicates rather the previous condition without reference to any subsequent time. In other words, it means *then*, and not before; this history confirms, inasmuch as the Chanaanites were not the original inhabitants (comp. Herod. l. i., c. 7; Strabo, l. xvi.). The Syriac particle *ādāchil* (adhere) gives ground for inferring the continuity of the dwelling at the times when Moses wrote.

2. The section Gen. xxxvi. 15, 43, is, we are told, post-Mosaic, because the "dukes of Edom" would extend from Esau to Moses; and in verse 31 a further list of kings is appended: "these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king in Israel." Hence the critics conclude that, as Israel had no king for several centuries after Moses, this section is unquestionably a later one, and from the mention of Hadad would probably be of the age of Solomon.

In reply we must remark that there are two special dignities here mentioned; the "dukes" (^{אֱלֻפִּים}, *ällūphīm*), who were aristocrats, and whose title was hereditary; and the "kings" (^{מְלָכִים}, *m'lākīm*), whose rank was not hereditary, and who were chosen by the people. The dukes were descended from Esau by his many wives, and their title being transmissible to the children, many of them would be contemporaries; on the other hand, one king only at a time was living. Still from Esau to Moses was a period of some centuries; and surely eight kings is not too liberal an allowance for this lapse of time. It is a manifest error to confound the Hadad of Genesis with the one occurring in the history of Solomon, the former was a king, the latter was not. The further difficulty presented by verse 31 is easily removed by a consideration of the prophecy made to Jacob, "kings shall come out of thy loins" (Gen. xxxv. 11), Moses being aware that kings should rule in Israel. Besides, the word "melech" means not only "king," but also "chief,"

and the Aramaic races call their chiefs "melech" to this day. In this latter restricted sense Moses could well be called "melech."¹

3. We read in Exod. xvi. 35, "the children of Israel ate manna forty years, till they came to a habitable land." Now the manna ceased to fall only after the death of Moses (Josue v. 5); hence Bleek, Wellhausen, and Davidson argue that the above was written after the death of Moses. Moses died just before the close of the forty years; the travelling in the desert was completed; the Israelites were encamped on the borders of Chanaan; their immediate entrance into the land of Promise was expected, and consequently the manna would cease to fall. With a knowledge of such facts, we ask, was Moses not justified in saying, "The Israelites ate manna forty years till they came to a habitable land?"

4. The formula עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה "until this day" is supposed to have been interpolated at a later date. Bleek, following Vater, considers that there is a discrepancy between Deut. iii. 14, and Numbers xxxii. 41, as to the two statements concerning Havoth Jair; as if the villages in Gilead had obtained their name from Jair the Judge (Judges, x. 4), who lived three centuries after Moses. Now the Pentateuch says they were called by that name at the time of Moses.

Firstly, in regard to the formula "until this day," we must remark that it is not necessary for a great period to have elapsed between the event and the time of chronicling; most especially so in the case of some sudden change. To a Semitic mind the expression is so simple, so idiomatic, that the lapse of a month, or of even a week, could justify its use. St. Matthew, for instance, in speaking of the Haceldama, says, διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς αἵματος "ἕως τῆς σήμερον" (Matt. xxvii. 8); and yet a short period only had passed by. Moses, too, in speaking of the villages of Argob, in Bashan, conquered but a *few months* previously, employs the same expression.

¹ Philo often calls Moses "king."

Secondly, Judges x. 4 must not be understood as meaning that these towns received their name from Jair the Judge. They were called Havoth Jair before, but the Judge's name being identical with that Jair from whom they previously received their appellation, strengthened the use of the name.¹

II. Geographical Inaccuracies.

1. The book of Deuteronomy is introduced by the words, "These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel *beyond the Jordan*." Hence, Bleek infers that the expression עבר־הירדן (ēbērḥāyardēn, "beyond the Jordan") indicates the land of Chanaan west of the Jordan, or beyond Jordan, from the standpoint of the speaker; concluding therefrom, that it "was evidently written by one on this side of the Jordan, and, therefore, after the death of Moses and the taking of Chanaan by Israel." The word עבר (ābār) really means "to cross over," when מ (mem) is prefixed; thus מעבר (miēbēr), it signifies beyond;" if ב (beth) is prefixed, its usual rendering is "on this side." In this particular passage ב (beth) is placed before, and the Authorised Version renders it "on this side;" hence, the real explanation is on this side, viz., the east of the Jordan. Similar passages occur in Deut. iii. 8, iv. 41; still, in Deut. xi. 30, we must admit that the meaning is "beyond." Hence, Gese nius remarks, "manifestum est עבר ab uno eodemque scriptore de ulteriore et citeriore regione dici potuisse."²

Some scholars are of opinion that from the days of the patriarchs, the region east of the Jordan was known by the term "beyond Jordan," whatever might be the position of the speaker.

We may instance how a Frenchman, at the present day, may speak of the Italians as "ultramontane," even in Italy.

¹ Menochius on this text says: "Secundus hic Jair eosdem fortasse muris cinxit, frequentiores reddidit, in oppida erexit, ita ut firmius haec illis adhaeserit nomenclatura nec primi tantum respectu, sed hujus etiam secundi."

² Ges., *His. Ling. Heb.*, p. 986.

Similarly, the lands east of the Euphrates are called by the *usus populi*, Trans-Euphratem.

2. In the Pentateuch the western direction is indicated by the word ים (yām), “a sea:” thus, רוּחַים (rūākh yām), the “west wind;” יָמָה (yāmmāh), “westward;” מִיָּם (miyām), “from the west” (Gen. xii. 8, &c). Colenso, Davidson and others object that when Moses was in the wilderness the sea was not on the west; consequently, this term could only be employed by one writing in Palestine. In reply, we must say that Moses was not the author of the expression ים, as significant of the west. Such was the consecrated usage of the people; and to employ such a form it was not necessary to be eastward of the Mediterranean. In Exod. x. 19, רוּחַים (rūākh jām) certainly means the “west wind,” yet the Mediterranean was to the north of the writer. Still, the second part of the objection solves itself; for Moses’ phraseology was quite correct, inasmuch as he wrote in the plains of Moab, and the Mediterranean Sea lies to the west.

3. Joseph, when in prison, said he was taken out of “the land of the Hebrews.” Bleek argues that, inasmuch as the Hebrews had no land of their own, but wandered about as strangers on the face of the earth, Joseph could not have so expressed himself, but the words are the addition and deduction of a later historian.² The earlier history of Abraham relates how he, with three hundred and eighteen persons, defeated five confederate kings—the conquerors of the land—and proved himself the *master* of the country. The Hittites held Abraham in great veneration; “*audi nos domine*,” said they, “*princeps Dei es tu apud nos*.” Now, at the time of Joseph, the Hebrews had multiplied so much, that the expression had a real foundation, and was a most significant one. By Hebrews, we think Joseph must have meant all the descendants of Abraham, who was the first to be called העִבְרִי (hā’ibri, Septuagint ὁ περᾶτης, “the pas-

¹ Venables’ Translation, p. 231.

senger"). In point of fact, the posterity of Abraham were hardly ever called Hebrews at a later date, but rather Israelites, &c. Thus, the expression was a most appropriate one in the mouth of Joseph.

4. There occurs a list of names of places which the critics attribute to a post-Mosaic author :—

(a) There is a city called by the name of Hebron as early as the time of Abraham (Gen. xiii. 18, *et alibi*), which name, we are informed by the critics, takes its origin only from Caleb (Jos. xiv. 14, 15; xv. 13), as it was formerly called Kirjath Arba, the town of Arba, the father of the Anakim (Douay, Enorcim). The assumption that Hebron took its name from Hebron, the son of Caleb, is practically groundless, the name of Hebron not occurring in the list of the sons of Caleb in 1 Paral. ii. 42; iv. 15. The only basis of the statement is the expression, "the son of Marasha, the father of Hebron." Moreover, it is not stated that Joshua gave *Kirjath Arba* to Caleb, but *Hebron*; hence we conclude that the town was already called by this name. The real name, a Hittite one, was Hebron. That of Kirjath Arba was given to it by the giants who possessed themselves of the city, and, after one of their ancestors, Arba, gave it its secondary and later title. Thus we find that Moses employs the original appellation of the town.¹

(b) Bethel, it is alleged, received this name after the death of Moses, as the former title was Luz (compare Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, with Jos. xviii. 3, and Judges i. 22, 26). The solving of this difficulty is a simple matter. Gen. xxviii. 19, relates how Jacob on his way to Padan-Aram re-named the place Bethel, on account of his vision. The Israelites would naturally call the spot Bethel, while the pagans, having no grounds for changing the name, would use the only title known to them, viz. Luz; consequently Joshua, on invading the land of Chanaan, found the pagan inhabitants employing the only name they knew.

¹ "Hebronis vero nomen quo civitas ante Enacitarum occupationem non appellabatur, nova ista appellatione non interiit; invenitur enim in templo Medinat Habu inscriptum a Ramses III. : sub ejus regno Israelitae in deserto peregrinabantur."—(F. Cornely, S.J., vol. i., p. 90.)

(c) The critics, in speaking of Leish or Leshim (Jos. xix. 47, Judges xviii. 29), say that the name "Dan" is given for the first time by the Danites, who occupied it; and hence the account in Gen. xvi. 14 must be of later date than the passages above cited, as the place is there called by the name "Dan."

The assertion that "Dan" of Genesis is identical with Leish, is nowhere positively affirmed, and from the fact that Moses elsewhere, as we have observed in regard to Hebron and Bethel, mentions the old and new titles, but here omits to do so, we have no definite grounds for connecting the two names. We think that either the sources of the Jordan or some other place was called by this name. St. Jerome is of opinion that the word "Jordan" is derived from the "River Dan," and consequently is much antecedent to Moses. Other commentators incline to the view that Leish was also named Dan from the pagan worship of a god, or from some similar name (cf. Ubaldi). There is a city mentioned as Dana, between Socoth and Kirjath-Sana in the tribe of Juda, but as Abraham pursued his enemy as far as Khoba on the left hand of Damascus, there is no reason for connecting the names of the two towns. The most reasonable conjecture is that there was a spot near the sources of the Jordan called Dan. Still, whatever and wherever be the place, the fact that Moses omitting to state that Leish and Dan were identical, is the strongest proof, though the proof be of a negative character.

III. *Archæological Difficulties.*

1. The account of Og and his stupendous bed (Deut. iii. 2), we learn, must be of a period subsequent to that of Moses, as the chronicling so well known a fact would be useless. If we recall to mind that Moses was writing not merely for the people of his own time, but for posterity also, the force of this difficulty disappears. Besides, the description was not of use only to those who were to come after, but also to some of Israel, as, for instance, the old men, the women, and the children who had not seen the bed. We read that this wonder was in "Rabbath of the children of Ammon;"

consequently, the whole of Israel would scarcely have seen it.

2. The "sacred shekel" mentioned in Exod. xxx. 13, xxxvii. sqq., 24, is another stumbling-block for the critics, as it argues (to them) the temple of Jerusalem to have been already existent. This assumption, as we shall see, is most unwarrantable. The word הִקְדֵּשׁ (hăkkōdēsh) means—1 holiness; 2, that which is holy. If it is to be taken as referable to a sanctuary, what grounds are there for referring it to the *Temple*? Rather should it be taken as applying to the *Tabernacle*, a detailed description of which is given in Exodus xxxv. 8, and which sanctuary was shortly afterwards erected. That Moses should ordain a special tribe for the maintenance of the tabernacle, was most reasonable; so much so, in fact, that subsequently the observance almost passed for law.

3. Moses, it is objected, had no reason for giving the foreign names of Mount Hermon "which the Sidonians call Sārion (Sirron), and the Amorrites Sanir (Shenir)" (Deut. iii. 9). These names were certainly well known at the time when Moses wrote. On the reasons which induced him to give these, two passages from recent writers will throw light:—"As I looked on that western barrier of Bashan, the first sunbeams touched the crest of Hermon; and as they touched it, its icy crown glistened like polished steel, reminding me how strikingly descriptive was the name given to that mountain by the Amorites, Shenir the 'breast-plate' or 'shield.'" ¹ "From the spot where Moses was speaking Hermon was clearly visible to the north-west; and perhaps the very phenomenon which gave rise to the Sidonian and Amorite names, may on that morning of early March have been conspicuous to all Israel, and called forth an appropriate notice."²

IV. *Philological Difficulties.*

In the preceding part of this article we have already had occasion to mention the objection relative to the "style" of

¹ Porter, *The Giant Cities of Basan*, p. 30.

Smith, c. i., p. 578.

the Pentateuch ; to what we have already said we intend to add a few further remarks.

We have seen that, as Dr. Ubaldi points out, Hebrew varied little in the eight centuries intervening between Moses and the later canonical writers, as Malachias and Zacharias, with, however, one distinguishing characteristic in the most ancient books, viz., archaism. We saw also that this absence of notable change is a peculiar feature of Semitic languages.¹ It remains for us to indicate a further reason for this marked fixity of speech. This reason is the exclusive nature of the Jews, which led them to hold aloof from the neighbouring peoples. They never mixed with the "Goim" (nations), looking on them as unclean. Certainly they would never insert a foreign language in their sacred books.

Moreover, the Pentateuch, possessing all the technicalities necessary for the expression of religious, poetical, and politic ideas, became the norm for all subsequent writers.

Another potent factor in the change of language is change in the condition of the language-users, invasions, change of dynasties and such like.² But these are absent in the case of the Israelites. Further, Bleek and others have proved that the circumjacent peoples, notably the Phoenicians, spoke the same language, or a very similar dialect. Comparison with the now-spoken European tongues would be particularly useless and misleading in the present case.

Another consideration, relative to the Pentateuch as a standard for subsequent writers, is this: the models of earlier times can be copied by writers in after ages, still hardly to such extent as to fitly vie with the original. In exemplification of which we may compare the lovely style of St. John Chrysostom with that of Demosthenes, though seven centuries divided the lives of these orators.

Before concluding this, our first thesis, there remain for treatment some few objections against the assertion that Moses (and no other) wrote the Pentateuch.

¹ Compare Renan, *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, page 120.

² Compare Whitney, *Life and Growth of Language*.

(a) The author always speaks of Moses in the third person; hence the two persons are not identical. Surely we can grant to Moses what we so readily grant to other historians. As an ordinary rule the first person is used in writing for contemporaries, whereas in history the third generally takes preference, especially should the author refer to his own achievements, modesty prompting such a course. Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, Josephus in his *History*, thus write; but let Moses use the third person, and the case is quite altered in the eyes of the prejudiced. Away, then, with such insensate quibbling!

(b) The writer in many passages praises Moses; *e.g.*, Exod. xi. 3: "And Moses was a very great man;" Numbers xii. 3: "Moses was a man exceeding meek," &c. Such self-praise would be very unbecoming in the author.

To such a people as the Hebrews their leader and law-giver was justified in sounding his own praises, for the purpose of giving greater weight and authority to his statements and enactments. Though the proverb affirms that "self-praise is no recommendation," there are times when a writer, not only *can*, but *should*, mention his qualities and capabilities; as, for instance, in the assertion of one's rights, or for the benefit of one's office. From the remark that Moses was a great man, we readily understand why it was that the Egyptians should give their vessels of gold and silver to the Hebrews. On the other hand, Moses mentions his mildness, that the murmurings of the Israelites should not be attributed to him, and that the punishments inflicted on Aaron and Miriam should be recognised as the chastisements of Divine Justice, and not the results of the malice or vengeance of Moses. Furthermore, the strict integrity of the writer is proved by his mentioning his faults and transgressions (Exod. iv. 10; Num. xx. 2-12; Deut. i. 37).

(c) The last chapter of Deuteronomy records the death and burial of Moses, and plainly could not have come from his pen. This is doubted by no one. The author of the account was probably Josue; and that this chapter was originally part of the book of Josue, is manifested by the

fact that the book of Josue (in the Hebrew) commences with the conjunction ׀ (vav) "and."

(d) In the first part of this article we summarized Dr. Kuenen's teaching on "Yahwism," the national religion of the Jews. Though the subject is too great for treatment here, yet we cannot conclude without making a few remarks on his opinions. The assertion that "Yahwism" was a *national* religion, is most arbitrary. Old Testament history everywhere gives it a denial. The Old Law proclaims Jehovah as the *one and only God*, and affirms that His religion was ready to receive all who would accept it, and who would embrace the Mosaic Law. Though, in practice, we do not find such to have freely taken place, yet such is the principle of the doctrine from the outset. *All* nations are blessed in the seed of Abraham. In Shiloh was the expectation of *all* nations. Balaam was a Gentile, yet a prophet of Jehovah. Hobab is invited to share the privileges of the chosen people, and to live among them. The Psalms of David constantly harp upon the universality of this religion, calling upon *all* nations to praise and worship Jehovah. The prophets were subjected to persecution, not because they preached this doctrine, but because they predicted the numerous evils which the Israelites had deserved by reason of their infidelity to the law of God. They predicted the coming of the King of Peace, to whom all the Gentiles should submit. Moreover, we know that the Jews never rejected a Gentile who wished to embrace their religion, and in later times we even find them proselytizing.

The Jewish religion, in reality and practise, was not Catholic and all-embracing; but what the prophets proclaimed of this religion was its universality, and for this they suffered. The supposition of Kuenen, as to a national Judaic religion, is refuted by the prophecies of Malachias and Zacharias (both post-exilian). Malachias says:—"For from the rising of the sun to its setting, My name is great among the Goim (heathen world), and in all places (is) incense offered to My name as a pure sacrifice, for My name is great among the Goim" (Hebrew version). To enumerate all the passages of Scripture which give a most pointed con-

tradition to this unreal and biased concept of Dr. Kuenen, would carry us far beyond the limits we have prescribed to ourselves.

We have come to the end of these objections to the authenticity of the Pentateuch. We have seen what the nature of these objections is. As to the intentions of those who adduce such charges, we are silent. A scholar has remarked: "To such objections it may not be unjustly replied, that there is no history, however authentic, that will stand the application of such tests." But we need not fear for the Bible. We have seen that the Pentateuch bears the stamp of the hand of Moses. Professor Leathe has remarked: "Treat the Bible how you will, it is not like other books. The demand so often made so to treat the Bible, is itself a witness to the fact that it is *felt* to be unlike any other book." Objections will never prove of real harm to the divine writings; rather, indeed, they are of service, as the natural result is a clearer explanation, and a better understanding of the Sacred Text.

"Thy Word is tried to the uttermost,
And thy servant loveth it."

DAVID BENJAMIN.

RELIGION IN THE STATE

AMONG the various elements which, owing to their recondity, render the history of the human race extremely difficult to understand, in anything like a profound and comprehensive manner, is the history of religious belief. There are certain principles which, though apparently of a very abstract nature, yet are capable of influencing materially the destinies of the human race, and of moulding, in one form rather than another, the practical character both of the nation and of the individual. These, however, so long as they pertain to the regions of purely immaterial and philosophical speculation, take some considerable length of

time—years, or even centuries—before they lead to any definite line of action. Thus the doctrines of the imperfection of society and universal brotherhood remained in the minds of men years before they resulted in the horrors and bloodshed of the French Revolution. They must grow in a congenial soil, surrounded by favourable conditions, before they can reach to a successful maturity. It is not so with such principles as are supernatural in their object or in their origin. The belief in the existence of a deity, infinitely wise and powerful, ubiquitous in every part of the great created, and taking an active part in the affairs of creation, at once begins to manifest itself in a change of conduct in the individual.

Every other religious principle or belief is of a similar nature. As soon as ever it is received into the human mind, fully acquiesced in and accepted, it exerts a positive influence, for good or ill, upon the institutions, judgments, and entire moral character. With the progress, therefore, of religious dogma, there takes place a corresponding change in man's personal and collective character. At first the fundamental basis, or principles of belief, were very few. They were of the simplest nature, and both universal and impartial in their application; but a change soon took place. The light of revelation grew stronger and stronger, illuminating with its refulgence the conditions and personal surroundings of man. New laws were being continually prescribed to the people; new formulas of dogmas were continually being solved, and soon accumulated to such an extent as to form a distinct and separate science, now called the science of theology. A further progress was introduced by the application of the law to the individual circumstances and events of life, thereby giving rise to numerous and multitudinous distinctions. Other causes, too, were at work, more human and natural in their origin. The moral law sometimes pressed hard on the individual, opposing the strongest interests and desires of his nature. Hence there arose an effort to make this burden as light as possible; and, mainly by the use of analysis, began to seek out what were the limits of the law, and how far it could be strained, so as

to accommodate itself to the exigencies and frailties of fallen humanity.

From all these causes there has been a continual progress in religious belief, and hence an ever-increasing influence for good or ill in the destinies of the human race. It is for this reason that the State has, in all times, acknowledged by its legislation the influence which one belief more than another has upon the well-being of society. There seem to have been the grounded conviction that there was a necessity for religious interference on the part of the State; that the government of the country should consider, and even, if necessary, modify, the religious tenets of the people. It is well known how, in the old pagan systems, the deities occupied a very prominent position in legal enactments. We read, again, in the Acts of the Apostles, that the introduction of the worship of a new deity was made punishable even with death. Nowhere, perhaps, is this so forcibly illustrated as in the lives of the Roman emperors, when the upholders of the new Christian doctrines were looked upon as the most deadly enemies of the State.

The most important political revolutions were attended by changes in the religious doctrine or practises of the people. Such changes may seem to be rather accompanying circumstances than active causes. But, in either case, they were clearly blended with the efficient motives that lead to those changes. It is curious to mark how the rise and fall of Puritanism were so incident with the ascendancy of the commonwealth. There is little doubt but that the religious element formed no mean factor among the many circumstances that in their combination, issued in the formation of the memorable protectorate of Oliver. There was at work a hatred of the principle of the divine right of kings. Men tended to submerge all social differences and inferiorities under the one great axiom that the whole of mankind was but one great family, and God was their Father; on the field of battle, before the contest, services were held, in which the protection of the Lord of Hosts was solemnly invoked; the courage and enthusiasm of Cromwell's iron soldiers were wrought to the highest pitch by war cries selected from

appropriate parts of Holy Scripture. Indeed, to such an extent did religion blend itself with the spirit of democracy, that the history of the Puritan predomination is more the history of a sect than of the vicissitudes of a mere party faction.

What we see on a small scale we find carried on in almost every country, and on almost every page of the world's history. If we take away the element of belief, we reduce all to chaos and confusion, and one-half of the world's history would be swept away and completely obliterated. What the mortar is to the bricks or stone of some stately edifice, that religion is to the political destinies of nations: the whole world ceases to exist if the part were removed. There have been made, however, no few attempts in these past years to eliminate the religious element from the progress and social well-being of society. That full and ample liberty which the State affords without distinction to all religious bodies, is a symptom and outcome of this tendency. In the framing of new laws, in the organization of parochial institutions, as well as in the declared utterances of parliamentary leaders, we find evidence enough of what may be called the gradual elimination of State craft from religion.

Such a process may present at first sight no considerable advantages. Where the State has practically acknowledged the presence of religion, the greatest abuses have frequently arisen. The liberty of man's conscience has been invaded, the intrinsic discipline of the Church was altered to suit the convenience or caprice of civil rulers; while the clergy, too often enervated or corrupted by State patronage, became unfit for the proper exercise of their religious duties. In those conditions, moreover, of man's life, where the religious elements largely intervene, many intricate disputes have embittered the good understanding of Church and State. Of these, we have numerous examples in the formation or dissolution of the marriage tie; in matters of education; and lastly, but not least, in the administration of clerical discipline.

The history of our own island, is, in itself, a sufficient proof

of how great evils may proceed from the active union and mutual recognition of State and Church. The difficulty of deciding to what extent the clerical offenders should fall under the civil power and law, and how far they should be answerable to civil jurisdiction and authority, the disputes regarding the privileges and support of the clergy, and the mutual jealousies so often arising between Pope and king, bishop and baron, were all so many abuses arising from the mutual endeavour of Church and State to recognise, in a practical manner, each other's existence. In course of time these abuses, however temporary in their nature, increased to an almost alarming extent. Men began to think that the two societies, the ecclesiastical and the civil, were so isolated in their nature and qualities, so alien in their aims and methods of working, that between them there could be no alliance or sympathy whatever.

This opinion, however false and extravagant, is what we should naturally expect. A diligent observer of human nature and a close student of history could hardly expect otherwise. The mind of the people varies by leaps and bounds, and rushes from one extreme to the other with the regular motion of a pendulum. In the great mass of the people there is generally a woeful want of discrimination and discernment. Men do not distinguish between the principle which dictates a cause of action, and the abuses that, owing to human limitations and frailty, may rise in the course of its use. Thus when they see this or that abuse taking place, no matter how important or necessary may be the fundamental principle that underlies it, they come to the conclusion that the thing must be done away with altogether. It was this same principle that gave rise to the so-called Reformation, and to all the sanguinary horrors of the French Revolution. So also was the state of things under discussion. Men, seeing that the union and mutual recognition of the Church and State gave rise to certain abuses, rushed to the opposite extreme, and came to the conclusion that between them there must, and can, be no sympathy whatever, and that the spirit which animates them must needs be rather the spirit of antagonism than that of mutual good-will and support.

But by their fruits you shall know them, and time in its progress has not yet made tangible the evil effects that must necessarily flow from such a system of irreligion. The influence which the government of nations has over the unruly elements that form such an integral part of that nation is of a physical rather than a moral character. It is true that St. Paul admonishes us to make it a matter of conscience to obey the powers that be. But how few there are who think of reducing these words to practice ; how few there are among the good and pious ones that are accustomed to associate the powers that be with Divine authority from on high. Experience shows that when the physical power of a government becomes weak, that all the elements of disorder are at once set loose. In the case of an earthquake or some general conflagration, not the least of the awful horrors that attend these scourges are the armed bands of robbers and assassins who, even under the shadow of death itself, make no scruple to pillage and slaughter their fellow-creatures

If at the present day, owing to the suddenly increased power of the democratic elements, or to a general European war, the strong arm of the civil power should suddenly be relaxed, there is no doubt but that the evil passions of the multitude, released from the thralldom of the civil power, and deterred by the prospect of no physical chastisement, would lead to the most awful and abominable excesses. This is the natural consequence of divorcing state control from religious influences.

Moreover, "*Quis ipse custodes custodit?*" Who shall guide and counsel the minds and hearts of our legislators? What influence shall there be that can lead them to consult the well-being of the nation at large in preference to their own private interest? Can men who in their legislation throw off even the mask of religion, and in the spirit of exulting triumph seek to stamp out even the shadow of religious influence, be fit to pass such laws as shall benefit the moral well-being of the people? If man were made of body alone, and his physical well-being alone worthy of consideration, then, indeed, a government purely earthly

might suffice. But such we well know is not the case. There is not a law that is passed but effects, directly or indirectly, the moral well-being of thousands—multitudes—of immortal souls. Is it right, then, that a government that professes to act independently of any religious influence should have the power of passing such laws?

The advocates of secularism pure and simple, say that the temporal rulers are concerned with the temporal well-being of the nation, and that legislative enactments resulting in the good of the nation can be passed by Jews and atheists as well as by good, decent, and God-fearing Christians. The holders of such arguments are taking for granted the whole principle upon which the whole fabric of their reasoning is based. They assume that the religious belief or unbelief of a man has no influence upon his other opinions, and that the temporal prosperity of a nation is quite independent of the morality either of rulers or of subjects. But an impartial and careful examination of the workings of the human mind will soon show that, in reality, there is not a single principle, however abstract it may seem to be, that is not capable of affecting, even substantially, the tenor of a man's conduct, and the hue and colour of all his other opinions. Much more is this the case regarding those opinions which, while called abstract, are in reality most real, related as they are to the existence of a supernatural world, and in connection with it. An ordinary man will find that were it not for the truths of religion his position in the world would be quite other than what it is now, and that the great part of his life is most intimately bound up with what he believes and holds in matters of religion. Nor can we draw the line in the present case between an individual and a collection of individuals. The public character upon which depends the public prosperity is materially determined by the nature of the religious element that accompanies it.

Then, again, the history of mankind shows us that the second proposition, assumed by the advocates of state secularization, is likewise false. The temporal prosperity of a nation is far from being independent of the moral and

ethical element, and is most intimately connected with it. The general law which presides over the destinies of mankind, and which in its general workings is infallible, is this, that every injustice, every evil deed, is followed sooner or later by misfortune and misery. As in the private life, thefts, usury, evil speaking, gluttony and intemperance are followed by sickness, evil repute, and such like temporal misfortunes, so great social wrongs and laws that are framed without the slightest regard for the supernatural element, are sure to lead to the most disastrous consequences.

The secularization of the State, therefore, is a far greater evil than the one they wish to avoid. Yet such is the tendency of the age. The general opinion of the age is, that one religion is as good as another; that the most opposite, the most conflicting views upon religious subjects, have all an equal chance of turning right in the end. There are some who call this the language of an age of intellectual enlightenment and liberty of conscience. But it is, on the contrary, the language of infidelity and sceptical contempt, and its logical consequence is what we see in the present day, namely, a general tendency to divorce religion from any practical bearing on the daily life of a man, and from any practical interference with the destinies of the nation.

J. A. DEWE.

JEAN BÉTHUNE

IF a man's happiness in this world is in any sense to be gauged by the measure of success by which his efforts are crowned, the late Baron Béthune, in his artistic career, was a singularly fortunate person. At the age of twenty-four, fired by the ardour and eloquence of Montalembert, he bound himself to the resuscitation of mediæval art; and in this, henceforth the darling object of his life, he succeeded far beyond his wildest hopes.

What Ruskin, Pugin, and Gilbert Scott—the whole band of pre-Raphaelites—vainly tried to accomplish for

England, that did Béthune essay to do for his native Flanders. Their labour was not lost. They purified art, they inculcated a very general appreciation of the principles of design; they spread throughout the land the culture of the beautiful and the true; they vindicated the dignity of decoration; thanks to their example, English artists, even the greatest of them, think it no degradation to be her humble servants; thanks to their efforts, as M. Destrée pointed out last January,¹ English decorative art holds the first place in Europe. All this they did, and much more; but one thing they could not do: they could never infuse any real life into the dry bones of English mediæval art; they could never again make it the art of the people. It could hardly have been otherwise: the circumstances of time and place, the whole environment of things, was against them. They could find no fulcrum on which to rest their lever; the very prosperity of England, the peculiar constitution of her religious life, rendered any such attempt—for the time being, at least—doomed to failure. But when these sons of Britain failed, the Fleming's efforts met their chief success; and simply, because in Flanders, the conditions under which he laboured were altogether different.

A little country, with a glorious past; a humbled nation which had only just regained its freedom; a faithful people, whose Catholicity was no less fervent than their patriotism. Béthune appealed to God and fatherland. This was the cry which bore him to success, which breathed new life and vigour into the corpse of ancient Flemish art; which made of it, in hand of priest and politician, a living, moving, energizing power.

Jean Béthune was the son of a wealthy cloth merchant of Courtrai, on whom Leopold I. had bestowed the rank and dignity of a baron. Burgomaster of his native town—an office, be it borne in mind, which in Belgium is held in much higher esteem than its equivalent, the mayoralty, is with us—and a senator to boot, old Baron Béthune was, in his day, a personage of no small importance. He had designed

¹ *La Revue Générale*, "Préraphaélites Anglais," 1894.

Jean for a political career, on account of his own rank and influence, and the ability which he knew his son possessed ; in his mind's eye picturing for him, doubtless, a brilliant future ; and, in furtherance of this end, when he had reached the age at which young men usually go out into the world, had obtained for him a subordinate position in the Provincial Council at Bruges : to Bruges, accordingly, the embryonic politician went : to Bruges, where there still lingered the half forgotten recollection of the beauty of ancient art : to Bruges with its convents and its hostelries, rich in the glories of Munling and Van Eyck, and its churches, unadorned save by the grandeur of their huge proportions, and yet so lovely in their stern simplicity : to Bruges where, in picturesque nooks and unlooked-for corners, great gabled palaces with mullioned windows, like blinking eyes, peer through thick foliage into sluggish streams, where strange gargoyles jut from crumbling walls, and grotesque heads and queer faces leer from doorpost and lintel, or peep out from beneath the beetling eaves of old houses into the muddy flow of some canal ; to Bruges with its world-famed carillon, its old guild houses, its trafficless waterways choked up with lilies, its quays devoid of merchandise, its swans, its hundred bridges, its time-honoured town-gates ; and, scattered about here and there in narrow winding back streets, by tourists and strangers rarely visited, its old inns. Those glorious old inns with their long panelled parlours and timbered roofs, with their huge fire-places furnished on either side with great high-backed settles, and ranged along the wainscot and round oak tables, black with the wear and tear of three centuries, their massive leather chairs, all studded with brazen nails, made bright by the oscillation of ten generations of stalwart Flemish backs. Such is the quaint old city to which Béthune betook himself to learn the ins and outs of communal administration, that he might be initiated in the mysteries of political economy, that he might become acquainted with the science of governing men. A strange place to choose, certainly, for the education of a politician ; nor can there be any doubt that the choice left its mark on Béthune's career ; though it was to another

circumstance, in itself accidental, that he became directly aware of his true vocation. The event to which we refer occurred some fifty years ago, when our hero was about completing his twenty-fourth year. It happened thus.

Montalembert, who had married a daughter of Count Felix de Merode, one of Belgium's young nationality, chanced at that time to be paying a visit to his father-in-law, and from thence made a pilgrimage to Courtrai. It naturally fell to the lot of the burgomaster to entertain the young relative of his distinguished colleague; to his son Jean, who happened just then to be visiting the paternal mansion, to show him the sights of the town. The Church of St. Mary, a magnificent specimen of early thirteenth century work—but, like the greater part of the old Flemish churches of that day, disfigured by successive restorations—was one of the places visited, probably because it contained a celebrated Van Dyck—"The Elevation of the Cross." On entering the sacred building Montalembert stood transfixed, but not with admiration at the work of the great master, the pride and glory of all Courtrai, though he acknowledged its beauty; but with horror at the *maladroit* restorations which had deformed the loveliness of the old church. Béthune was simply astounded.

At length Montalembert spoke, as only he could speak, and with words of burning eloquence pointed out to his young cicerone the splendour, the beauty, the truth of mediæval art. To Béthune his words were a revelation, he had never thought of the tumbled-down old buildings of his native town in that light before; but from that moment he resolved within himself to revivify the time-honoured architecture of Flanders, to restore once more the glories of Gothic art.

Resigning his appointment at Bruges, he now set to work in earnest to prepare for the great work which he felt himself called on to accomplish. With knapsack on back—that legendary knapsack which all his friends knew so well—and pencil in hand, he traversed all Europe—England, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and, of course, his own

dear Flanders. Everywhere he took sketches of ancient monuments, everywhere made copies of such documents as he thought might be useful to him; but this was not enough, he determined to make himself master of every branch of medi  val art, and, in turn, became architect, painter on glass, on plaster and in oil, sculptor in wood and stone, worker in brass and iron, in gold and silver, and in precious gems. At length, when he had completed his own artistic education, he settled down at Ghent, and, gathering about him a troop of kindred spirits, set about the accomplishment of his heart's desire.

Of his various foundations we shall only mention the atelier of stained glass at Ghent, which he himself superintended till the day of his death, the Guild of St. Thomas, and the Schools of St. Luke. A few young fellows of the artisan class were his first pupils, and a rickety table, a black-board, and some pieces of chalk, the first furniture of their studio. What these schools have now become, and what they have done for the restoration of Christian art, need not be noticed here. Their work is well known; besides, we ourselves have given some account of it in a former number of the *I. E. RECORD*. Suffice it to say, that in Flanders, as we have already seen, B  thune succeeded far beyond his wildest hopes, but his influence was not bounded by the narrow borders of his native land; it passed to England, Holland, France, and Germany; nay, to Rome itself: for had he no part in shaping the hand now raising there the great abbey of St. Anselm? Thus much, then, for B  thune's achievement, the grand achievement of his life; but what of his merit as an architect, of the intrinsic value of his work?

Too true an artist not to conceive his buildings in the integrity of their composition—with all that completeness, that perfection, which the decorative arts alone can give to the work of the constructor, he seems to have attached more importance to unity of style, to arch  ological correctness, than to the impression of   sthetic effect. With him it was, so to speak, a point of honour to follow implicitly the footsteps of his medi  val masters. "*C'est une acte,*" says

his disciple and fellow-labourer, Jules Helbig, in one of those charming essays with which he occasionally enlivens the pages of the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*—"C'est une acte d'humilité et d'expiation que nous devons bien à un art contre lequel nos ancêtres ont si cruellement péché."

It is no disparagement, then, to say that, like his great predecessors of the Middle Age, Béthune excelled rather in his architectural than his decorative efforts. That these latter, however, were of no mean order of merit, the ravishing little fifteenth-century oasis called Vive Capelle, about four miles from Bruges, bears witness. This picturesque cluster of buildings, consisting of church, convent, presbytery, and schoolhouse, is, perhaps, his masterpiece. Here he had a free hand; and, what is more, the buildings are complete.

It may be objected that Béthune's scheme of colouring is invariably pronounced, sometimes even harsh; but to judge fairly of a work of art, it must be viewed under the conditions and with the surroundings with which it presented itself to the mind of the artist who conceived it. At Vive Capelle these conditions are realized; the conception is complete; and we are bound to say that, notwithstanding the archaic laidure of some of the sculpture and figure-drawing, the general effect is simply ravishing. The memory of the beauties of its sanctuary is pictured in the mind's eye like the memory of a glorious dream. Here we have perfect proportion, and perfect harmony of colour, all bathed in the mellow light which filters through stained glass. Saints gleam through the richly-tinted windows; frescoes bloom from the walls; the stonework itself luxuriates in brilliant pigments; the very pavement seems to blush with the warm glow of encaustic tiles; while the deep, rich brown of oaken screen and choir-stalls give a certain quiet dignity to the scene.

The great abbey at Maredsous, with its noble church is, doubtless, a grander conception; but it is still unfinished; the central tower is wanting; the decorative work, too, is incomplete. Many of the windows are unfilled with stained glass; and where this is not lacking, the designs, unless we are much mistaken, are not Béthune's. If they be, they are

certainly most unfavourable specimens of his work—not to be compared with the windows at Vive Capelle, nor the magnificent series in the clear-story of Ghent Cathedral. The frescoes, too, though from the baron's cartoons, are being carried out by a Beuron artist, who is altering them, with the consent, it is true, of Mr. Béthune—but still, it would seem, with his reluctant consent—to meet the canons of that semi-Egyptian, semi-mediæval, all-beautiful school of painting, of which he is so able an exponent.

One word as to the yet-unfinished wood screen, and we have done. Three Gothic arches of mellow oak, their spandrels filled with open tracery, destined to frame the iron gates and grill, which one day will shut in the choir, support, athwart the chancel arch, a mighty beam. Above the central span there stands the rood, in form non-Jansenist—Christ stretches out His arms to all the earth. His head is slightly bent; the expression noble, awe-inspiring, sympathetic; the whole conception dignified and reverent; on either side the rood two figures—on the right hand, our Lady and the Church; on the left, the beloved disciple and the synagogue.

Such is the last labour—withal a labour of love—of the great artist who has just passed from among us. Along the beam which spans the rood screen, on the chancel side, graved in Gothic characters of gold, there runs a Latin legend—a legend which at the present moment cannot fail to touch the hearts of those who read it, of those especially to whom it daily makes its mute appeal, who know full well the bitter grief which, two years since, befell its gentle author. It bids them, in their psalmody, remember the Béthunes.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ." OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

"PROPRIUM SANCTORUM"

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary. We have in former papers drawn out the likeness which exists between our ever-dear and beloved Lady and the priest, and in to-day's Mass, as in all her Feasts, Holy Church sets her before us a special object of our devotion. But to-day the special object of our consideration is her most holy name, which as the "mellifluis" St. Bernard tells us in the lessons of our Second Nocturn, means "Star of the Sea." In his own incomparable way he brings out the signification of this name. For as a star emits its ray without suffering any detriment thereby, so our Lady brought forth her Son without hurt to her virginity. She is that star which was to rise out of Jacob (Numbers xxiv. 17), and to shine upon all the world with her splendour, illuminating the heavens, penetrating into the places beneath the earth (*inferos*), and beaming over the earth to quicken with her rays the souls of men, and cause the life of virtue to grow in their hearts, and to destroy vice. She is the star that shines with merits and illuminates us with her examples. Who does not see in this the picture of the priest after God's own heart? We, like our Divine Master, are called to be the light which enlighteneth the Gentiles (St. Luke, ii. 32); we are made to rise upon the just and unjust, the very Sun of Justice who comes each morning upon the altar, through our ministry, and, blessed be His mercy! we are not consumed by His awful majesty and splendour. God has set us up in the Church as a star whose "kindly light" should shine out "amid the encircling gloom," and whose rays should reach to heaven and give glory and highest worship "to Him that sitteth upon the throne" (Apoc. v. 13), and this fall gently like refreshing dew upon the parched lands of Purgatory bring rest and coolness to the suffering souls. Our light should shine also before the wayfarers here below, that they may be helped by

our example to live to God and forsake sin. Hence we see how her gracious name, "like ointment poured out" (Cant. i. 2), is, like His office, our heritage; and therefore next to that of Jesus, none will be sweeter, none more invoked.

The Introit points this out especially, calling us the *divites plesis*; for of all God's fold we have received the most from His bounty, and have more means of grace. Therefore should our heart break forth into that "good word," the most holy name of Mary, lovingly calling upon her in all our necessity, especially when we tell to the King our great work of the Mass, which we do "communicating and venerating the memory of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, mother of God and of our Lord Jesus the Christ" (*Canon Missæ*). All this is also clearly brought out in the Collect. The fruits of devotion to her holy name are shown to us in the Lesson; "the fruits of honour and honesty," or, as the Vulgate has it, "of honour and riches." That is to say, of honour *from* Almighty God with that regal gift of growth in holiness, and of honesty in our dealings *with* Him, arising from a true sense of the worth of our vocation which tells us that He has chosen us that we may bear fruit to Him, and that our fruit might remain (cf. John. xv.). Again, from her we get the fire of "fair love," which casteth out fear (1 John, iv. 18); and, withal, that sea which exists with love being the gift of the Holy Ghost. We get through her prayers the loving regard of God, and, at the same time, our flesh and marrow are stricken with the awe of His sacred presence. She is the way and the truth by which we reach Jesus, the only way to the Father, and the only truth which can save us; for she is the neck, as the fathers delight to call her, which unites the Head to the mystical body. In her alone then is all our hope of life and virtue, for she is the channel by which Jesus sends His graces to mankind. We cannot be good priests walking worthy of our vocation unless we have an unbounded devotion to her whose spirit is sweeter than honey, and whose heritage is above honey and the honeycomb. Devotion to her is the sure means of progress in the way of God, for "he who eateth

me shall still hunger, and he who drinketh me shall still thirst ;” that is to say, love of Mary will fill us with an intense hunger and thirst after Jesus, who alone can satisfy our heart’s craving. In the Gospel are the words : “ the name of the virgin was Mary ;” we may recall St. Bernard’s words (*loc. cit.*) : “ In perils, in difficulties, in doubts, think of Mary, call on Mary ; let not her name depart from our mouth, nor cease from our heart . . . following her we go not astray, beseeching her we do not despair, thinking of her we err not ; whilst she holds us up we cannot fall, if she protects us we need not fear ; if she be our leader we shall not grow weary ; if she be benign we shall succeed ; look upon the star, and call on Mary.”

September 14. *Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, recalls to our minds the lessons we drew from the other feasts in May (see I. E. RECORD, page 444). One new point is suggested in the Gospel by the words : “ And I, if once lifted up from the earth will draw all things to Myself.” We, “ the children of the light,” know that it was on the cross our Divine Master was lifted up above the world ; so if we would conquer “ the world and the lusts thereof ” (1 John, ii. 17), it will only be by the royal road He trod. This road leads us away from the earth on towards heaven as He hung between heaven and earth, for it lifts us up above our earth-bound desires and loves. See also the effects the life of the cross gives a priest when he is lifted up by a mortified life as becomes a victim ; He draws all things to Himself, for a penitential life must act as a magnet of souls, and lead others to run after him as after the good adorer of the Christ (2 Cor. ii. 15). Our pastoral power is increased a thousandfold ; our pleadings with sinners obtain a force they otherwise would never have, for there is the strong force of example, which is as strong to excite men to good as it is to draw them on to evil. In a word, the success of our ministry, as far as it depends upon man’s part, depends upon us leading a life nailed with Christ to the cross (cf. Gal. ii. 19).

September 20. *St. Eustace and Companions*, MM. See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 820.

September 28. *St. Wencelaus, M.* See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 824.

September 29. *Dedication of St. Michael's.* Recalls to us the teaching of the Mass for the 8th of May [(page 459). "Blessed is he who reads and understands the words of this prophecy and keeps these things which are written therein, for the time is short" (Lesson). Why is the Gospel about childlike humility chosen for this feast of the archangel? It seems that as Lucifer lost all through his hateful pride, wherein he said, "I will not serve," so St. Michael and his followers kept their places by humbly prostrating themselves before God's eternal wisdom, and saying, "Who is like to God?" St. Michael's thorough knowledge of what a creature is in the sight of his Maker made him obey his Lord's behest; and it is this spirit of humility which must lie at the bottom of our service, if we would be pleasing to God. He has called us to serve Him in one particular way. Who is like to Him? Must we not, from the simple fact that we are His creatures, obey Him fully and willingly in all our vocation implies? Have we any rights, as the work of His hands, which we can set up against His sovereign claims upon all we are and have? See now, He has called us to be co-victims with the Divine Victim; He has called us to a life of priestly perfection, to be a light set in a dark place, to be the angels of His mercy to our fallen race. Is it not then the first and last object of our very being to obey His voice, and to fall in with loving submission to His gracious views concerning us, and thus to recognise that there is none like to our God who dwells in the highest? (cf. Ps. cxii. 5). If we, His angels upon earth, take a low view of our vocation, we are stumbling-blocks in the way of His little ones; and then, woe to us. The light will not shine, the salt will not give savour. Woe to us! for then we despise His little ones, and St. Michael with his angels, who ever see the face of God, and who, being so far above us in light and love, give us such an example of the humility which becomes a creature, will be our condemnation in the latter day.

THE TEACHING OF THE SUNDAYS AFTER PENTECOST

In order to complete our sketch of the teachings of the Missal, we will give a few notes upon the names for the Sundays after Pentecost. As we have the life of our Divine Master portrayed for us in the first half of the *Proprium de Tempore*, so in the second half we have His teaching set forth in detail, and He tells us how we must perform our duties. Durandus in his *Rationale*, tells us that as our life is a combat against the devil, the world, and the flesh, so Holy Church preaches for us at this time, extracts from the Book of Kings, wherein we read of the victories and trials of God’s people, and lessons from the Scriptural books, which show us how we too are to triumph over our foes. It would be an interesting work to draw out the connection between the Matins and Mass of each Sunday, and one which would not be without advantage. But at present this does not enter into the plan of these little studies; we will content ourselves with noting the most salient points in each Mass. We find in each one of them some particular thought to which all the chief parts of the Mass refer. Some writers on the Liturgy have thought that they could find in these Masses a complete and orderly scheme of doctrine; but it seems to us rather to be the case that each Mass stands separately by itself, and has no direct relation with either the one that precedes or follows. When will the day come when the Sunday, the Lord’s day, will resume its old place, and not be put out so constantly as it is now? When that consummation devoutly to be wished for arrives there will be more chance of a return to the liturgical spirit and devotion among our people.

First Sunday. We have here a practical lesson of charity towards others which is based on the mercy God shows to us. We put our trust in Him who giveth us good things (Introit), who is the strength of them that hope in Him, and without whom mortal weakness availeth naught (Collect). He is love itself, and has shown His love toward mankind by sending His only-begotten Son into the world that we may live by Him. Therefore if He hath so loved us, we ought to

love one another for His sake (Epistle). If we do this and "understand" with that knowledge which love gives, the needy and the poor, blessed are we, and in the evil hour God will deliver us (Gradual). Then, our Lord tells us to be merciful, and not to judge others, neither to condemn; to forgive and to be generous; for with the measure we mete to others so shall it be meted unto us (Gospel). So we pray for help to follow this teaching, and base our petition on the fact that we pray to Him in the way He has prescribed in the Gospel (Offertory). After the Sacrifice is completed we have a reminder of the wonderful acts of mercy we have received, and this should excite us to show charity to others (Communion); and the same thought runs on in the final prayer, wherein we pray that we who have been filled with gifts so great, may never cease to praise God by living a life full of charity towards our brethren.

Second Sunday continues this lesson of charity, and gives as a reason the great goodness of God who is become our protector, and has brought us into the "wide place" of His Church, and who wills to save us (Introit), according to those words of the Apostle (1 Tim. ii. 4), "God our Saviour who will have all men to be saved," for He never fails those whom He bringeth up in the steadfastness of His love (Collect). His loving-kindness has made us pass from life to death, because we show love to our brethren. We have a proof of His goodness towards us in that He laid down His life, according to His own blessed words: "Greater love than this no man hath, that he layeth down his life for his friend" (John xv. 13). Therefore as He has so loved us we should love our brethren whom He has loved so well, and should lay down our life for them, and love them not in word nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth (Epistle). Then we have brought before us the thought of the Blessed Sacrament, that miracle of love, and He tells us of that sacred banquet to which He so sweetly invites us (Gospel). And when we are going to renew this great act of His mercy, "which is of old," we ask humbly His help, on account of this love He shows us (Offertory); and that from day to day the work of heavenly life may

progress in us (Secret). After having partaken of this banquet of angels, we sing a song of thanksgiving for His infinite goodness towards us (Communion); and we pray that by frequenting these mysteries the salutary effects thereof may be increased in our soul (Pöst Communion), and we may love the brethren in deed and truth.

Third Sunday. This Mass carries on the same lesson again, and sets before us another reason in the fatherly care of the Good Shepherd for the sheep gone astray. He has shown pity for the one who had wandered out alone, and was stricken with poverty. He regarded the piteous state, and the labour, and He has forgiven the sin. So as in Him we hope and are not put to shame (Introit), so ought we to extend the same pity, the same long suffering to sinners. We know, alas! by experience that without Him we are not strong, neither are we holy; and as we need the increase of His mercy, and should have Him as guide and ruler if we would pass through things temporal so as not to lose things eternal (Collect), so this very knowledge urges us to bear with sinners, and to patiently help them to put their trust in the strength of His grace. He has care of the works of His hand, and gives grace to resist the Evil One. If we trust in Him, He will establish us, and will settle us (Epistle). So, as we have learnt for ourselves, we teach others to use the grace He so lavishly gives, and trusting in Him to resist the Evil One. The Divine Shepherd goes forth into the desert to seek the wandering sheep; and, finding it, rejoices, and brings it back home: so we, who have a charge of the Shepherd's office, and who should partake in His love for sinners, must go forth to seek him, no matter at what cost or toil, and, showing him all the love of a Father's care, lead him back rejoicing to the Sacred Heart (Gospel). The great act of sacrifice for which we are about to prepare is a solid proof that the Lord will never forsake those that seek Him again with true repentance, and He is not heedless of the prayers of those in need of His gracious assistance (Offertory). So as He has so many times brought us back, and has welcomed us again, oh! so lovingly, we will do His work for others, and cause the

angels of heaven to rejoice when sinners return to their God by penance, and once more living to Him (Communion).

Fourth Sunday, teaches us that we are made for life eternal, and we can never attain it without the help of God's grace. He is the only light and salvation of mankind. Sheltered by His grace, whom shall we fear? If armies in camp stand together against us, our heart shall not be afraid (Introit); for by His grace the course of life will run peacefully for us, and we shall enjoy perfect quietness of heart (Collect). Though sorrow and pain be our lot here, yet what can they compare with the glory in store for us when we receive the adoption of the sons of God (Epistle)? This adoption has already begun for us in Holy Baptism, and is still further increased by our ordination. Therefore, even now we lift up our head confidently and boldly, for lo! our redemption is at hand (Luke xxi. 28); and when trials do come upon us we call upon God with all confidence to be propitious to us, His adopted sons, and for the honour of His name to save us. God's honour is involved in our salvation, because He has called us to life eternal, and knows we cannot possibly reach it unless He help us with His grace. Therefore is it a matter of honour with Him, who sitteth upon the throne and judgeth rightly, to be the refuge of the poor in the hour of tribulation (Gradual). What a ground for confidence! Our Lord, we must remember, teaches us, from the ship of St. Peter, how to gain life eternal, and to put out into the deep of His compassion, and to let down our nets into His Sacred Heart, and thence gather in an abundant stock of the graces we need. We must remember this, that it is in the Church, and under St. Peter that we have to reach life eternal; in that loving conformity with the mind of the Church which St. Ignatius gives as a mark of a true Catholic. The letting down of our nets teaches us our need of help, and the sense also of His power to help us (Gospel); therefore when we are going, at His word, to let down the net by the sacrifice of the Mass, we pray Him to give us His light to see how to manage the grace we shall receive lest we sleep in death (Offertory); for our will is rebellious, and often will not follow the light He

gives, so we ask Him to so sweetly compel our will that we may “run after Him in the odour of His ointments” (Cant. i. 3, Secret). Then when we are one with Him in Holy Communion we feel that He is our firmament, and refuge, and deliverer, *our* God, and *our* helper, who will lead us to life eternal, and will not fail us.

Fifth Sunday. This Mass teaches us the duty of prayer, and tells us how to pray so as to be heard. We pray with humility, when we say: “Be *Thou* my helper; forsake me not, O God of my salvation” (Introit). We pray with love, when by His grace we love Him in all and above all (Collect). We pray with certainty, when we are “of one mind,” with our Divine Head; that is, when we pray with the Church, using her prayers, and speaking in her name, sanctifying the Lord, the Christ in our heart (Epistle). We pray with joy and exultation, because He hath made us kings, a royal priesthood, and enables us to trust in His power, and greatly rejoice in the salvation He shows us (Gradual). We pray with charity towards our neighbours, when we see in them our brethren in Jesus (Gospel); with gratitude for all His gifts, especially for the gift of understanding hidden things of His love which is ever set before our eyes (Offertory). We pray in the union of all the saints, and refer our prayers for the benefit of others (Secret). We pray with perseverance and singleness of aim to do only His will (Communion) and with a real hatred of sin, and a love of inward purity (Post-Communion).

Sixth Sunday teaches us that by Baptism we died to the world and sin, that we have undertaken to lead a new life, and that we therefore ought to nourish our soul upon that bread of angels which is the true food of our soul. We are His people, His own heritage, and He our Eternal King, and the One whose will is to receive our prayers (Introit). Therefore pray we to grow in this new life of His heritage by the virtue of religion, and that whatever good He finds in us He would deign to cherish and guard by the gift of piety (Collect). Baptism was our dying to sin, and our rising with Christ to a new life, so we are bound to walk in the newness of life, crucifying our old nature and destroying

the body of sin, and no longer living as slaves thereof. Our life henceforth must be God's, and it is His by means of Christ Jesus our Lord, who is one with us in the Mystical Body (Epistle). He is our refuge, and in His justice will free us, and will make speed to deliver us from evil (Gradual). This He does by the Blessed Sacrament, wherein He shows His great pity for mankind who faints in the desert of this world if he be not fed with the Bread of Life and the "few little fishes" of the uncovenanted mercies (Gospel). Therefore in the paths of Him who has such food for our sins, we pray that our feet may ever be set, and that His mercies may ever be magnified upon them that trust in Him (Offertory). He will listen to our prayer for help to lead this new life (Secret), and will allow us to offer in His dwelling-place the victim of praise, rejoicing, singing, and speaking praise to Him (Communion) for having blessed and strengthened us in the way (Post-Communion) to heaven.

Seventh Sunday. We are taught to-day to be on our guard against false doctrine, and are told how to recognise it. All nations are called to serve God in the joy which arises from the truth which the mighty Lord, the terrible One, the great King over all the earth (Introit) has designed to teach us. As this is His desire, His Providence will not fail to keep us aright, but will help us to keep out of harm's way (Collect) by the instinct of faith, especially as regards those things whose end is death and the darkening of the understanding. The wages of the human thing, the infirmity of the flesh, is death; but the grace of God, which comes by truth, is life eternal, because it unites us to our divine Head, Jesus Christ (Epistle). Therefore, let us go to Him, and learn of Him holy fear, and be enlightened with His truth, so that we shall not be confounded (Gradual). The false teachers who will try and rob us of the real Pearl of Price, our faith, can be known by their fruits. The grapes which give the wine which gladdeneth God and man (Judges ix. 13), can never be gathered from thorns only fit for the burning; nor can the pleasant fig, so sweet to the taste, from the thistle. False teachers say: "Lord, Lord," but do not do God's will (which is that everyone should be brought

to a knowledge of the truth) ; therefore, they close heaven's gate against themselves (Gospel). Alas ! are we also to judge ourselves as false teachers according to this heavenly rule ? If we try to do His will, and His truth abides in us, then, indeed, will our sacrifice be acceptable to Him (Offertory), as being offered by His devout servants ; on being blessed by Him it will profit all God's fold (Secret). But unless He hear us, and make speed to help us, we shall fall a prey to our enemies, who seek to rob us of the truth (Communion) : therefore we pray that the healing power of the Blessed Sacrament may preserve us from our own perversities, and lead us into all things which are right and in accordance with the truth (Post-Communion).

Eighth Sunday. We are spiritual men, and have only one aim and object in life, namely, to attain to salvation ; hence must we cast away all carnal devices which are unworthy of the sons of God. This is to-day's lesson as contained in the teaching of the Mass. By a vocation we are called in the midst of the Church to receive the fulness of His mercy, both for ourselves and for our people, therefore should His praise abound in our hearts, the city of God, and His justice be shown forth in our lives, which He holds in the hollow of His hand (Introit). So we pray Him to give us the spirit of thinking upon what is right, and of doing by His grace what will help us to live according to His will ; for, no longer are we debtors to the flesh so as to be its bond slaves ; but we ought to be its masters and mortify it, not in the spirit of servile fear, but in the spirit of the adoption of sons. Our vocation is the witness of the Holy Ghost, that we are in a special sense God's sons, the co-heirs with our Divine Head in the kingdom (Epistle). So, as men who live according to the spirit, we put our trust in Him, and hold our heart firm as His city and holy mount ; and we take heed lest we betray it into the hands of His enemy, and thus become once more debtors to the flesh. We are only stewards over this city, and we must heed lest we waste the Master's goods, for the time cometh when we can no longer hold our stewardship, but will have to account for our charge. How shall we act prudently as children of the light ? By

making a step-stone to heaven of our flesh which of itself seeks to lead us to hell; by mortifying and crucifying it, so that it may be a means of reaching the everlasting dwelling. This is a real making friends of the mammon of iniquity (Gospel). A spiritual man is an humble man: pride robs us of spirituality, and, by darkening the light of God, brings us once more into deeds of darkness under the yoke of the flesh (Offertory); therefore, we supplicate for grace by means of the Blessed Sacrament that our mortal pilgrimage may be holy so as to reach the never-ending joys of the eternal dwellings. What joy can the things of the flesh bring to one who tastes and sees how sweet is the Lord (Communion). As morning after morning we feed ourselves on this bread containing in itself all sweetness, all worldly joys grow distasteful, the spiritual alone secures an object of delight, and by degrees the defects of our mind and body are repaired by its might until it raises us up at the last day (Post-Communion).

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

THE VENERABLE JOAN OF ARC

WHAT are we to think of the shepherd girl of Lorraine, who, whilst yet a child, leaving her father's house, beneath the shadow of the village church at Domremy, became the liberator of Orleans, the victor of Patay; and the conqueror of the great Talbot; who crowned her king at Rheims amidst the enthusiastic rejoicing of an exultant people, and rescued her country from the deepest depths of depression and degradation?

The English, baffled by her skill and prowess, looked upon her as a witch, and as inspired by the Evil Spirit; and heartless, God-forgetting writers consider her to have been the victim of a disordered mind.

"At thee the mocker sneers in cold derision;
Through thee he seeks to desecrate and dim
Glory for which he hath no soul or vision,
For God and angel are but sounds to him."¹

¹ Mangan.

But fair-minded English, French, and German writers dwell with delight on the splendid story of her life, and enthusiastically portray the moral greatness and patriotism of this miracle of Christian womanhood and of Christian chivalry. Catholics have always revered this holy maiden, who, uniting the warlike skill of Scanderberg and Sobieski, the single-mindedness and purity of St. Catherine of Sienna, fought for God and for her country, and, by the help of God, gave back freedom to her native land ; and although the Church has not yet given her the honour of beatification, the Sovereign Pontiff, now gloriously reigning, has allowed her process to be introduced, and we already have the happiness of saluting her as the Venerable Joan of Arc.

Jeannette Romee D'Arc was born on the Festival of the Epiphany, in the year 1412, in the lovely village of Domremy, in the Duchy of Bar, in Lorraine, separated from France by the River Meuse, and situated on an ancient Roman road, then the great highway between Burgundy and Flanders. Her father was a native of Champagne, and the King of France was Suzerain of the country. She spent the happy days of girlhood in the low-roofed, rough-cast cottage home, with its fortress-like windows, nestling amid a pleasant garden, watered by a nestling flowing brook, beneath the shadow of the village church.

The life of this "strong, beautiful, and sweet-voiced" maiden was that of a modest, pious, peasant girl, who loved to pray in the village church, and to listen to the music of its bells ; who tenderly nursed the sick and dying, and won the simple hearts of little children by her winsome ways and as she sat at home by her mother's side, and learned to sew and spin, sang the holy songs of her native land. God was always present to her mind, whether she worked in her room, or trudged along the highway, or wandered through the silent woods ; and He alone was her guide in weal and woe. She loved to linger in the village church, and whilst her young companions played in the fields or streets, she was wont to kneel in prayer before the Crucifix and the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the dimly-lit Church of St. Margaret and St. Catherine. She went every Saturday

on pilgrimage to the Chapel of Our Lady of Bermont, and, having prayed devoutly and lighted candles, emblems of her faith and love, she decked the statue of the Queen of Heaven with skilfully-woven wreaths of wild flowers, gathered by her loving hands in the woods and on the wayside. The little girls of Domremy, who trusted her and loved her, and fearlessly followed her whithersoever she bent her footsteps, imitated her example, and often chided her for being too holy. She thus spent the happy days of childhood in obedience, work, and prayer; and, moved by sympathy for suffering, she was wont to yield her cosy bed to wayfarers and pilgrims, and to lie down to sleep upon the rough earthen floor of the kitchen. "A good girl, virtuous, chaste, and pious, speaking with all simplicity according to the precept of the Gospel:" such was the witness borne to her in after times by the companions of her youth.

When Joanna was born the air was dark overhead with thunderclouds, for the victory of the English at Agincourt had prostrated France in the dust, and everywhere were heard the trumpet wails of battle, and the grass was growing over countless Frenchmen who had fallen fighting nobly, but in vain, in defence of their king and country, their altars and their hearths. The country of Charlemagne and St. Louis had become almost a province of England, and when the King of France, Charles VI., died, in the year 1421, heralds cried aloud in the streets of Paris, "Long live Henry of Lancaster, King of England and France." The King of France, called in derision by the English, "the Little King of Bourges," was about to give up the struggle and fly to Scotland, or to Spain, and the kingdom was not unlike a ship beaten by the billows and rushing wildly upon the rocks. Everywhere there was gloom and sorrow, and naught else was heard over the fair fields and sunlit valleys of France save the cries of heartbroken widows and orphans, maltreated by lawless invaders, and become outcasts from their pleasant homesteads; whilst resistless armies overran the whole land, devastating and destroying. Such was the terror inspired by the English name, and so great was the horror of these dreadful warriors, who swarmed into France

from the mysterious, mist-shrouded, sea-girt island of the West, that it was a common saying among the simple peasantry of Lorraine, that Judas, the prince of apostates, was their fellow-countryman.

Joanna, like another Judith, wept over the woes of her native land, and her prayers often went up to Heaven craving pity for her people. She knew that nothing on earth is done without a cause, and that sorrow does not spring out of the earth, but that God chastises men for their iniquities, and saves them for His mercy. And God saw the affliction of the people, and heard their cry; and knowing their sorrow came to deliver them; and He who chooses the weak and contemptible things of this world to confound the strong called this lowly maiden, and made her go forth, like Macchabeus, and do battle against, and drive out the invaders of her country.

As Joanna was in her father's garden one day in Summer she suddenly beheld the Archangel St. Michael blazing with splendour beside the village church, and she heard his angelic voice, as of yore the simple-minded shepherds on the hill-side of Bethlehem listened with ravished hearts to the angelic choir bidding them hasten to worship the Holy Babe; and he told her the sorrows of France, and bade her on the part of God bring succour to the King. St. Margaret and St. Catherine then appeared, and ordered her to go to the captain of the King at Vaucouleurs, and that he would send her to the King; that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and crown the King at Rheims. The shepherd girl, awe-struck, answered that she could neither ride on horseback nor lead an army to battle; but they rebuked her, saying that she should boldly bear aloft her banner, that God would help her, and that she should aid her King to regain his kingdom despite his many foes. Joanna was filled with joy, and kissed the ground trodden by their feet, and thenceforth she lovingly adorned their statues with flowers, and offered tapers to the priest to be lighted on the altar in their honour. These visions were frequently repeated, and the holy maid afterwards declared that her only wish was to fly to the help of the King, knowing it to be the will of God, and that "if she had

a hundred fathers, and a hundred mothers, and even were she the daughter of a king, she must have gone."

Joanna went with her uncle, who alone believed in her heavenly mission, on Ascension day, in the year 1428, to the small frontier fortress town of Vaucouleurs (*Vallis colorum*) which was still faithful to the King, in order to get an escort from the Governor, the sire de Baudricourt; but he answered that her uncle ought to box her ears, and send her back to her parents. She came again, the following year, in her poor peasant's dress, and told him that it was the will of God that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and crown the King at Rheims; and he came one day with the Curé to the house of the wheelwright, where Jeanne was staying, and where she remained three weeks, helping his wife spinning with her, dividing her time between household occupations and prayer in the church, or in the crypt, where she often prayed in the chapel of the Virgin. The Curé, wearing his stole, prepared himself to exorcise the maiden, commanding her if she were under the influence of an evil spell to retire; if not she was to approach. Jeanne approached the priest, and knelt before him, and afterwards told the Commandant of the popular prophecy, that "France should be lost by a woman, and saved by a young girl."¹ The people of Vaucouleurs were eager that she should strive to save France, and they bought her a horse, and a military dress, and two gentlemen of the town offered themselves as an escort to her on her journey. And one of them said to her, "Why do we delay, are we all to become English." "I have come here," she answered, "to the King's house to speak to Robert de Baudricourt to take me, or to send me, to the King; but he cares not for me nor for my words, and yet before mid-Lent I must be before the King, even should I wear my feet to the knees, for no one in the world, neither kings, dukes, nor the daughter of the King of Scotland, none other can regain the kingdom of France. He has no help save in me, and truly I had much rather spin at my poor mother's side, for this is not my estate of life; but I must be

¹ *Footsteps of Jeanne D'Arc*, by Mrs. Caddy.

up and doing, for such is the will of my Lord." He asked her, "Who is your Lord?" She answered him, "He is God." The chivalrous soldier thereupon took her hands between his own, and swore that with the help of God he would lead her to the King. Joanna, foiled in her hope of help from the Governor of Vaucouleurs, and urged on by the voice of the Archangel ever ringing in her ears, "Daughter of God, go, go, go! I will help thee," set out in the middle of February, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the patron saint of Lorraine, at St. Nicholas-du-Port; and St. Nicholas heard her fervent prayers, for when she returned to the small frontier town the sire de Baudricourt received her kindly, and furnished her with an escort.

Joanna, with military dress, and armed *cap-à-pie*, rode forth with her little troop from the gate of Vaucouleurs, on the 23rd of February, in the year 1429, towards the headquarters of the King at Chinon. She hastened forward to the succour of the kingdom, upheld by the manliness of an humble soul and the strength of steadfast love, with undanted courage and fearless heart, across the war-stricken plains of France, through wintry uplands and leafless woodlands, over many dark broad rivers for one hundred and fifty leagues, avoiding the high roads, and towns which were held by the English and Burgundian invaders, and resting at night at some lonely hamlet, or sleeping in her armour beneath the shelter of some forest tree. She sped onward towards the west, through Champagne and Burgundy, and through the wild moorlands of Berri, and the low-lying meadows and undulating vine slopes of Lorraine, until at length, on the 6th of March, she safely reached the gates of Chinon, on the River Loire, where Charles VII. held his court with his few faithful followers. When the young maiden, after many delays, was admitted into the presence of the King, she walked, clad with shining armour, and with modest mien, through the throng of gaily-dressed nobles and officers, and throwing herself at the feet of her sovereign, she, with a sweet and gentle voice, thus gave him greeting: "God give you a happy life, noble Dauphin. I have been sent by God, fair Sir, to bring help to you, and to

your kingdom; and through my voice He bids you have yourself anointed at Rheims, and become the vicar of the King of Heaven, as every true king of France should be."

She then made known to him a hidden secret of his heart, and he half believing in her sent her to be examined by an assembly of learned men at Poitiers. She foretold to them that the might of England would be broken at Orleans; that the King would be crowned at Rheims; that he would reign at Paris, and that the Duke of Orleans would be freed from his prison bonds; and these learned ecclesiastics after a long and careful scrutiny declared her life was blameless, her words were wise, and her answers inspired by God, and that as the faithful subjects of the King had no longer any human hope, she should be entrusted with an army, and sent forthwith to the succour of the beleagured City of Orleans. The holy maid, meanwhile, spent almost all her time both day and night in prayer in her lodging or in the churches of our Lady, of St. Peter, and of St. Hilary, and those who came to see her proclaimed her very holy and the beloved child of God.

Joanna went at the end of April to Blois, where the main body of the army was gathered, and as she rode at the head of her knights and men-at-arms, clad with glittering armour given to her by the King, and with the sword of Charles Martel by her side, and her sacred banner emblazoned on either side, with the figure of our Lord, and with the shield of France borne by angels, in her hand, the enthusiasm of the people was very great, and the soldiers who had lost heart became again hopeful of victory. And as the meadows were once more bright with flowers under the benign influence of the balmy breezes and the warm sun of spring, so the French were filled with gladness at the sight of the heaven-sent maid.

Orleans, the last stronghold of the French King, was then besieged by the whole English army, and was about to surrender through dearth of food, but Joanna summoned the English leaders to retire, and besought them to join with France in a crusade against the Turks; and when they mocked at her letters she moved forward at the

head of the French army, and, instructed by the heavenly voices, she with consummate skill succeeded in carrying abundant provisions into the beleagured city. The young maiden, mounted on a white horse, with her white banner borne before her, and with the brave Dunois riding by her side, went through the streets of Orleans which were ablaze with torchlight, amidst the acclamations of the citizens and soldiers, who regarded her as an angel, to the cathedral to thank God for His protection. She called one day to the English from a bastion to withdraw; and when they answered, "Shall knights fly before a woman," she said, "*Retournez de par Dieu en Angleterre ou Je vous ferai courroucés*;" and every day the courage of the besieged increased, and the besiegers began to lose heart, so that whereas formerly two hundred Englishmen were able to put five hundred Frenchmen to flight, four hundred Englishmen now fled before two hundred Frenchmen. No military commander ever showed more watchfulness, more military foresight, and more skill than the Maid of Orleans; and whether defending the barbicans and bastions of the town, or leading an attack on the enemy, she exhibited a warlike wisdom and bravery that has never been surpassed. She at the head of her troops seized one by one the sixty strong entrenchments and redoubts of the besiegers, and having slain about eight thousand English soldiers, she beheld the English army, crest-fallen and beaten, fly from Orleans on the 8th of May, the Feast of the Apparition of the Archangel St. Michael. Joanna fasted and went to confession before every fight. She wept over the fallen foemen, and tenderly cared for the wounded, whether friends or foes; and when the great victory was won she had a solemn procession made through the streets of Orleans, to thank God for His blessings, and she had a funeral service celebrated for the souls of the slain.

The victorious maiden was enthusiastically welcomed by the King at his royal castle of Loches; and, though she was thwarted by his weakness of will, and by the jealousy of his courtiers, she succeeded in persuading him to set out for Rheims, in order that he there might receive the heavenly ratification of his rights, by being solemnly anointed and

crowned with the crown of Chlovis in the primatial Cathedral of France. Meanwhile she rode back to Orleans, and putting herself at the head of a splendid army to which soldiers flocked from all sides, she struck swift and strong blows upon the enemy. She marched with the Duke of Alençon on Saturday, June 11th, with streaming banners and glancing armour towards the East, along the marshy meadows by the side of wayward Loire, and on the following Sunday morning she laid siege to the strong fortress of Jargeau, which was held by the Duke of Suffolk with a large English garrison; and crying out, "Forward, fair Duke," and holding her sacred banner in her hand, she rushed towards the entrenchments, and took the town by assaults, leaving eleven hundred English soldiers dead within the walls; she then returned in triumph to Orleans with her prisoners and her trophies.

Joanna, on Wednesday, suddenly fell on the fortified bridge of Meung, drove the English out of Beaugency, and advanced swiftly with her victorious army after the flying foe to the plain of Patay, where the French army, commanded by the Maid of Orleans, and the English army, commanded by the great Earl Talbot, met face to face. When Joanna beheld the English army drawn up in battle array, she encouraged her troops with these soul-stirring words: "Fall boldly upon them; they will soon fly. Advance boldly on the English; they will be beaten. The noble Dauphin will to-day gain his greatest victory; my voices tell me that they are ours." The fight was short and bloody; and before the sun had set a glorious and decisive victory was gained. The English army was utterly routed; the heroic Talbot was a prisoner; and the battle-field was strewn with the corpses of the enemy. The holy maiden wept when she saw so many brave foes lying stretched upon the field of battle; and her tender heart was moved with pity for the sufferings of the hapless prisoners of war. Having seen an angry soldier strike his prisoner on the head, she hastily dismounted from her horse, and took the wounded man in her arms; and as he was dying she, with tears in her eyes, encouraged and consoled him, and held up

his head whilst he was receiving the last rites from the priest.

Joanna presented the renowned and formidable warrior, Earl Talbot, to the King; and Charles VII. began, on June 29th, his triumphal march to Rheims, escorted by the holy maid; for, although the towns and the country through which he had to pass were still mostly in the hands of his foes, the power of England was broken, and its prestige gone. Joanna rode at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, mounted on a richly-caparisoned palfrey, wearing a dark-green surcoat and a bright crimson mantle over her armour, with lance in hand, her trusty sword by her side, and her battle-axe slung from her girdle. She prayed as she moved hopefully onwards under the brilliant summer sun, through dusty highways, flowery lanes, and shady forests; and she never failed to worship in all the wayside chapels, and to entreat little children to pray to God for the success of her glorious enterprise. The English and Burgundian garrison fled at their approach, and the keys of the city were given to the King.

The King, with his whole army, entered Rheims, Saturday, July 16th, as the setting sun was shedding its after-glow upon the Norman towers and pinnacles of the Cathedral of Chlovis and St. Clotilde. Joanna had kept her promise, and fulfilled her mission, by bringing her king to the city where the kings of France were always crowned. She had left her humble cottage at Domremy five months before, and now all Christendom rang with her glory; and there, close by the closing scene of her triumphs, her father folded her to his bosom. She was then nineteen years of age. At sunrise next morning—Sunday, July 17th, A.D. 1429—the citizens and soldiers were astir; and the King, surrounded by his princes and nobles, amidst the chiming of bells, the blare of trumpets, and the loud acclamations of the people, was crowned, and anointed with holy oil from the Sainte Ampoule, as the rightful King of France. All those who saw the holy Maid of Orleans standing near the King, holding her banner in her hand, and heard her say: “Fair King, the pleasure of God is now fulfilled, who

wished you to come to Rheims to be anointed the true king of France, to whom the kingdom of right belongs," looked upon her as the guardian angel of their country.

"No longer on St. Denis shall we cry,
But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint;
Come in, and let us banquet royally,
After this golden day of victory."

Joanna wrote a touching letter to the Duke of Burgundy, who was in league with England, and whose subjects fought side by side with the English soldiery, on battle-field and city wall, entreating and ordering him on the part of God, to make peace with the King of France, and to take up arms against the Saracens, and bidding him beware of waging war upon the holy kingdom of France. The Duke of Burgundy, however, did not hearken to her appeal, but remained a steadfast ally of England, and a relentless foe of France, and of the holy maid. When a lowly friend from her native village asked the gentle girl whether she felt afraid amidst the din and strife of battle, Joanna answered: "I fear treachery alone;" and before the summer had come again she had fallen into the hands of her Burgundian enemies through the base treachery of her own false friends.

Meanwhile the pleasure-loving monarch went slowly onward from town to town of his newly-conquered kingdom, and at his coming the English and Burgundian soldiers fled, and the city gates were thrown open to the rightful king, whilst the holy maid reduced all the neighbouring strongholds of the English to subjection, and made their French nobles and peasants flock to her victorious standard. On August 15th, at the head of seven thousand men, she fought against the English army, commanded by the Duke of Bedford, who had marched from Paris with ten thousand men to stay her progress; and, although she failed to storm their strong entrenchment, they retreated, and she slept upon the field of battle. She entered in triumph into Poissons, Senlis, and Compiègne, and sang a *Te Deum* in the Cathedral of Beauvais, for the mercies of God to her afflicted country.

Cauchon, the count bishop of Beauvais, thenceforth hated her with a deadly hatred. Picardy was now ready to swear fealty to Charles VII., and Normandy was wavering in its allegiance to the English king, but Joanna besought in vain the weak-minded and voluptuous French monarch to march on Paris, and seize that last great bulwark of the power of England in France. The dauntless maid set forward thither on Tuesday, 22nd August, saying gaily to the Duke of Alençon: "Fair Duke, get ready your followers, and those of the other captains; I will see Paris nearer than I have seen it yet;" and riding swiftly through tree-shaded valleys and flowery fields, in front of her splendid cavalcade, with banners floating in the summer breeze, and armour glancing in the sunlight, she reached the town of St. Denis, hidden amid the woodland by the side of the winding Seine, and within a few days the whole French army was encamped on the plain of La Chapelle, on the outskirts of Paris. The King arrived at St. Denis, on the 7th of September, and was solemnly enthroned in the ancient abbey church, where the warlike kings of his royal race were sleeping in their tombs.

The French forces, twelve thousand strong, were drawn up in battle array at Montmartre, on the following day, September 8th, the feast of our Lady, and the mail-clad maiden, with battle-axe in hand, led the attack on the gate of St. Honoré, and fought during the whole day with marvellous skill and daring. The faint-hearted French leaders, however, withdrew from the fight in the afternoon, despite her earnest assurances that if they persevered the city would be taken. The heroic maiden still fought beneath the walls, although she had been severely wounded in the side by a bolt shot by an English cross-bow man, and she had to be forced from the field of battle at nightfall, crying out impetuously meanwhile: "The place might have been taken." She wished the next morning to renew the assault, but the King ordered her to desist; and whether jealous of her fame or weary of the war, he forsook the great prize that was almost within his grasp, and, leaving half his army to garrison the newly-conquered towns, he retreated with the remainder to

the banks of the Loire. The Lords persuaded Joanna to follow him, although her voices bade her stay at St. Denis. But before she left for ever this last scene of her military glory, she knelt humbly before the shrine of the patron saint of France, and gave thanks to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the holy martyrs, for having escaped death; and, in accordance with the chivalrous custom of that age, she hung up on a pillar beside his tomb her rich suit of armour, and the sword which she had won in fight from an English knight, at the siege of Paris. She then followed the French king in his flight to Gien, being sad at heart at the thought that her heaven-given mission had not been entirely fulfilled; for "God does not help those who do not help themselves."

Whilst this youthful shepherdess was being taunted at Poitiers with her rashness in undertaking to save France, one of her judges said to her: "You ask for men-at-arms, and you say that it is the pleasure of God that the English should depart from France, and return to their native land: if that be so, no men-at-arms are needed, for the will of God alone is able to repulse and drive them homewards." She answered: "The men-at-arms will fight in the name of God, and God will give the victory." She neglected no human means, as if all depended on her skill and foresight, and she hoped in the help of God as if success were to come from Him alone. As she rode triumphantly through the beleagured city on the banks of the River Loire, she said to the citizens who thronged the streets in order to see her pass: "The Lord has sent me to succour the good town of Orleans." And when an aged man cried out: "My daughter, the English are strong and well entrenched; it will be hard to drive them away," she answered: "Nothing is impossible to the power of God." The holy maid sought in every way to win the help of God. She led a stainless life; she daily fasted, and confessed her sins with tears; and whenever she might she received in Holy Communion the sacred Body of Jesus Christ. She always went to the church at the dawn of day; and, having by sound of bell summoned together the priests, who followed the army, to offer the Holy Sacrifice

of the altar, she knelt in their midst, whilst they chanted a hymn to the Blessed Virgin; and when she rushed to the fray with her sacred banner waving in the wind, her war-song was the hymn to the Holy Ghost. She never failed to beg the prayers of pure-minded maidens and sinless children, in order to win the blessing of God upon her work; but her chief care was to reform the evil lives of her fellow-soldiers, since she looked upon their sins as the greatest enemies of her glorious enterprise; "for the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven."¹ She at one time sweetly reprov'd them, and at other times severely upbraided them, for their crimes; but the constant example of her spotless life, and her earnest piety, was the most powerful incentive towards their conversion. She ever exhorted them to penance and to trustfulness in God and His infinite mercy, and she promised them victory if they remained in the state of grace. She solemnly received Communion before them in the open air, and her faith and her love of God so worked upon their souls that most of them confessed their sins, and gave up their evil ways; so that within a short time the army became like a peaceful procession of religious men. God did not withhold His all-powerful help; but blessed the holy maiden so much that she became a miracle of holiness and wisdom; and the peasants who flocked to her standard fearlessly followed wherever her sacred banner waved. She was the wisest in council, the most unwearied in work, and the most fearless in the fight; and so unrivalled was her warlike prowess, that gallant knights fled before a woman. The French army and nation, however, became intoxicated with success as a holy priest had foretold, and fell back into their former wicked ways. Joanna foresaw the misfortunes that were to follow, and she often said to her confessor: "If I should soon die, bid the King, my master, for me, to be pleased to build chapels wherein the Lord may be invoked for the souls of those who have been slain whilst fighting in defence of the kingdom." The fair creature was doomed to die, and bribery and treachery

¹ 1 Macch. iii.

were the means of her destruction. The English looked upon her as possessed by the devil, and as a woman of evil life, and they threatened to burn as a witch "that creature in the form of a woman, who was called the Pucelle" by her countrymen. The holy girl herself never ceased to believe in the doom that awaited her; and although she did not foresee the manner of her death—the many spectators thronging into the city of Rouen, the lofty scaffold, the surging smoke, the crackling flames, and the angry shouts of bitter foemen—she ever felt within her soul a presentiment of her sufferings and shameful death.

November had now arrived, and the army of the King had been disbanded. The bitter winter wind swept wildly through the leafless forest, and the earth, both on hillside and valley, had become hard beneath its icy breath, and gloom again overspread the land of France. When, however, the springtime had come back, and the birds sang joyfully on bush and brake and hedgerow, Joanna, who loved her banner forty times more than her sword, and never slew a foe, leaving behind her the sensual court and the thankless King, girded on her armour, and dealt many a sturdy blow against the enemies of her country, and her soul-stirring war-cry once more resounded on battlement and bastion. She sped onwards towards Paris during Easter week bereft of help, and sorrow-stricken of heart; but her presence soon aroused the enthusiasm of her fellow-countrymen, and she fell swiftly upon the English army which was besieging Melun, and drove them away in headlong flight. As she stood one balmy April day on the city wall, gazing on the glistening Seine and the distant woods, and listening with delight to the music of the cathedral bells, as it floated over the fields by the riverside, she clearly heard her voices warning her that before the feast-day of St. John she would be a prisoner. The holy maid received the heavenly message with resignation, although she shrank from suffering, and willingly consented to bear the cross which her Lord was pleased to place upon her. She, however, earnestly prayed that her imprisonment might not last long.

Joanna left Melun at the end of April, and hastened

forward towards Compiègne, the French frontier town between the kingdom of France and the territory of the Duke of Burgundy and Flanders which was about to be attacked by the whole Burgundian army, aided by their English allies; and as she drew near Paris, the English governor, the Duke of Bedford, and his most trusty warriors were dismayed, but the holy maid passed on, and on the 13th of May reached Compiègne. The royal chancellor withdrew at her coming, but many of her former companions-at-arms gathered around her, and ere long she had brought together a powerful army for the defence of the threatened town. On the morning of Ascension-eve, May 24th, 1430, Joanna received Holy Communion in the church of St. James; and, as the story was often told in bygone days, whilst standing near a pillar of the church, and looking sadly at the eager faces of the children clustered round her, she said: "My children, and dear friends, I tell you that I have been betrayed and sold and soon I shall be delivered up to death. I therefore beseech you to pray for me, as nevermore I shall have power to serve the King, and the realm of France." She rode out of the city gate at the head of the French army, at five o'clock that evening, and made a sudden onslaught on the besieging armies. The Burgundians fled before the impetuous onslaught of the French; but the English gaining heart successfully fell upon their flank, and the French soldiers fled towards the city despite the heroic efforts of the holy maid. This "very beautiful, and very strong maiden," waving her sacred banner, and dealing blows right and left with her flashing sword, fought furiously in order to cover the retreat.

Many Frenchmen yielded themselves prisoners of war, whilst many, panic-stricken, threw themselves into the river flowing beneath the city wall. As friend and foe were mingled together outside, the Governor raised the draw-bridge, and Joanna was left alone with her faithful body-guard surrounded by her fierce assailants. She made superhuman efforts to cut her way through the throng of soldiers; the bells of the city meanwhile ringing the alarm, and the townsfolk on the ramparts breathlessly looking on, until at

length a soldier seized her crimson surcoat, and dragged her from her horse. She still refused to cry for mercy, and sought to wrest herself from their grasp ; but she was taken prisoner, and given as prize to the Burgundian leader, John of Luxembourg, who sent her strongly guarded to his fortress of Beaulieu, and afterwards to his castle of Beaurevoir. She spent the weary hours of her prison life praying for her native land, for she was filled with sorrow for the sufferings of her people, and she yearned to fly to the help of her comrades at Compiègne. When she heard that she had been sold, by the Duke of Burgundy, to the English, terror-stricken and disheartened, making the sign of the cross, and entrusting herself to God and to the Blessed Virgin, she leaped from the topmost tower, hoping to escape, and was found by the warders lying senseless in the castle-fosse. The order at length came, that she was to be taken to Rouen, to stand her trial for sorcery, heresy, and rebellion, and she was hurried off in mid-winter to Le Crotoy, at the mouth of the river Somme. She beheld from the battlement of her prison the grey sea and the bleak strand stretching westward, and heard the waves beating on the shingly beach, and the melancholy sough of the wind coming from England, and then as the sweet sound of the bells of St. Valéry was wafted across the sands, her mind wandered back to her bright home in the vine-clad valley of Domremy, and the forlorn, and forsaken girl wept.

At Christmas when there was gladness and plenty throughout the land she rode through Normandy manacled and downcast amid her bitter foes, and looked for the last time on the fields and trees and peaceful homesteads, and having reached the town of Rouen at the beginning of the new year, she was roughly thrust into a gloomy dungeon of the castle, and sadly spent her nineteenth birthday therein, and lingered within its massive walls tightly bound with heavy iron chains around her neck and waist and feet until the spring had come again, forgotten by the faithless king, and bereft of every word of sympathy and love, but hoping in God, and ever praying for the welfare of France and of its rightful sovereign. Homesick and sad at heart, and daily

ill-treated and beaten by her savage guards, she bore her great sufferings with patience, and whilst standing before her pitiless judges, fearless as on the battle-field, the guileless maiden answered their wily questions with wise and modest words. This caged bird never ceased to sing her song of love of country and love of God, and instructed by her heavenly voices foretold that soon her native land would be freed by a victory given to it by God, and that the English would be driven out of it for ever. Prayers were offered up for her in the towns of France, and some gallant knights made a fruitless effort for her deliverance. Her voices promised her freedom and a glorious victory, and her hopeful, buoyant youthful heart rejoiced, for she little thought that a shameful and cruel death was the means ordained by God to free her from a life of strife and sorrow, and to lead her to a heavenly kingdom. She appealed in vain to God and to the Holy Father, and besought to be sent to the ecclesiastical prison of the city; but her wicked judges refused her prayer, and unjustly sentenced her to death by burning. When the guileless maiden heard her awful doom, and learned that she was to die in the spring-tide of her youth, she shuddered, and, overcome by a paroxysm of fear and anguish, throwing herself upon the stone floor of her narrow prison cell, she tore her hair and shrieked aloud, and piteously entreated to be put to death by the sword; but soon peace came back into her soul, and cheerful resignation to the will of God beamed upon her face like a sunburst when the storm-cloud has passed away; and, clasping her hands together, she earnestly prayed to God for mercy and for the forgiveness of her sins. The holy girl then confessed her sins, and solemnly received the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and at nine o'clock on the 30th May, in the year 1481, she was seated on a rough cart with her hands bound behind her back, and she went to her martyrdom through the streets of Rouen guarded by eight hundred English spearmen, bewailing her sad fate and uttering mournful cries, whilst tears streamed down her cheeks, to an open space where the half-finished cathedral of St. Ouen was rising in all its loveliness, and she was led to the summit of a lofty platform in sight of a vast throng of

French and English citizens and soldiers, some of whom were moved with pity at beholding the meek and humble maiden about to die, whilst others were filled with deadly hatred against the great conqueror of their countrymen. The saintly girl clasped to her bosom and kissed and bedewed with her tears the crucifix which had been brought to her from a church close by ; and then kneeling down she prayed aloud for her friends and foes, and asking and granting forgiveness she besought the people to pray for her and the priests to offer sacrifices for her soul. Whilst she was praying to God, to the Archangel St. Michael, and to St. Catherine, she was dragged amid the scoffs and wrathful shouts of the English rabble to a wooden scaffold, and was chained to a stake, and fire was set to the faggots beneath her bare feet. As soon as she felt the scorching heat she sent away her faithful friend the Dominican friar, Martin L'Advenu, and stood alone amid the billows of white smoke and hissing flames until at length her body was wrapped in a sea of fire. She cried out thrice with a loud voice, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu*, and bidding farewell to France she ceased to live. She had fought her last fight, and had won the victory, and her death gained freedom for her native land. May her death still plead for France, and may England be forgiven her share in that awful crime.

ALBERT BARRY, C.SS.R.

LAMENNAIS

IV.

FROM his childhood Lamennais had been an ardent royalist. He had indeed been dazzled for a while by Bonaparte's splendid triumphs; but the attempt to make the Church and her Pontiff the tools of the imperial power had confirmed him in his old allegiance. He welcomed the Restoration as at once the re-instatement of the rightful monarch and the deliverance of the Church from an ignominious yoke. But he soon found that under the Bourbons the Church's position was hardly less humiliating than before. Louis XVIII., and much more Charles X., looked upon themselves as the heirs of all the ecclesiastical prerogatives claimed by Louis XIV. It was plain that under such circumstances Lamennais' uncompromising ultramontanism and his ardent royalism must sooner or later come into collision. As in other incidents of his life, his own impetuosity and the folly of his party precipitated the conflict. In 1825 he brought out a volume entitled: *La Religion considérée dans ses Rapports avec l'Ordre Politique et Civil*. The Government immediately prosecuted him on the ground that the book was an attack on the royal authority. Berryer defended in a speech which produced an extraordinary impression throughout the country, and is still looked upon as one of his master-pieces. When he had ended, Lamennais rose up. Disdaining any explanation of his meaning, or any appeal to the clemency of the judges, he said defiantly: "I owe it to my conscience and to the sacred character with which I am invested, to declare to this tribunal that I remain firmly attached to the lawful head of the Church; that his faith is my faith; that his doctrine is my doctrine; and that I will continue to defend this faith and this doctrine to my last breath." Though he was only fined a nominal sum, the prosecution rankled in his mind. Henceforth he ceased to be a royalist. He did not, however, immediately adopt any other political creed. He remained in a sort of pessimistic indifference until he was roused by the example of our

illustrious O'Connell. The Irish blood which ran in his veins was stirred at the sight of his brethren demanding religious liberty in the name of the common principles of freedom. At the same time the brave Belgians were successfully struggling against their Dutch Protestant persecutors. In his own country, on the other hand, the King, while exacting the most servile submission from the Church, nevertheless sacrificed her interests by the ordinances of 1828 against the Jesuit schools. Lamennais could restrain himself no longer. A fresh volume, *Des Progrès de la Révolution et de la Guerre contre l'Eglise*, announced a complete break with his political past, and a defence of the Church's rights on advanced liberal lines.

"We demand for the Catholic Church [he wrote] the freedom promised by the Charter to all religions; the freedom which Protestants and Jews enjoy; the freedom which the followers of Mahomet and Buddha would enjoy if there were any of them in France. . . . We demand freedom of conscience, freedom of the Press, freedom of education—just as the Belgians are demanding them from their government oppressors."

In his letters, he spoke even more strongly:—"The Belgian Catholics are much more advanced than we are. They see the need of curing themselves of that terrible disease called Royalism." "People tremble at Liberalism: make it Catholic, and society will have a new life." "When the Catholics shout out 'Liberty,' you will see many changes." When Charles X. tried to make head against the Revolution, Berryer implored Lamennais to rally to the royal cause. "Too late," was the answer; "*Jam fætet*."¹ And when the unfortunate King and his family fled into exile, their former champion only said of them: "They thoroughly deserved their fate, they can never return."

Three months after the fall of the Bourbons, the first number of the famous newspaper *L'Avenir* appeared. Few men have possessed the qualities of a great journalist in a higher degree than Lamennais. Bold and quick, clear, brilliant and forcible, widely but not deeply read, he could discuss the graver topics of the day at short notice, in

¹ John xi. 39.

limited space, and in a manner adapted to the general intelligence. His weak health prevented him from making full use of his powers, but he had around him a devoted band of young and able men who were well qualified to second his efforts. Lacordaire, at this time a young priest, twenty-eight years old, had only lately joined the community of La Chênaie. A profound thinker, a passionate Liberal, he had long been repelled by the unsound philosophy and extreme royalism of the master. No sooner, however, had Lamennais finally broken with his old friends than this brilliant recruit rallied to his side. A still younger colleague, Montalembert, who was not yet of age, saw the first numbers in Ireland and hurried back to plunge into the fight. Though others sometimes wrote, it was these three—Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert—who were the soul of the new paper. The prospectus came out on August 20th, 1830. The very name *L'Avenir*, "The Future," was a programme in itself. It indicated the coming in of a new era. The age of kings was gone; the age of the people was at hand. The Church must still continue; but to live and thrive she must frankly accept the new conditions, and give up all vain longings to bring back an irrevocable past. A luminous cross, surmounting the Bible and the Keys of Peter, formed the arms of the paper, and for motto was chosen, not the old "God and King," but "God and Freedom."

"The majority of Frenchmen [said the prospectus] wish for religion and freedom. No stable order is possible if these two are looked upon as hostile to each other. The two chief forces of society cannot be in conflict without producing divisions and confusion. On their union—natural, and even necessary, as it is—depends the safety of the future. But there are many prejudices to overcome—many passions to be soothed. On the one side, men sincerely religious do not accept, or accept only with difficulty, the doctrines of freedom. On the other, ardent friends of freedom look with mistrust upon the religion professed by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen.

The present is a favourable time to put an end to this antagonism, for a salutary change has already taken place in French Liberalism. There are two Liberalisms among us—the old and the new. The former, inheriting the subversive doctrines of the philosophy of the last century, and particularly its hatred of

Christianity, breathes nothing but intolerance and oppression. But the new Liberalism, which is growing every day, and will end by swallowing up the other, restricts itself, as far as religion is concerned, to demanding the separation of Church and State—a separation necessary for the freedom of the Church, and equally desired by all enlightened Catholics.”

October the 16th, 1830, was the date of the first number. The opening article was from the pen of Lamennais himself. After taking a rapid survey of the past, he pointed out that one rude hour had sufficed to engulf it for ever. “All this was going on but yesterday—to-day we seek in vain for some traces of what was thought to be everlasting, and now time rolls its waves over these mighty ruins.” The torrent which swept them away is next magnificently described. “What then,” goes on the writer, “What then is left? Two things—and two things only—God and freedom!” In the past the French clergy, notwithstanding the warnings of Rome, had made themselves the servile tools of despotism, and so had led men to believe that the Church was a foe to freedom. Hence the infidelity of the philosophers: hence the persecutions of 1793. The excesses committed in the name of freedom had, in turn, made that name hateful to Catholics. The time was now come to burst the ancient bonds, to heal the ancient feud, to make the Church put her trust in freedom, and freedom put her trust in the Church.

A violent outburst from nearly every side greeted this outspoken language. The old royalist party, fallen, but not yet utterly cast down, were filled with indignation against the traitor who would dissolve the sacred union between Church and king, and force the Church into an unholy alliance with the Revolution. With few exceptions, the Liberals, too, were equally antagonistic. Their mighty foe was more dangerous than ever, now that he had entered into their stronghold and was robbing them of their weapons. The younger clergy and the flower of the youthful laity—the partisans of the *Essai*—knew no bounds to their enthusiasm. They went about everywhere, *Avenir* in hand, flourishing the new teaching in the faces of their grave elders and bearing down all opposition. Day after day the

new journal continued to pour forth articles on the most burning topics. It demanded complete and unreserved freedom of conscience for all Frenchmen; the abolition of privileges of every kind; the entire separation of Church and State; the suppression of the salaries paid to the clergy; the repeal of the Concordat; free communication with Rome; above all, the non-intervention of the civil authority in the choice of bishops, and freedom to teach and to form associations. Outside the domain of religion the *Avenir* advocated the extension of the franchise and the establishment of local government in the departments and the communes. The opponents of this programme, Royalists and Liberals alike, were assailed with a power and a fierceness never exerted before on the side of religion. Philosophers and Gallicans, ministers of State and petty sub-prefects, doctrinaires and bourgeois, all came under a lash which knew no pity. Lamennais and his little band of followers seemed to revel in the numbers and the dignity of their foes.

Again following the example of O'Connell, they founded a Catholic Association (*Agence Générale pour la Défense de la Liberté Religieuse*) to carry out into practice the doctrines proclaimed in their journal. Woe to the Minister of State who issued a decree hostile to religious freedom! Woe to the petty official who dared to insult a village curé! Pulled down from their pride of place, or dragged out of their obscurity, they were held up to ridicule and contempt in the *Avenir*, and remorselessly pursued by the *Agence*. The military commandant at Aix forbade the Capuchins to wear their habit in public; the *Agence* summoned him before the Supreme Court, and obtained his removal to the other end of France. When the Trappists of Meilleraye were to be dispersed by a band of soldiers, the *Agence* offered to defend them by force of arms. The famous case of refusal of burial by the Curé of Aubusson led to an eloquent address to the clergy. A portion of it will give some idea of the style and method of the *Avenir*.

“One of your brethren has refused to a man who died outside your communion, the usual farewell address and prayers

Your brother was right. He acted like a free man, like a priest of the Lord resolved to keep his lips from servile benedictions. Woe to him who blesses against his conscience! Woe to him who speaks of God with a mercenary heart! Woe to the priest who mutters lies at the grave side, and who through fear or for vile wages conducts a soul to the judgment-seat of God. Your brother was right. Are we the gravediggers of the human race? . . . Your brother was right. But a shadow of a pro-consul was of opinion that so much independence was out of place in one so vile as a Catholic priest. He has given orders for the body to be brought before the altar, and the doors to be burst open, if necessary—the doors of the refuge where reposes under the protection of the law and the guardianship of liberty, the God of all mankind, and acknowledged by the majority of Frenchmen . . . A mere sub-prefect, a paid removable, whose own dwelling is secured from invasion, has dared to violate the house of God Himself. He has done this while you are slumbering peacefully on the faith pledged by the Charter of August 8th; while you are obliged to call down blessings on the king, the head and representative of the freedom of the nation. He has done this in the teeth of the law, which declares all religions to be free—and how can a religion be free, if its temple is not free—if dirt may be cast into it by armed force? . . . He sits by his fireside, calm and self-satisfied. You would have made him tremble had you taken your dishonoured God and borne Him to some poor little hut, vowing never to expose Him again to insult in the temples of the State."

The *Avenir* did not restrict itself to attacks on the invaders of the Church's rights. The clergy were earnestly called upon to rise up, and cut off the chains with which they were bound:—

"Priests of Jesus Christ, what have men made of you? Nothing but public officials, paid for services rendered at the bidding of anyone who deigns to command you; imprisoned within narrow boundaries which you are forbidden to cross; compelled, at the whim of a policeman, to put on or to put off the distinctive dress of your calling—this is what you have become . . . The civil authority follows you to the altar; and there, standing by your side, it keeps an eye on the sacrifice and presides over the sacred mysteries. Do you recognise, in the unutterable degradation of this hateful slavery, the priesthood of the Son of God? And do you wonder that the people, disturbed and distracted, ask themselves how there can be anything divine in such an institution? Look at Christ: be poor like Him, and, like Him, you will be free, you will be revered, you will be strong. It was not with an order upon Cæsar's paymasters that Jesus

sent His apostles to conquer the world . . . What does a priest require for his mission? Nothing but lips that can speak freely and a morsel of bread? We are paid by our enemies, by those who look upon us as hypocrites and fools, who are convinced that our very existence depends upon their money. True, they are our debtors; but they have come to believe that in paying us, they are really giving us an alms. . . Fancy a debtor meeting his creditors, and flinging down some money in the mud, and telling them: 'Work, you idle beggars, work!' This is how our enemies treat us; and here we have been for more than thirty years stooping down in the mud to pick up the pittance which they throw us."

If such language excited the lower clergy, it produced a veritable panic among the bishops. Lamennais knew well that the hierarchy would not tolerate any dictation from a simple priest. Nevertheless he spoke out boldly to them:—

"To you especially, bishops of France, do we address ourselves; to you who are at once our chiefs and our fathers; to you on whom rest all our hopes, and to whom, in these evil days, we feel more keenly the need of drawing closely. Who are to be your successors? As death mows you down, one after another, to whom will your flocks be entrusted? Is there a Christian soul who does not shudder at the mere thought of bishops being chosen by the very men who have hewn down our wayside crosses, forbidden our teaching, and persecuted our faith? The ruin of the faith, the death of Catholicism in our midst—would not this be the inevitable result of a state of things which gives the Government control over the episcopal nominations? Think how soon there would be in France nothing left but a Church in chains, a mere shadow of a pastoral ministry, a vile puppet of a priesthood, blind, deaf, motionless, except when started by the lowest menial of the State. Bishops of France! bear well in mind, it is you, and you alone, who can grasp this great question, and secure the preservation of the sacred deposit entrusted to your care. The destinies of the faith, the salvation of the generations to come, are in your hands. Judge ye!"

The bishops were not long in coming to a decision, but that decision was a condemnation. In several dioceses the paper was forbidden. Seminarists who took it in had their orders stopped; professors were deprived of their chairs and curés of their parishes for maintaining its doctrines. This opposition did not at first alarm Lamennais and his friends. They had always looked upon the bishops as Gallicans, as

mere tools of the Government, with secret clings to the vile pay and empty honours bestowed by the State. They boldly declared that as long as Rome was on their side they could bear with the condemnation of the bishops. But the circulation of the paper rapidly fell away; the material resources of the party were reduced; and some of the members felt that they could go on no longer in so false a position. Lacordaire, who had had the largest hand in the *Avenir*, and had always been more of a colleague than a disciple of the master, advised an appeal to the Pope. It was arranged that Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert should go to Rome, and ask the Holy Father to decide between them and the bishops. Accordingly, thirteen months after its first publication, the *Avenir* ceased to appear. The last number (November 15th, 1831) contained an article signed by all the editors.

“ We confide our protest [they said] to the memory of all Frenchmen in whom faith and decency have not died out; to our brethren of the United States, of Ireland, of Belgium: to all who are in labour for the freedom of the world, wherever they may be. We carry this protest, barefooted if need be, to the city of the Apostles, to the steps of the confessional of St. Peter; and we will see who will dare to stop the Pilgrims of God and Freedom.”

V.

No one in France had done more for the overthrow of Gallicanism than Lamennais. In the early days of his collaboration with his brother Jean, in his own *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, and the controversies connected therewith, in all his articles in the *Avenir*, he had insisted in season and out of season on the infallible authority of the decisions of Rome. He boldly defended the rights of the Holy See from the encroachments of the State; he vehemently attacked the bishops for their want of submission to their Head. And yet in all this ardent advocacy we cannot fail to note a something that excites our mistrust. He seems to uphold Rome because Rome is on his side rather than because he is on the side of Rome; and he gives us to understand that the best proof of the infallibility of the Pope would be the approval of the *Essai* and the *Avenir*. He goes to the Holy

See as a dictator rather than as a suppliant ; he demands a decision—a favourable decision, of course—and the Holy See must be quick about it. One already trembles to think of what will happen if Lamennais' principle of authority and Lamennais' personal authority come into conflict. However, he and his two friends now journeyed to Rome, full of confidence in their triumph.

The Pilgrims of God and Freedom had hardly reached their destination when they perceived that their cause was lost. The mis-named Holy Alliance presided over by Metternich, was in the height of its power. Austria, Russia, and Prussia had been beforehand with them at the Vatican, and had called upon the Pope to condemn these audacious revolutionaries, who incited the populace to rebel in the name of religion. The French Government, too, exerted all its influence against them. In ecclesiastical circles their coming was viewed with marked distrust. Zurla, the Cardinal-Vicar, refused to receive them. When they asked for an audience of the Holy Father, they met with fresh discouragement. Leo XII., Lamennais' kind patron and friend, was dead, and had been succeeded by Gregory XVI. The new Pope had found himself face to face with the wave of revolution which swept over Italy in the autumn of 1831. But for the intervention of Austria his temporal authority would have been destroyed. He had been obliged to repress with sternness among his own subjects those very liberties for which the *Avenir* had been clamouring. The wonder is that he had not condemned its doctrines long before. He now caused Cardinal Pacca to convey to the editors his admiration for their abilities and good intentions, but at the same time his dissatisfaction with them for raising certain controversies, and advocating opinions which, to say the least, were dangerous ; and, as the examination of their case would take considerable time, he counselled them to return to France.

This announcement filled Lamennais with indignation. He could see in it nothing but cowardly truckling to the powers of this world. When at last, late in February, an audience was granted, he attempted in vain to discuss his

business with the Holy Father. Gregory received him kindly, gave him a pinch of snuff, talked for a quarter of an hour about the claw on one of Michael Angelo's lions, and sent him away with his blessing. The measure of Lamennais' resentment was now filled up: that single audience decided his fall.

"I have often wondered [he said, a few years later in his *Affaires de Rome*], I have often wondered that the Pope, instead of showing towards us that silent severity, did not say simply: 'You meant well, but you have made mistakes. Placed at the head of the Church, as I am, I know better than you her needs and her interests, and I alone am the judge of such matters. While disapproving of the direction of your efforts, I pay full justice to your intentions. Go back now, and from henceforth, before intervening in these delicate questions take counsel with those whose authority should be your guide.' These few words would have settled the whole matter. None of us would ever have thought of resuming our suspended activity, Why did he, on the contrary, persist in refusing us even a single word? I can only explain his conduct by the intrigues which went on around him, by the secret calumnies with which our enemies sought to blacken us in his eyes, and also by the incapability, which seems inherent in all powers, to believe in disinterestedness, sincerity, and uprightness."

One at least of the pilgrims—he who had originally suggested the appeal to Rome—submitted humbly to the Pope's injunction. Lacordaire now saw, when it was too late, that the appeal had been a fatal mistake, and that they had brought all their misfortunes upon themselves. He left the Eternal City soon after the audience. On the other hand, Montalembert, who, though still a youth, had clearly foreseen the result of the appeal, and had therefore been opposed to the journey, now clung with chivalrous devotion to his discomfited master. Lamennais determined to stay on; he had come for a decision, and a decision he would have. Shunned in all quarters, civil and ecclesiastical, he lingered on through the spring far into the summer.¹ The bitterness of his feelings, the acute sufferings of his nervous, feverish temperament, during these weary months of delay may be seen in his letters. He speaks of the Pope as "a good

¹ He stayed at the Barnabite Convent of St. Andrea della Valle as the guest of Father Ventura.

religious, who knows nothing about the world and has no idea of the condition of the Church." He compares the Papal Curia to the vile eunuchs of the lower Empire. "One of the happiest days of my life will be the day on which I shall get out of this huge sepulchre of worms and bones . . . I must have air to breathe: I must have movement, faith, love—none of which can be found amidst these old ruins over which the basest human passions crawl in darkness and in silence, like so many loathsome reptiles." At last he gave out publicly that he meant to return to France, and resume the *Avenir*.

"As soon as our mind was made up [he writes in his *Affaires de Rome*] we lost no time in quitting Rome. It was towards evening in the month of July. From the high ground overlooking the vale through which the Tiber winds its way we bade a last and sad farewell to the Eternal City. The slanting rays of the setting sun lit up the dome of St. Peter's, the image and reflection of the ancient glories of the Papacy. One by one the various objects faded from view, as darkness came upon the scene. By the doubtful twilight we still caught a glimpse, here and there, of the tombs along the roadside; not a breath of air stirred the dull, dead atmosphere, not a single blade of grass waved; no sound fell on the ear but the tramp of the horses' hoofs, and the monotonous rumble of the diligence wearily dragging along over the desert plain."

Germany, not France, was their first destination. Passing through Venice and the Tyrol, they reached Munich. Soon after their arrival they were joined by Lacordaire, who became reconciled with his old leader by the mediation of Montalembert. Next day, August 30th, the three editors of the *Avenir* were entertained at a banquet by the principal artists and literary men of the Bavarian capital. Görres was there, and Schelling, and Baader, and a young professor already famous—Ignaz Döllinger. The company had just drunk with great enthusiasm the toast of union between French and German Catholics, when Lamennais was summoned out of the room. In a few moments he returned, but with troubled face and flashing eyes, and carrying a document in his hand. He said nothing. Everyone felt that something serious had happened. Soon afterwards the

company broke up. As they were going out, Lamennais whispered to his colleagues: "I have just received an encyclical. It is against us . . . We must immediately submit." At last Gregory XVI. had spoken. The troubles in his states had hitherto prevented him from issuing the letter usually addressed by a new pontiff to the bishops of the world. The encyclical beginning with the words *Mirari vos*, and dated August 15th, 1832, explained this omission, and also took occasion to condemn in severe terms, but without naming any person, the whole policy of the *Avenir*. Liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, freedom of the press, the right of Insurrection—all were condemned.¹ Lacordaire and Montalembert went home with Lamennais to his lodgings, and there an act of submission was drawn up and signed by all three. The *Avenir* was not to appear again; the *Agence* was declared to be dissolved. Let us listen again to Lamennais on his submission and its sequel.

"It was, I confess, a happy day for me when I was able to go back to a calm, quiet life. Certainly, no thought, even the vaguest, of taking any new action entered my mind. I had had enough of fighting; I was worn out with fatigue. Rome gave me rest once again, and I embraced it with a joy which would have made me scruple, had it not come under the guise of duty. All that the editors of the *Avenir* had promised, they fulfilled to the letter. The affairs of the paper, and of the *Agence* were duly liquidated. Everywhere throughout the provinces our friends displayed the same unhesitating submission. Far away from Paris, retired in the country, living there in the bosom of Nature, whose charm is never so great as when one has seen close at hand the passions of men and the crying miseries of society—no desire, no regret, no feeling of *ennui* disturbed the peace of my solitary hours of study. This peace was not to last long. Certain miserable creatures store up, in their gloomy depths, animosities which nothing can calm; secret hatreds, which hide out of very shame, but which burst forth when they can clothe themselves with a pretext of zeal. Hardly had our declaration appeared when murmurs

¹ This is not the place to explain that the condemnation fell upon these doctrines in the abstract. In practice, under special circumstances, they might be tolerated, and even advisable. See *Acta ex quibus excerptus est Syllabus editus die viii. Decembris, MDCCCLIV, Romae, 1865*; Dupanloup's *La Convention du 15th Septembre, et l'Encyclique du 8 Decembre*, for which the author was thanked by Pius IX., Newman, *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. ii., page 246, *sqq.*

of mistrust and discontent began to be whispered abroad. It was not complete enough or explicit enough; it was too like the respectful silence of the Jansenists. Intrigues were hatched; calumnies were sown secretly; timid souls were disturbed by these charitable impostures uttered in a tone of regret—impostures which they would not and did not believe, but which nevertheless were repeated by everyone. Then came direct provocations, insults, outrages. Our enemies hoped to entangle us in discussions which were as delicate as they were dangerous for persons in our position. We detected the snare, and avoided it by holding our tongue. This increased their rage. They had not reckoned on this moderation—and why should I not say it?—they had not reckoned on such patience, in which they detected something like contempt.”

VI.

The eventful year 1832 passed away, and the spring of 1833 arrived. Great preparations were made at La Chênaie to celebrate Easter with more than usual solemnity. The morning broke brilliantly. Lamennais, assisted by a number of the neighbouring clergy, officiated at the Mass, and administered Holy Communion to his youthful disciples. All the community were filled with the gladness of the feast. Their dark days were over and gone; their prospects never seemed brighter. Little did they dream that they had been present at the last Mass of the master.

In truth, Lamennais was far from enjoying that peace of mind of which he boasted. Sainte-Beuve was astonished at his bitterness against Rome. To Lacordaire he seemed like one from whom the Spirit of God had departed; like a second Saul, borne along to a sure and awful doom. And while all was troubled within, his adversaries allowed him no chance of rest. Monsignor D'Astros, Archbishop of Toulouse, in concert with other bishops of the South, condemned a hundred and forty propositions extracted from his writings. This step was severely censured by Rome, on the ground that the decision of such matters belonged to the Holy See. Far from being touched by this protection, Lamennais spoke with increased bitterness. Then came threats of suspension. The Bishop of Rennes, in whose diocese La Chênaie was situated, was an old soldier of the army of Condé, and held rigid views of discipline. Once again Lamennais appealed

to Gregory XVI., to beg to be informed of what was required of him. The answer, received through the Bishop, insisted on absolute adhesion to the encyclical *Mirari Vos*, and a promise neither to write nor to approve of any doctrine not in conformity with it. This was more than he was prepared to do. Accordingly, the Bishop addressed a circular to his clergy announcing that M. de Lamennais had resigned his faculties, and would not receive them again until he had given satisfactory proofs of his complete submission. This was a severe blow to the unfortunate abbé, as the communities at La Chênaie and Malestroit could no longer exist when their founder was silenced. And then came a keener pang. As he was packing up the library for transport to Paris, his brother Jean came upon the scene, and exclaimed indignantly, "*Your books! your books! they are ours.*" Féli left the cases as they stood, and set off without a word. The two brothers never met again.

All was not over yet. The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Quélen, while disapproving of Lamennais' views, had always treated him with the greatest kindness. By his good offices the erring priest was induced to communicate again with Rome, and at length to sign a complete and unreserved submission (December 11th, 1833). The Pope's joy was unbounded. He himself wrote a touching letter to his repentant son, congratulating him on his obedience and exhorting him to employ his splendid talents in defence of the doctrines of the encyclical. But the submission was only an act of despair. Lamennais was resolved to have no more to do with ecclesiastical matters, but to devote himself to politics. Soon it was rumoured that a fresh book was coming out which would startle the world more than anything he had ever written before. Mgr. de Quélen became alarmed. He wrote to ask whether the report was true, and was assured that the work was a merely political one. Then he called in person, and implored Lamennais not to publish it. But all in vain. Within a few months of his complete and unreserved submission the little volume entitled *Paroles d'un Croyant* wrecked his career for ever.

One morning, more than a year before this time, as he

was pacing the gloomy walks of La Chênaie, and brooding over the desertion of his followers and the ruin of all his schemes and hopes, it occurred to him to unburden himself in a series of rhythmical prose poems. As each was finished he went back into the house, and wrote it down, and then set out to begin another. Though they were at first meant only for his own eye, he soon imparted the secret to the faithful few who still stood by him. Then came his difficulties with the bishop, his suspension, his conflict with Rome, and, finally, his submission. This last act exhausted his self-restraint. "It is time that all this should come to an end," he said to his young friend Sainte-Beuve, and placed in his hands the manuscript for publication. As the sheets were passing through the press, the printer wrote to say that the little book would make a great stir in the world, for his workmen were wild with excitement about it. And, surely enough, a violent commotion followed its appearance. Not France only, but all Europe, read it and received it with enthusiasm or rejected it with horror. Beginning with the Sign of the Cross, and arranged in verses like the Scriptures, and closely following their very words and style, it describes, in visions and parables, the woes of the down-trodden people and the infamies of their rulers. Sometimes we seem to be reading the most inspired passages of the *Imitation*; or we gaze on some touching scene of the virtues and sorrows of the poor; then we are hurried away, and plunged into the nethermost pits of hell, to emerge again, and see the multitudes rising in their strength, and marching on to victory. No analysis of such a book can be attempted; it is arranged on no plan; it follows no rules. It must be read to be understood; and even at this distance of time the reader will feel something of the horror and the admiration which it aroused on its first appearance. We cannot here quote the beautiful chapter on Prayer (xviii.), the sonorous litany (xxiii.), the wailing chant of the exile (xli.), the blessings on the youthful defenders of the fatherland (xxxviii.). We have only space for an extract which will enable us to understand why the book was so severely condemned. Take, for example, the vision of the kings,

seated on their chairs of iron, in a gloomy hall, draped with black, and lit only by a single blood-red lamp (xiii.) :—

“ In the midst of the hall stood a throne made up of bones, and at the foot of the throne for a footstool a crucifix reversed, and in front of the throne an ebony table, and on the table a vessel of foaming blood and a man’s skull.

And the seven men with crowns on their heads looked pensive and sad, and from the depths of its hollow orbit their eye sent forth from time to time flashes of livid fire.

And one of them rising up staggered towards the throne, and put his foot on the crucifix.

As he did so his limbs shook, and he seemed ready to faint. The rest gazed on fixedly ; no one of them stirred, and yet a something passed over their brow, and a smile that is not human contracted their lips.

And he who had been ready to faint stretched forth his hand, seized the vessel of blood, poured some into the skull, and drank.

And the draught seemed to give him strength.

And lifting up his head a cry came from his breast like a death-rattle :

‘ Cursed be Christ, who brought freedom upon earth !’

And the other six men crowned rose up together and together uttered the same cry :

‘ Cursed be Christ, who brought freedom upon earth !’

After which, when all were once more seated, the first said :

‘ What shall we do, brethren, to stifle freedom ? For our reign is ended, and the reign of freedom hath begun . . . Here is what I advise. Before Christ came, who could withstand us ? It is His religion which hath undone us : Away then with the religion of Christ !’ And all answered : ‘ It is true, away with the religion of Christ.’”

Then each in turn goes through the same ghastly ceremony, and suggests the abolition of science and thought, the suppression of free speech, the propagation of discord and terror, the sowing of vice and corruption.

“ Then the seventh, having drunk from the skull like the rest, spake thus, with his foot on the crucifix :

‘ Away with Christ ! there is war to the death between Him and us.

But how can we detach the people from Him ? Our own efforts have been in vain. What is to be done ? Listen to me : we must win over the priests of Christ by riches and honours and power, and they will command the people in the name of Christ

to be subject to us in all things, and the people will believe them, and will obey for conscience' sake; and our power will be strengthened more than before.'

And all made answer: 'It is true. Let us win over the priests of Christ.'"

In short, the moral of the *Paroles* is, that the powers that be are not of God, but of the devil; that kings are monsters of infamy, and priests are their willing tools. Though the Church and the Pope are not mentioned, the whole is a fierce attack on the doctrines of the *Mirari vos*. Lamennais himself acknowledged that Rome must now speak out. The encyclical *Singulari nos*, dated June 25, 1834,¹ is couched in terms very different from those of the encyclical two years before. The *Paroles d'un Croyant* is described as "small indeed in bulk but in wickedness enormous." Its attacks on lawful authority are set forth at length, and are there pronounced to be "false, calumnious, rash, leading to anarchy, contrary to the word of God, impious, scandalous, erroneous, already condemned by the Church in the Waldenses, Wycliffites, Hussites, and other like heretics." Moreover, Lamennais' philosophical system, so long tolerated out of respect for his services, was now condemned.

This encyclical dealt the final blow to Lamennais and his school. Lacordaire had already left him. The others soon followed. He himself never again gave any sign of submission. And thus the great movement, begun amid such brilliant hopes, seemed to have come to an end; but it was destined to be taken up again in better days and conducted by wiser if not abler hands to a glorious and successful issue.

T. B. SCANNELL.

¹ Ricard and Spuller repeatedly give the date as July 15, and I have unfortunately followed them in my first article. The document bears the date, "vii. Kal. Julias," that is, June 25.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

MAY A WOMAN BE PERMITTED TO SAY THE RESPONSES TO A PRIEST CELEBRATING MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—I find among the priests of my acquaintance a difference of opinion regarding the nature of the circumstances which render it lawful for a priest to say Mass when he cannot have a male Mass-server, but must permit a woman to say the responses. For while some maintain that this is never lawful unless the priest is obliged to say Mass, either for the purpose of enabling a number of persons to satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass on a Sunday or other day of obligation, or for the purpose of consecrating a host wherewith to administer the Viaticum to a dying person; others, on the contrary, hold that it is lawful, even when the priest wishes to celebrate Mass merely out of devotion. As the question is at present a very practical one, you will confer a favour not merely on the readers of the I. E. RECORD, but also on the liturgical canons, by stating what precisely they teach on this point.

SACERDOS.

On the point raised by our esteemed correspondent there are several decisions of the Congregation of Rites, two of which are quite recent. The first decision bears the date of August 27th, 1836, and refers to the case in which the priest who wishes to celebrate Mass is under *some necessity* of celebrating. The Congregation was asked:—

“Potestne Sacerdos, omnibus sibi prius commode dispositis, quae ad sacrificium occurrere possunt, ne mulieres inserviant altari, uti ministerio mulieris tantum pro responsis?”

The reply of the Congregation was a conditional affirmative: “*Affirmative, urgente necessitate.*”

This reply, we need hardly remark, did not finally settle the question, for it left undefined the nature of the necessity that would justify a priest in permitting a woman to say the responses.

For, clearly, the condition—*urgente necessitate*—appended by the Congregation to their affirmative reply can be understood in at least two ways. In the first place it may refer to the case in which it is necessary for the priest to celebrate Mass in order to give others the opportunity of fulfilling the precept of hearing Mass, or that he may be able to administer the Viaticum to a dying person. Or, secondly, it may merely refer to the case in which a priest wishing to celebrate Mass cannot conveniently have a person of the male sex to serve his Mass, while he can have a woman to say the responses. The latter, we believe, was the usual, if not the universal, interpretation of the condition as expressed by the Congregation. However, as the other interpretation was at least probable, the one commonly acted upon remained doubtful, and hence the Congregation was lately asked to solve the doubt, and so settle the matter for all time. The question to the Congregation came from the Vicar-General of the diocese of Cahors. We submit both question and reply to our readers:—

“ R. D. Vicarius Generalis Rmi. Domini Episcopi Cadurcen. S. Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum ;

“ Ob temporum nequitiam saepe contingit ut nonnisi difficile habebatur minister qui missae inserviat, ita ut sacerdoti a sacro abstinendum sit nisi ministerio mulieris utatur. Quum vero dubitatur utrum hoc in casu vera adsit necessitas de qua in Decreto S. Rituum Congregationis dici 26 Augusti 1836, hinc quaeritur.

“ An Urgens dici possit necessitas in casu quo sacerdos sacrosanctum missae sacrificium celebrare non potest quod minime necessarium est neque ad sacramentum pro infirmo conficiendum nec ad praeceptum adimplendum ?

“ Et sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum caerimoniarum Magistris ita proposito dubio rescribendum censuit ;

“ *Negative.*

“ Atque ita rescripsit et declaravit, die 4 Augusti, 1893.”

This response of the Congregation of Rites rendered untenable the second opinion mentioned by our correspondent, and obliged priests wishing to celebrate from mere devotion rather to abstain from celebrating than to permit a

woman to say the responses. And as a pretty general custom contrary to this decision had already been in existence, the decision was naturally a cause of considerable consternation to many priests, and numerous questions regarding its authenticity and full effect, as well as numerous complaints regarding the inconvenience of observing it, were forwarded to the Congregation. Moved by these the Congregation suspended the execution of the Decree, and announced this decision in the following letter addressed to the Bishop of Cahors, and dated January 12th, 1894:—

REVERENDISSIME DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Novit Amplitudo Tua quod dubio ab ipsam et proposito circa mulieris ministerium in Missa, Sacra haec Rituum Congregatio negative rescribendum censuit die quarta Augusti anno superiore. Quum inde hac de re ad Eandem nonnulla quaesita pervenerint, idem Sacrum Consilium nova in iisdem allata rationum momenta statuit perpendenda, atque interim praefati diei Rescriptum non esse executioni mandatum.

Haec dum pro mei muneris ratione Amplitudini Tuae comunico, diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Uti Frater

CAJ. CARD. ALOISI MASELLA, *S.R.C.*, *Praef.*
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *S.R.C.*, *Secret.*

Romae, die 12 Januarii 1894.

For the present, therefore, the custom existing previous to the Decree of August, 1893, may be persevered in.

ADDITION TO THE SIXTH LESSON OF THE OFFICE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, AND TO THE MARTYROLOGY

Our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., at the urgent request of many bishops has declared St. Vincent de Paul the patron of all the charitable societies in the whole world, whose existence can be in any way traced to the influence of this great apostle of fraternal charity. In commemoration of this, certain additions have to be made to the sixth lesson in the feast of the saint, and also to the Roman Martyrology on the 19th of July, the day of his feast. We append the changes,

together with the Rescript sanctioning them, both of which we hope, for the sake of the clergy, will be duly recorded in the *Ordo* for the coming year.

IN FESTO S. VINCENTII A PAULO CONF.

ADDITIO AD CALCEM VI. LECTIONIS.

Post verba: "die decima nona mensis Iulii quotannis assignata" addatur: "Hunc autem divinae caritatis eximium heroem, de unoquoque hominum genere optime meritum, Leo Tertiusdecimus, instantibus pluribus Sacrorum Antistitibus, omnium Societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium, et ab eo quomodocumque promanantium, peculiarem apud Deum Patronum declaravit et constituit."

ADDITIO MARTYROLOGIO ROMANO INSERENDA.

(19 Iulii) Quarto decimo Kalendas Augusti . . . "Sancti Vincentii a Paulo Confessoris, qui obdormivit in Domino quinto Kalendas Octobris. Hunc Leo decimus tertius omnium Societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium, et ab eo quomodocumque promanantium, caelestem apud Deum Patronum constituit."

RESRIPT.

Quum per Litteras Apostolicas in forma Brevis, diei 12 Maii 1885, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. Sanctum Confessorem Vincentium a Paulo *omnium societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium et ab eo quomodocumque promanantium seu peculiarem apud Deum Patronum* declaraverit et constituerit; Rñus D. Antonius Fiat, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Missionis, quo sancti Patris ac Fundatoris sui in universa Ecclesia honor et gloria magis magisque adaugeatur, Sanctissimum eundem Dominum Nostrum iteratis precibus rogavit, ut de eiusmodi Patronatu tam in Officio quam in Martyrologio Romano, die decimanona Iulii, per additamenta a se proposita, mentionem fieri benigne concederet.

Hae porro additiones quum a me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto et Relatore, in Ordinariis ipsius Sacrae Congregationis Comitiis ad Vaticanum subsignata die coadunatis, ut approbarentur propositae fuerint; Eñi ac Rñi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, audito R. P. D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore, ita rescribere rati sunt: *Pro gratia et ad Emum. Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei.* Die 10 Iulii 1894.

Itaque earumque additionum revisione per me infrascriptum Cardinalem una cum eodem Promotore S. Fidei rite peracta, atque a meipso facta Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII

de hisce omnibus relatione, Sanctitas Sua sententiam eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis ratam habens eiusmodi additamenta prout huic praeiacent Decreto, tam in Breviario quam in Martyrologio Romano inseri iussit. Die 23 iisdem mense et anno.

✠ CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA S. R. C. PRAEF.
ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

PRÊTRES-ADORATEURS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the July number of the I. E. RECORD, in an article on the Association of the “Priest-Adorers” of the Blessed Sacrament, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, Mallow, over the words :—“Already, in some dioceses in Ireland, priest-adorers have gathered around them in their weekly adoration large numbers of the faithful, who can also be associated.”

This practice appears to have arisen from a mis-reading of the statutes of the Association, and it is a pity that the faithful should be permitted to suppose that they gain indulgences which they do not, whereas by the same devout exercises they may gain many ample indulgences.

I am enclosing a copy of the *Statuta Associationis*, in which you will notice, under II. *Conditiones adscriptionis*, that the first condition is, “*Ut Sacerdotali caractere insigniatur, vel sit saltem in Sacris Ordinibus constitutus*.” There is nothing in the other conditions modifying this first essential.

Under III. *Associationis regulatio*, occur the words that have caused the mistake.

No. IV. speaks of the annual tax of two francs levied on all associates towards defraying expenses.

No. V. speaks of the privileges of “Benefactors,” as all are entitled who contribute ten francs annually.

No. VI. speaks of the privileges of “Founders,” as all are entitled who make a donation of two hundred and fifty francs.

No. VII. reads as follows :—“*Omnis laicus praedictis conditionibus satisfaciens, quae sive pro benefactoribus sive pro funda-*

toribus assignatur, omnibus et singulis privilegiis supra enumeratis jure fruitur."

The "above-named *privilegia*" cannot be taken to include *membership*, of which, as we have seen, Holy Orders is a *sine qua non*. Father Sheehan's words, therefore, "the faithful who can also be associated" appear to be incorrect; for, if "associated," they would be "associates," *i.e.*, members of the Association, and they would be entitled to share in the indulgences. Benefactors and founders cannot, as such merely, obtain any indulgence, their privileges consisting in the inscription of their names amongst those of other benefactors or founders, and in a share in the Holy Mass offered monthly for them. Those privileges only are open to the faithful.

We have guilds and confraternities under our direction, of men, women, boys and girls, and families; but in the "priest-adorers" we stand units ourselves, without any thought of others to distract us; as professional men we seek a private audience with our chief, and look into the account of our trust.

If the zealous priests alluded to in Father Sheehan's article would wish to present to our Lord the adoration of pious souls from their flock, along with their own, they may do so; and, at the same time, enable the faithful to gain numerous indulgences, by having them enrolled in some confraternity to which a plenary indulgence is given for a visit to the church. Our Holy Father Leo XIII. has drawn special attention to the League of the Sacred Heart, which, in the devotion of "The Holy Hour," has a very similar devotion to the hour of watching of the priest-adorer. The chief difference is, that the priest-adorer may gain a plenary indulgence every day, and as many times in the day as he makes an hour's adoration, if he receives Holy Communion on that day, and fulfils the other usual conditions; whereas the layman can gain the plenary indulgence only once a week. Possibly the Brief of the Holy Father may have escaped the attention or the memory of some. Permit me, therefore, to allude to it. The devotion of the Holy Hour was instituted by our Lord Himself, when he told the Blessed Margaret, *in order to bear Him company in the humble prayer which He offered to His Father* in the garden, to rise between eleven o'clock on Thursday night and midnight; "and then," He said, "prostrate along with Me, to appease the Divine anger, to ask mercy for sinners, and in a manner to sweeten the bitterness which I

suffered when My apostles all abandoned Me, and *could not watch one hour with Me.*" This devotion became common, was indulged, and by a Rescript of May 13th, 1875, the time of gaining the indulgence was extended from 2 p.m. on Thursday to the *rising of the sun* on Friday. Our present Holy Father, by a Brief of March, 1886, "in order," as he says, "to prevent any members of the apostleship from being deprived of a grace of such importance," has empowered local directors to name *any hour* during the week, on which all members under their direction may gain this same indulgence. Membership of the League of the Sacred Heart requires only enrolment, and the promise to make a mental morning offering. Further information could be obtained from the Central Directors, at 6 Great Denmark-street, Dublin; and at *Messenger* Office, Wimbledon, Surrey.

I must say, however, that to me the attention required to direct the devotion of others during the hour's adoration of the priest-adorer appears foreign to the spirit of this Association. Make the "Holy Hour" with your people, by all means, but make your hour's private adoration as well.

Before closing, permit me to mention a pious custom that is now being introduced by the priest-adorers on the Continent into the clergy retreats; *i.e.*, to petition the bishop for a day's exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.

I remain, rev. dear sir, yours faithfully,

W. J. SMITH.

MORTOMLEY, SHEFFIELD, *August 13th, 1894.*

Documents

DECRETUM SACRAE RITUUM CONGREGATIONIS DE MUSICA
SACRA

Quod S. Augustinus ceterique Patres saepenumero docuerunt de cantus ecclesiastici decore ed utilitate, *ut, per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat*;¹ id Romanorum Pontificum auctoritas sibi integre eximieque perficiendum semper attribuit. Quapropter in hoc Catholicae Liturgiae munus ita Gregorius cognomine Magnus curas ac studia contulit, ut vel ipsam appellationem ab eo sacri concentus sint mutuati. Alii vero, processu temporum, Pontifices, quum nescii non essent quantam huius rei partem sibi divini cultus vindicaret dignitas, immortalis decessoris sui vestigiis insistentes, Gregorianum cantum non modo ad receptam, eandemque probatissimam, numeri formam revocandum, sed etiam ad aptiorem melioremque exemplaris rationem exigendum indesinenter curarunt. Praesertim, post Tridentinae Synodi vota et sanctiones, atque Missalis Romani diligentissime exarati emendationem, Pii V. praecepto et auctoritate peractam, de promovendo liturgico cantu magis in dies assidua excelluit solertia Gregorii XIII., Pauli V., ac caeterorum, qui, ad incolume Liturgiae decus tuendum, nihil potius et antiquius habuerunt, quam ut rituum uniformitati, sacrorum etiam concentuum uniformitas ubique responderet. Qua in re illud Apostolicae Sedis sollicitudinem iuvit praecipue, quod ipsi curae fuerit Graduale, accurate recognitum et ad simpliciores modos reductum, Ioanni Petro Aloisio Praenestino elaborate praeclareque adornandum committere. Nam mandatum, ut erat dignum homine officii sui perstudioso, docte ille complevit; et celeberrimi magistri praestare valuit industria, ut, iuxta prudentissimas normas, servatisque genuinis characteribus, liturgici concentus reformatio iure conficeretur. Opus tanti momenti illustres Petri Aloisii Praenestini discipuli, insigne eius magisterium et documenta secuti, typis Mediceis Romae excudendum, Pontificum voluntate, susceperunt. Incoepta tamen huiusmodi experimenta et conatus non nisi aetati huic demum nostrae absolvere est concessum. Quum enim sa. me. Pius IX. liturgici cantus unitatem feliciter inducere quam maxime in votis haberet

¹ *Confess.*, l. x., c. 33, n. 3,

a S. R. C. assignandam, eiusdemque ductu et auspiciis muniendam, peculiarem virorum Gregoriani cantus laude praestantium Commissionem in Urbe instituit; eiusque examini editionem subiecit, qua denuo in lucem evulgaretur Graduale Romanum, typis olim Mediceis impressum et Apostolicis Pauli V. Litteris approbatum. Hanc dein editionem saluberrimo opere absolutam, parique studio et opportunis inductis emendationibus, ad normas a Commissione praescriptas, revisam, sibi valde probari haud semel ostendit, atque authenticam declarare non dubitavit suis Brevibus Litteris, die 30 Maii anno 1873, datis, quarum illa est sententia: "*Hanc ipsam dicti Gradualis Romani editionem Reverendissimis locorum Ordinariis, iisque omnibus quibus Musices sacrae cura est, magnopere commendamus; eo vel magis, quod sit Nobis maxime in votis, ut cum in ceteris, quae ad Sacram Liturgiam pertinent, tum etiam in cantu, una, cunctis in locis ac Dioecesibus, eademque ratio servetur, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia.*" Antecessoris Sui adprobationem decreto confirmare atque extendere e re esse duxit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. Litteris enim Apostolicis, die 15 Novembris anno 1878, primae Antiphonarii partis, quae Horas diurnas complectitur, novam editionem, ab iisdem viris per S. R. C. deputatis, egregie sane, ut decebat musicos eruditos, atque intelligenter revisam, peculiari commendatione est prosequutus, his sapienter ad Episcopos omnesque Musicae Sacrae cultores verbis usus: "*Itaque memoratam editionem a viris ecclesiastici cantus apprime peritis, ad id a SS. Rituum Congregatione deputatis, revisam probamus atque authenticam declaramus, Reverendissimis locorum Ordinariis caeterisque, quibus Musices Sacrae cura est, vehementer commendamus, id potissimum spectantes, ut sic cunctis in locis ac Dioecesibus, cum in caeteris, quae ad Sacram Liturgiam pertinent, tum etiam in cantu, una eademque ratio servetur, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia.*"

Verum, quemadmodum post Pontificium Pii. IX. Breve de Graduali, ad ipsam editionis adprobationem in dubium vocandam, controversiae pluries subortae et obstacula sunt permota, ob quae S. R. C., die 14 Aprilis an. 1877, sui muneris esse persensit editionem authenticam adserere, suoque suffragio penitus confirmare; haud aliter, post Apostolicos etiam Leonis XIII. Litteras, quin finem contentionibus facerent, sibi adhuc integrum putaverunt nonnulli consilia et decreta negligere de instituto cantus ecclesiastici, constanti Romanae Liturgiae ratione et usu comprobati. Immo, choricis Ecclesiae libris in lucem prolatis,

totaque hac re ad exitum egregie perducta, largiores evasere disputationes; et, in conventu cultorum liturgici cantus anno 1882 Aretii habito, validius excitatae censurae eos moerore affecerunt, qui in ecclesiastici concentus uniformitate, Apostolicae Sedi unice obtemperandum iure meritoque existimant. Quum autem qui Aretium hanc ob causam contenderant, vota quaedam seu postulata de eadem re non tantum in populum prodiderint, verum etiam Sanctissimo Domini Nostro Leoni XIII. formulis concinnata exhibuerint, Pontifex idem, negotii gravitate permotus, ut sacrorum concentuum, potissimum vero Gregoriani cantus, unitati et dignitati consuleret, vota illa seu postulata in examen adducenda assignavit peculiari Coetui ab se delecto quorundam Patrum Cardinalium Sacris tuendis Ritibus Praepositorum. Qui, omnibus mature perpensis, exquisitisque insignium quoque virorum sententiis, die 10 Aprilis anno 1883 sine ulla dubitatione decernendum censuerunt: "*Vota seu postulata ab Aretino Conventu superiore anno emissa, ac Sedi Apostolicae ab eodem oblata pro liturgico cantu Gregoriano ad vetustam traditionem redigendo, accepta uti sonant recipi probarique non posse. Quamvis enim ecclesiastici cantus cultoribus integrum liberumque semper fuerit ac deinceps futurum sit, eruditionis gratia, disquirere quatenus vetus fuerit ipsius ecclesiastici cantus forma, variaeque eiusdem phases, quemadmodum de antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus ac reliquis Sacrae Liturgiae partibus eruditissimi viri cum plurima commendatione disputare et inquirere consueverunt; nihilominus eam tantum uti authenticam Gregoriani cantus formam atque legitimam hodie habendam esse, quae, iuxta Tridentinas sanctiones, a Paulo V., Pio IX. sa. me. et Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone XIII. atque a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, iuxta Editionem nuper adornatum, rata habita est et confirmata, utpote quae unice eam cantus rationem contineat, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia. Quocirca de hac authenticitate et legitimitate, inter eos, qui Sedis Apostolicae auctoritati sincere obsequuntur, nec dubitandum neque amplius disquirendum esse.*"

Attamen postremis hisce annis, diversas ob causas, pristinae difficultates iterum interponi, recentesque immo concertationes instaurari visae sunt, quae vel ipsam quum huius Editionis tum cantus in ea contenti genuinitatem aut infirmare aut penitus impetere aggredierentur. Neque etiam defuere qui ex desiderio, quo Pius IX. et Leo XIII., Pontifices Maximi, ecclesiastici cantus uniformitatem summopere commendatam habuerunt, alios

quoscumque cantus, in Ecclesiis peculiaribus iampridem adhibitos, omnino vetari inferrent. Ad haec dubia satius enucleanda, omnesque in posterum ambiguitates arcendas, Sanctitas Sua iudicium hac de re deferendum constituit Congregationi Ordinariae omnium Patrum Cardinalium Sacris tuendis Ritibus Praepositorum, qui, in coetibus ad diem 7 et 12 Iunii nuper elapsi convocatis, resumptis omnibus ad rem pertinentibus aliisque mox exhibitis mature perpensis, unanimi responderunt sententia: "*Servandas esse dispositiones sa. me. Pii IX. in Brevi 'Qui choricis' diei 30 Maii, 1873; Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Papae XIII. in Brevi 'Sacrorum Concentuum' diei 15 Novembris, 1878; ac S. R. C. in Decreto diei 26 Aprilis, 1883.*" Quod autem ad libertatem attinet, qua Ecclesiae peculiare tantum legitime invecum et adhuc adhibitum possint retinere, Sacra eadem Congregatio decretum illud iterandum atque inculcandum statuit, quo, in coetu die 10 Aprilis an. 1883 habito, plurimum hortabatur omnes locorum Ordinarios aliosque ecclesiastici cantus cultores, ut Editionem praefatam in Sacra Liturgia, ad cantus uniformitatem servandam, adoptare curarent, quamvis illam, iuxta prudentissimam Sedis Apostolicae agendi rationem, singulis Ecclesiis non imponeret.

Facta autem de his omnibus per infrascriptum S. R. C. Praefectum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XIII. fidei relatione, Sanctitas Sua Decretum Sacrae Congregationis ratum habuit, confirmavit, et publici iuris fieri mandavit die 7^o Iulii an. 1894.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, S. R. C., Praef.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, S. R. C., Secretarius.

The following regulations were annexed to the above Decree:—

The Sacred Congregation of Rites at its ordinary sessions on the 7th and 12th of June, 1894, after mature deliberation, approved the following regulations regarding Sacred Music.

PART I.

ART. I.—Every musical composition which is inspired with the spirit of the sacred function which it accompanies, and religiously corresponds to the sense of the rite, and the meaning

of the words, is capable of exciting the devotion of the faithful, and is therefore worthy of the house of God.

ART. II.—Such is the Gregorian Chant which the Church regards as truly its own, being the only one which she adopts in her liturgical books.

ART. III.—Polyphonous Chant, as also Chromatic Chant, provided they be marked by the characteristics mentioned below, may likewise be found suitable to sacred functions.

ART. IV.—Amongst the chants of the polyphonous kind which are recognised as being most worthy of the house of God, are those of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and of his worthy imitators; whilst, for chromatic music, those compositions are recognised as suited to divine worship, which come down to us from the masters of the various Italian and foreign schools, and especially from the distinguished Roman masters, whose words were praised and acknowledged by competent authority as being truly sacred.

ART. V.—As it is well known that a composition of polyphonous music, however excellent, may become unsuited to its purpose by defective execution, in such cases the Gregorian chant should be employed in all strictly liturgical functions.

ART. VI.—Figured music for the organ should generally have a grave, harmonious character suited to the nature of the instrument. Instrumental accompaniment should sustain the chant decorously, and not drown or oppress it. In preludes and interludes the organ as well as the other instruments should always maintain a sacred tone in keeping with the spirit of the function.

ART. VII.—The language to be used in canticles during solemn, and strictly liturgical functions should be the proper language of the rite, and the texts “*ad libitum*” should be taken from the Sacred Scripture, from the Breviary, or from the hymns or prayers approved by the Church.

ART. VIII.—In all other functions the common language of the country may be used, taking the words from devout and approved compositions.

ART. IX.—All profane music, whether vocal or instrumental, particularly if it be inspired by motives or reminiscences of the theatre, is strictly forbidden in the church.

ART. X.—To provide for the respect due to the words of the liturgy, and to prevent the ceremony from being unduly prolonged,

every chant is forbidden in which words are at all omitted, or transposed out of their natural sense, or indiscreetly repeated.

ART. XI.—It is forbidden to separate or divide into distinct pieces verses that are necessarily and naturally bound together.

ART. XII.—It is forbidden to improvise fanciful pieces on the organ, in the case of all who are not capable of doing it in such a manner as not only to respect the rules of musical art, but also to preserve and excite the piety and recollection of the faithful.

PART II.

I. Sacred Music being part of the liturgy, the Most Rev. Ordinaries are recommended to take special care of it, to make it the subject of suitable prescriptions, particularly in diocesan and provincial synods; always following the sense of these present regulations. The co-operation of the laity is admitted under the vigilance of the bishops, and subject to their authority.

No committees can be formed, nor congress held, without the express consent of the ecclesiastical authorities. These are the bishop in his diocese, and the metropolitan with his suffragans in the provinces. Periodicals on sacred music cannot be published without the “Imprimatur” of the Ordinary. All discussion on the articles of the present regulation is prohibited. In other matters regarding sacred music it is allowed, provided—(1) the laws of charity be observed; (2) no one sets himself up as the master and judge of others.

II. The Most Rev. Ordinaries will see that the obligation of studying the Plain Chant, as it is found in the books approved by the Holy See, shall be exactly fulfilled by their clergy. With regard to other kinds of music, and the practice on the organ, they will not make it obligatory on their students in order not to distract them from the more important studies to which they are obliged to attend. But if any of them should be already instructed in this kind of study, or show a particular disposition for it, they can permit them to perfect themselves as far as possible.

III. The same Most Rev. Ordinaries will watch with care over their parish priests and rectors of churches, and see that they do not permit musical chants contrary to the instructions of the present regulation, having recourse, if necessary, with

caution and prudence, to canonical penalties against those who disobey.

IV. With the publication of the present regulation, and its communication to the Most Rev. Ordinaries of Italy, all preceding acts on the same subject are completely abrogated.

His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., an account having been presented to him of the above regulations by the undersigned Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, deigned to confirm and sanction in every part the preceding regulation, ordering its publication on the 6th day of July, 1894.

GAETANO CARD. ALOISI MASELLA, *Prefect.*

L. S.

LUIGI TRIPEPI, *Segretario.*

Notices of Books

DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J. London: Burns and Oates.

THE author of this work has given us a very valuable contribution to Irish historical literature. In a series of interesting chapters he tells us of the lives and sufferings of a number of Jesuit priests, who bore with heroic courage the tortures and persecutions inflicted upon them during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In his graphic sketches he presents to us a faithful picture of the times, and recalls the devotion and heroism of many faithful Catholics who did not belong to his order, and whose courage and fidelity in these evil days should never be forgotten in Catholic Ireland. We would draw special attention to his account of Miss Margery Barnwall, whose name would not unworthily figure alongside those of the noblest Roman virgins who suffered in the days of Nero or Domitian. But Father Hogan is chiefly concerned about the members of the Society of Jesus who fought the battle of the faith, and contributed the part of one noble regiment to the victory against such terrible and such

unscrupulous enemies. In these pages we learn—to use the words of Lord Macaulay—“With what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what exact discipline, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, the Jesuits fought the battle of the Church.” And at the end of our perusal it is impossible not to recall that other passage of the great English essayist in which he pays his tribute of admiration to the sons of St. Ignatius :—

“In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gibbets and quartering blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise, and in every country—scholars, physicians, merchants, serving men ; in the hostile Court of Sweden ; in the old manor-houses of Cheshire ; among the hovels of Connaught ; arguing, instructing, consoling, forming the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying.”

This picture will be easily recognised in Father Hogan's sketches of Fathers David Woulfe, Edmund O'Donnell, Robert Rochfort, Charles Lea, Edmund Tanner, Richard Fleming, John Howling, Thomas White, Nicholas Comerford, Dominic Collins, Walter Talbot, Florence O'More, Thomas Filde, Richard de la Field, Henry Fitzsimons, James Archer, William Bathe, and Christopher Holywood. We have no hesitation in saying that this book is one which should find a place in every library in Ireland. The author has taken great pains to consult original documents, and make his information as accurate as possible. His work is written in an attractive and readable style, and when such pains have been taken, we have little doubt but that clergy and laity will show their practical appreciation of the work, and give the author the encouragement and recognition to which his labours so justly entitle him. Catholics are sometimes reproached with their neglect of historical studies, and with allowing the glories of the past to lie buried in the archives and records of libraries and offices of the state. We trust that when a practical effort is made to clear the ground from under such critics, that it will receive such support as not only to compensate its author, but to encourage others.

J. F. H.

THE VENERABLE VINCENT PALLOTTI, FOUNDER OF THE PIOUS SOCIETY OF MISSIONS. By Lady Herbert; with a Preface by H. E. Cardinal Vaughan. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THIS is a very interesting as well as a very edifying biography. It tells us all about the life and work of the venerable servant of God, Vincenzo Pallotti, who founded the "Pious Society of Missions," with which the Foreign Missionary College of Mill Hill, London, established by Cardinal Vaughan, is connected. The fathers of the Society have also a church in London, and devote themselves chiefly to the large Italian colony who inhabit the city. They likewise attend the Italian hospital, and have opened large schools under the care of the Sisters of Charity. They have founded another Mission at Hastings, and are doing admirable work in New York, Brooklyn, and in South America, at Montevideo, at Mercedes in the Argentine Republic, and at Valparaiso in Chili. The story of the venerable founder, and of his work, is admirably told by Lady Herbert, and the preface is written by Cardinal Vaughan, who has always had a great interest in the "Pious Society."

J. F. H.

LE SAINT SACRIFICE DE LA MESSE. SON EXPLICATION DOGMATIQUE, LITURGIQUE ET ASCETIQUE. Par le Docteur Nicholas Gühr, Traduit par M. l'Abbe L. Th. Moccano, Vicaire General d'Annecy. Paris: Lethielleux, 1894.

THIS is the first volume of an important treatise on the Mass, by a learned German divine. It treats—(1) of the sacrifice in general; (2) of the bloody sacrifice on the cross; and (3) of the unbloody sacrifice of the altar. The liturgical portion of the work is only begun in this volume. So far we have only what is to be found in the ordinary books of theology on the nature and effects of the holy sacrifice. We look forward to the second with interest; for, if well done, it will be a valuable acquisition to Catholic literature. There are questions connected with the liturgy of the sacrifice, and particularly with the Canon of the Mass, some of them dogmatic, some historical, and some purely liturgical, which, if well treated, must prove full of interest. It is difficult to get a full and able treatment of them in any one work at present. We must therefore reserve our opinion of the value of the whole work until the second volume reaches us.

J. F. H.

HYMNARIUM QUOTIDIANUM B.M.V. Ex HYMNIS MEDII AEVI
COMPARATUM. CURA ET STUDIO R. P. RAGEY, SOCIETATIS
MARIAE. Paris: Lethielleux.

WITH great discernment and diligence the author of this work has collected from the most varied sources the Latin Hymns of the middle ages composed in honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was a labour of love conceived and carried out by a devout client of our Lady. It is arranged so that one hymn corresponds to each day of the year, beginning with the 1st of January, and ending with the 31st of December. Although the author was at much pains to collect, and arrange the materials for his volume in this order, it is to be regretted that the critical and historical part of the work is so meagre. We miss the valuable notes which make the collections of Mone, Dreves, and other German writers on the same subject so useful, and so interesting. The author, however, had but one object chiefly in view, viz., to bring together in one volume the chief literary tributes of the middle ages to *Notre Dame*. In this he has well succeeded. As he himself proclaims in the introduction, his work was an undertaking of piety, and not of erudition. As in the English work recently published, entitled *Carmina Mariana*, in which the poetic contributions of English writers in honour of the Blessed Virgin were compiled, and wreathed together, so here we have the still more beautiful and pious chaplet of the devotion of the ages of faith.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

OCTOBER, 1894

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

THE public prayer of the Church is, as all the world knows, one of the safest as well as one of the most interesting witnesses to the faith and customs of Christian antiquity. Hence the proverb: *formula precandi norma credendi*. This is especially true with regard to the rites used in the administration of the sacraments, and particularly of the Blessed Eucharist. Supposing that all the writings of the fathers were devoid of authority, and that even the Gospels were lost, the ancient liturgies, some of which date back to the second century of our era, would suffice to convince us of the belief of our forefathers in the real presence of our divine Lord, after the words of consecration have been pronounced by the priest over the species of bread and wine. The study of the Divine Office is indeed of minor importance compared with that of the sacramental functions. Nevertheless it is sufficiently interesting to justify the student of Church history in his spending many hours in the acquisition of Oriental languages in order to enable him to understand the sacred forms of prayer used by the various local churches many centuries ago, and to console and edify himself thereby.

Public prayer was in use long before the coming of our Lord. We find distinct allusions to it—though no precise command—in Holy Scripture; as, for instance, in Psalm cxviii. (vv. 62 and 164); again, in the Book of Daniel (vi. 10), in

which we read of three different hours of prayer. The New Testament is yet more explicit. The prayer at midnight is distinctly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xvi. 25), as also that of the sixth hour (*ibid.*, x. 9), and that of the ninth (*ibid.*, x. 3 and 30) ; while that of the third is probably alluded to in the history of the first Pentecost. During the first few centuries we catch an occasional glimpse of the Divine Office in the writings of the fathers ; thus when we hear of St. Ignatius, the " God-bearer " († 116), that he introduced antiphonal singing, and that another patriarch of Antioch prescribed the service of the " bending of the knees " on Pentecost afternoon, the fifty days during which the knees should never be bent being then over.¹

But, on the whole, the early fathers are silent on the subject ; they had enough to do to defend their faith against pagans and heretics, and to propagate the Christian doctrine among the Gentiles. As soon, however, as the persecutions ceased, we behold the spectacle of a fully-developed hierarchy, flourishing religious institutions, a complete ritual, and a well-arranged canonical office. Eusebius Pamphili († 340) in his *Church History*² claims as Christian certain practices concerning the Divine Service attributed by Philo to Jewish Ascetics in Egypt. Still more explicit is Cassian († 440), who in 380 undertook a long journey to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and on his return to Southern Gaul wrote several works on the manner of life of the Eastern monks and anchorites. The second and third books of his *Institutions* are a mine of information on the subject. For my present purpose it will suffice to say that both in Syria and Egypt the greater part of the night was given to prayer ; during the day the Egyptians did not assemble in Church, but accompanied the work of their hands with the recitation of psalms ; whereas the Syrians met three times a day in church, for the third, sixth, and ninth hour, each of which consisted of three psalms.

¹ See J. M. Neale's (posthumous) *History of the Patriarchate of Antioch*, London, 1873, Appendix II., p. 200.

² Book ii, chapter 17 ; Migne, *Gr.*, 20, 184.

We have here, altogether, five canonical hours, viz. :—Vespers (the beginning of the night), the night office, and the three hours during the day; and this number is further confirmed by St. John Chrysostom, who, in the Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy,¹ gives a short description of the lives of the monks in the mountains near Antioch :—"Having finished the morning prayers and hymns, they turn to the reading of the Scriptures; there are also some who have learnt to write books. They then say Terce, Sext, and None, and recite Vespers; and while dividing the day into four parts, they worship God in each of these parts by the singing of psalms and hymns." The division of the night office into two parts, one to be performed in the middle of the night, the other at the dawn of day, is of somewhat later date.² At the end of the fourth century a new hour was, for the first time, introduced in the large monastery at Bethlehem. It appears that some monks after (what we should call) Lauds went back to bed, and slept until late in the morning.³ To prevent such an abuse the office of Prime was introduced as a fitting preparation for the manual labour. The origin of Compline is not quite clear. It cannot be traced back beyond the time of St. Benedict († 543). Probably it owes its origin to the relaxation in the matter of fasting. According to the old discipline of the Church, no food should be partaken of on fasting days until after Vespers. In order to bring this rule into harmony with the requirements of a lukewarm age, Vespers were gradually anticipated, and from an evening prayer, became an afternoon service, so that a new office, Compline, had to take the place of the ancient night prayers.

As I have mentioned before, there were different sets of prayers in use in different churches. Everywhere the psalms formed the groundwork, round which canticles, hymns, lessons, and "bidding prayers" were grouped. Already at the first appearance of the Divine Office in the writings of the

¹ Migne, *Gr.*, 62, 576.

² *Apost. Const.*, viii. 34, Migne 1, 1135, footnote.

³ *Cassian Inst.*, book iii. See Migne, *Lat.*, 49, 126.

fathers, we find great diversity ; and, if we may judge from our present knowledge, it would seem that there were, at a very early epoch, as many as six different rites in use ; the Coptic, the East Syrian, the Greek (with an Ethiopian, a West Syrian, and an Armenian branch¹), the Gallican, the Gothic, and the Roman Rites. It is possible that further investigation may reduce this number, but since much harm has been wrought in liturgiological matters by rash assertions, it seems more prudent to dogmatize as little as possible. A very vague recollection of these various offices, and their origins survived until the eighth century, when the curious *Origo cantuum*² was written, probably by an Irish monk in France. We shall have occasion to mention it again later on.

The comparison of the various rites would be easy, if we possessed a proper breviary of each ; but such is not the case. Manuscripts containing the Divine Office are, as a rule, of very late date, for in the earlier centuries tradition alone appears to have guided the monks, and even when we occasionally meet with some kind of rubrics, they are so enigmatical that the utmost care is required lest they be wrongly interpreted. The only safe method to reach the original cast, is to take the office in its most perfect form, and to divest it of all notoriously late additions. Such, for instance, are most of the hymns ; they bear, as a rule, the names of their authors, or, at any rate, the characteristics of the epoch of their composition. But, even so, there remains many a question without an answer. Nevertheless, every contribution to the study of the various rites is a step towards the final investigation of a highly interesting subject.

One thing, however, requires explanation before we turn to the study of the Armenian Office. However different the various rites may have been, even at the outset, there are

¹I have had no occasion as yet to study the Ethiopian and the West Syrian offices, nor am I aware that anybody else has done so, with a view to comparing them with other rites. In making the above statement, I am guided by the contents of certain manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, as described in the catalogue of MSS. As to the Armenian branch, I shall substantiate my assertion.

² Migne, *Lat.*, 72, 605.

certain features common to all, which could not be the result of blind hazard. We have seen that some kind of canonical hours were known to the Jews long before the dawn of Christianity. The merit of having drawn the attention of students of liturgy to the Hebrew prototype belongs to a German professor, Dr. G. Bickell.¹ Though principally engaged with the earliest history of the Mass and its points of contact with the ritual of the Passover, he did not altogether neglect the Jewish forms of prayer. Until we shall have an occasion to devote time and labour to this subject, we may adopt the result of Dr. Bickell's summary report.

The principal liturgical function of the Jews is the *Shacharith* (morning offering) on the Sabbath. It begins with the morning blessing, that is, with divine praises, thanksgiving and prayer, followed by certain lessons taken partly from the Scripture, partly from the Talmud, and referring to the daily sacrifices; the psalmody, which consists of a blessing (something like an antiphon), the psalm inserted in 1 Paral. xv. 8-36, a whole series of psalms, and concludes with Psalm c. (Vulgate, Psalm xcix.). After a prayer, Psalms cxlv. to cl. are recited, followed by a hymn of praise. Another song of the antiphon type serves as introduction to the canticle of Moses (Exod. xv.), while a blessing brings this part of the service to a conclusion. On the Sabbath, Psalm xcix. is left out, but in its place nine other psalms are inserted, and the blessing begins with the words: "Let every spirit praise the Lord." The third part of the service begins with a kind of responsory between cantor and congregation. After a very long magnificently-worded blessing, in which God is praised for the creation of light, and for the election and salvation of Israel, the exhortations (*shma*, so called from the first word: "Listen, Israel") are recited (Deut. vi. 4, 9; xi. 13, 22; Num. xv. 37, 41). In the Middle Ages the *piutim* (festival hymns) were here inserted. The service continues with the verse: "Lord, open Thou my lips, and my mouth shall declare Thy praise;" and now

¹ *Messe und Pascha*, Mainz, 1872. The following extracts are taken from page 64.

come the eighteen (at present nineteen) "blessings of Esdras." After the third, the *Kedusha*, resembling strongly our own preface with the Sanctus, is recited. If a descendant of Aaron be present, he imparts to the congregation the high priestly blessing (Num. vi. 24). The fourth and last part of the service consists of lessons from the Pentateuch (*parasha*) and the Prophets (*haftara*), with a sermon; and the whole proceeding terminates with bidding prayers, for the congregation, for peace, for women in childbed, for the sick, for the king, and for the departed.

Such is the Jewish ritual for the morning service, and three other daily services are much on the same lines. Dr. Bickell is evidently of opinion that this function is, on the whole, identical with the services we read of in the New Testament. I cannot follow him into details, but I would ask my readers to remember the principal items, especially the portion of the Psalter, with the canticles, and the six last psalms, the blessings, the readings, and the bidding prayers.

I.—THE CHURCH OF ARMENIA.

I had devoted a great deal of time and labour to the Divine Office of the Greek Church, such as it appears in the eighteen large volumes constituting the Greek breviary. Having acquired a fair knowledge of it,¹ I resolved to turn to the Armenian Office. I cannot say that I had any definite idea as to what it was likely to be, for all my preliminary knowledge consisted of two points only: the first, that one of the office books bore the title *Sharagan*; the second, that the office was much shorter than the Roman. The first piece of information was tolerably exact, while the second, though supported by what claims to be an authority, is a gross misrepresentation. Besides these two points, I also was acquainted with some Armenian hymns, inserted in Dom Guéranger's *Liturgical Year*. Nevertheless, I was not altogether unfavourably disposed towards the Armenian language and Church: the former having been the means of

¹ See my articles in *The Month* for January, February, and March, 1893.

preserving even to our own days many a valuable work of Christian antiquity; the second being venerable for its unshaken firmness in an ocean of persecution and calamity. Though I cannot share Father Lucas Ingigi's bold assertion, that Armenian was the language of Adam and Eve themselves (if so, poor Eve!), it certainly is an important branch of the Aryan family of languages, its nearest relation being Persian, with which it advantageously compares as to the number and variety of forms in declension and conjugation, whose richness of the vocabulary, and facility of derivation and composition of words it shares, though it does not equal it in poetical genius.

In the oldest times the Armenians made use of cuneiform characters, and about fifty inscriptions of that kind are still preserved. Later on, the Greek and Syriac alphabets were adopted, until, in the fifth century, St. Mesrob invented an Armenian alphabet of thirty-six (now thirty-eight) letters, which has proved so convenient, that the Turks themselves sometimes make use of it. Little, if anything, is preserved of pre-Christian literature; but the moment Armenia embraced Christianity, its scholars devoted their pens to translations from the Greek and Syriac fathers, and even the Greek classics, so that within one century Armenia became acquainted with every branch of sacred and profane knowledge. The place of honour among these translations belongs unquestionably to the Holy Scripture, not merely on account of its unsurpassed elegance, but also on account of its faithfulness, so that even now the Armenian text is as eagerly consulted as the Peshitto or the Itala, in order to determine the genuine reading of the New Testament. To give an example or two of the scrupulous faithfulness of the Armenian translators, I may mention, that for the word "angel," they make use of three different words, meaning "messenger" and "bodiless," as in Greek, or "watcher," as in Syriac; again, the Greek verb, "to paint" (ζωγράφειν) is literally translated (*khentankrel*, from "life," and to "write"), while the salutation "hail" (χαίρε) is rendered "rejoice." Under these circumstances, the translations of Plato and Aristotle, and of St. Ignatius, Tatian, Eusebius,

St. John Chrysostom and others, are doubly valuable, especially where the original is lost. As authors, the Armenians are scarcely less remarkable. Profane literature, it is true, was never cultivated; for as most of the educated class belonged to the clergy, secular and regular, they naturally occupied themselves chiefly with theological and historical subjects. Eznik (fifth century) is as deep an apologete as any of the Western fathers. Agathangelus and Moses of Khorene share the laurels of Herodotus. Thomas of Medzoph relates in thrilling accents the sufferings of his fatherland under that bloodthirsty monster, Tamerlane. Poetry alone is sadly neglected, or, what is worse, bound hand and foot in the fetters of a stiff, unwieldy mannerism. Wherever Armenians take up their abode, they first establish a printing press, and it would be difficult to decide whether the palm belongs to the editions of Etchmiadzin, Jerusalem, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and Calcutta, or to those of Amsterdam, Venice, Vienna, Rome, and Paris. And yet there are numerous works still in manuscript, and no one can say what surprises may yet be in store for the world of letters.

The name Armenia was given to the country round about Mount Ararat, not by the inhabitants themselves, but by their neighbours. Their own name is Haj, plur. Haiq, and they design their territory as Hajasdan, the house of Hajkh, whom they consider the founder of their nation. He was the son of Togormah, who, in his turn, was the son of Gomer, grandson of Japhet, and great-grandson of Noah.

Armenia is a rugged country, if ever there was one. In summer it is subject to excessive heat, while the cold in winter surpasses all imagination. The scarcity of fuel obliges the inhabitants to seek refuge in the bowels of the earth, by constructing their dwelling-places under ground,¹ where they live, men and cattle huddled together. The enormous lakes, or rather inland seas, form a peculiar feature of Armenia. Thus, lake Vàn, a salt-water lake, in

¹ See Curzon's graphic description of his journey into Armenia. Illness, unfortunately, compelled him to beat a speedy retreat.

spite of its elevation (five thousand one hundred and thirty feet above sea level), has a surface of twelve hundred square miles. One of the islands on that lake, Aghthamar, possesses a large monastery, where the Katholikos or Patriarch had his seat during several centuries. Lake Urmia, another salt-water lake (four thousand feet above the sea), is not much smaller than lake Vân, while lake Sevân, fresh-water (six thousand feet above the sea), covers three hundred and sixty square miles, and gives the name to another celebrated monastery.

Leaving numerous less important lakes unmentioned, I must not fail to say a word about the principal rivers. Foremost is the Euphrates, which takes its rise in the Garin mountains (Erzeroum), and is swelled by the Aradzani, coming from the Dzalghi mountains. The whole course of the Euphrates, as far as Armenia is concerned, is a succession of picturesque landscapes; but nothing surpasses the wild scenery near Pinghian, and the bold bridge spanning the foaming river. Another spot which might well be taken for one of the most fascinating views of Switzerland, is the narrow passage at Dzakhqar. The river there is not more than five yards wide, but so furious that the crossing (by means of rafts, made of skins, filled with air) is exceedingly dangerous. The Tigris takes its rise in Armenia, and joins the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, while the Araxes (the Gihon of the Scripture) and the Cyrus fall into the Caspian Sea. Finally, the Jorokh, believed to be the Phison, takes a northern course, and throws itself into the Black Sea. Perhaps it is somewhat presumptuous on the part of the Armenians thus to appropriate to themselves all the streams of Paradise; but until the contrary is proved, we need not disturb them in their good faith.

The Armenians have been rightly designated a nation of martyrs. They were successively the victims of Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Tartars, Turks, and Russians. For the last fifteen centuries, it may be said, they have not enjoyed a peaceful year. Their whole country has been saturated again and again with their own blood; and what is most astonishing is, that after so many

centuries of incessant war and wholesale massacre, unequalled in history, there should have been left a single drop of Armenian blood to quicken an Armenian heart. However, few nations can boast of such obstinate vitality and stubborn nationalism. Providence, in placing this people in that corner which divides the south-east of Europe from the west of Asia, and assigning a gigantic mountain fortress to a bold, courageous, yet civilized and highly-intellectual people—nay, in entrusting to its care the outskirts of the Christian world—in doing this, I say, Providence knew well what it did. Ever since pre-historic times, Asiatic nations have been steadily advancing in a westerly direction. Sometimes, indeed, Europe has been overrun by them. Yet it would have been more so but for Armenia. What, for instance, would have happened, had not the forces of Tamerlane been decimated in Armenia? Nor should we forget that Armenia, as a Christian country, had to fight one-half of all the battles between the heathen world and the kingdom of Christ. We have heard lately a good deal of the “buffer-state” in the East; the epithet applies most forcibly to Armenia of old. It had to bear the brunt of each successive invasion, and was the common battle-ground of Europe and Asia; it had to prevent them from running into each other; and when unable to keep them at a distance, it was the first to suffer from telescoping; yet as soon as the wrecked nations were disentangled, it resumed with admirable elasticity its natural position as “buffer,” prepared to receive fresh shocks. The tug-of-war, of which Armenia has been the victim for many centuries, was the cause of the isolation of the nation, which has become both its fortune and its misfortune—its fortune, from the fact that it caused the Armenians to stand firm to their faith with a tenacity bordering on obstinacy; its misfortune, in severing their relations with their fellow-Christians.

The legend of King Abgar of Edessa, and his correspondence with our Lord, and of the miraculous picture of the latter (after many wanderings, now at St. Bartholomew's, at Genoa), is probably well known to my readers. Neither the conversion of Abgar (supposing the legend to be reliable),

nor the martyrdom of two apostles—St. Bartholomew and St. Jude—and numerous apostolic men, produced a lasting effect. The slaughter of the ten thousand Roman soldiers on Mount Ararat, under Trajan,¹ no more than the freezing to death of the forty soldiers at Sebaste, seemed to touch the hearts of the sons of Hajkh. The conversion of the country took place at the end of the third century, and is intimately connected with the names of St. Gregory the Illuminator and St. Rhipsimā and her companions. The legend, in its present form, can be traced back to the fifth century, but is open to criticism; and the Bollandists themselves failed in their endeavours to establish the real facts.

About the middle of the third century, Chosroës (famous for his hatred of Caracalla) sat on the throne of Armenia. Having successfully supported his ally, Ardavan, King of Persia, against the usurper, Ardashir, the latter promised a handsome reward to whoever would assassinate Chosroës. Anag, an Armenian chieftain, accepted the offer; and, feigning to escape from Ardashir, betook himself to Chosroës, by whom he was kindly received, and under whose hospitable roof he lived two years, with his family. During this time his son (Gregory, the future apostle of Armenia) was born. At length a favourable opportunity presented itself, and Anag accomplished his treacherous design, and stabbed Chosroës. His perfidy was severely punished, for he and his family were put to death by the enraged Armenians. Only the youngest child, Gregory, was saved, by a Christian nurse, taken to Cæsarea, and brought up in the Christian religion.

No sooner had Ardashir been informed of the assassination of Chosroës, than he set out to take possession of the kingdom. He massacred all Chosroës' relations, with the exception of the youngest children, Tiridate and Chosrovitukht, who had been hidden in a place of safety, and, favoured by circumstances, were brought to Cæsarea. As might be expected, Tiridate and Gregory soon became intimate friends, neither being aware of the other's descent. In

¹ *Roman Martyrology* (22nd June).

course of time Tiridate joined the Roman army, and distinguished himself by his bravery, particularly in the Gothic war. Gregory remained in Cæsarea, in an humble position. He married a Christian girl of great virtue, by whom he had two sons, Vertan and Arisdaghès. After a reign of five and twenty years Ardashir died, and Tiridate hastened to Cæsarea to make good his claims to the throne of Armenia. He was honourably received by the Armenians, and invested with the regalia. He then set out to take possession of the kingdom, accompanied by the friend of his youth, Gregory, now a widower. Having reached the province of Egheghiatz, where stood a celebrated fane of the goddess Anahid, he inaugurated his reign by solemn sacrifices. On Gregory's refusing to take part in them it was discovered that he was a Christian—nay, it even became known that he was the son of the murderer of Tiridate's father. The more intimate Tiridate's friendship with Gregory had been, the more unrelenting his hatred now became. Having subjected him to twelve different kinds of torture, he caused him to be cast into a dungeon in the fortress Ardashad, where he remained forgotten and forsaken, for many years.

At that time, the legend continues, there was a convent in Rome, under the Abbess Cajana. The Emperor Diocletian, desiring to possess the most beautiful woman in the world for his wife, sent messengers in every direction. They entered the convent by force, and noticed one of the nuns, by name Rhipsima, as being endowed with almost supernatural beauty. However, before the Emperor had time to take further steps in the matter, the whole community, faithful to their calling, took to flight, and did not rest until they had passed the Roman frontiers. After unspeakable sufferings they arrived at the foot of Mount Ararat, where they settled down in some abandoned buildings.

Diocletian, informed of the direction the nuns had taken, sent word to Tiridate to capture Rhipsima, and send her back to Rome. A careful search led, indeed, to the discovery of nearly forty nuns hidden in the vineyards near Ardashad. Rhipsima was easily singled out, and was brought before the King; but her constancy proved more powerful than his

solicitations. She broke through the royal guards, and joined her companions. The enraged King sent his satellites, who put her to death, together with thirty-three companions; while Cajana, with the two remaining nuns, met with the same fate on the following day. The bodies of these virgin martyrs were thrown as a prey to the wild beasts in the wilderness.

The wrath of God fell upon Tiridate and his Court. A foul disease broke out, against which the skill of the most renowned physicians proved unavailing. In this sore plight, it was revealed to Chosrovitukht, the King's sister, that Gregory, who was still languishing in his dungeon, would heal the King and all the people. After fourteen years' confinement he was released, and appearing at Court, promised the King health for himself and his subjects, if they would but listen to his words. He now began to preach the Gospel, and after sixty days they were ready to submit to the yoke of Christ. The disease disappeared miraculously, and Gregory received permission to spread the Christian faith through the length and breadth of Armenia. He advised the King to choose someone who should be consecrated bishop; for hitherto the Sacrament of Baptism had been administered to none of the converts. As might be expected, the choice fell upon Gregory himself, who accordingly was consecrated by Leontius, Bishop of Cæsarea. Before starting on his mission, St. Gregory beheld in a vision our Lord descending on the earth, and the spot where this vision occurred was chosen for the site of a monastery, which ever has been, and still is, the centre of the Armenian Church; it bears the name Etch-miadzin, literally, Descent of the Only Begotten. The legend attributes also to Tiridate and Gregory a journey to Rome, where the former entered into an alliance with the Emperor Constantine, while the latter was confirmed High Pontiff of Armenia by Pope St. Silvester. At the Council of Nicæa, St. Arisdaghés, son and auxiliary bishop of St. Gregory (then an infirm old man) represented the Armenian Church. Until the end of the fourth century, the Armenian bishops were dependent on the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, and consequently on the

Patriarch of Antioch; but St. Isaac (390-440) first assumed the title of Patriarch Katholikos, which is still the prerogative of the highest ecclesiastical dignitary, and, after many vicissitudes, is attached to the see of Etch-miadzîn. During nearly two centuries, this see was hereditary in the family of St. Gregory the Illuminator (Lussavoritch), most of his successors having entered the service of the Church as widowers. But at an early period the same rule was introduced in the Armenian as in other Oriental churches, viz., to choose the bishops from the ranks of the unmarried secular clergy (*vartabieds*, doctors of divinity), or else from the regular clergy. The secular clergy are allowed to marry previous to the ordination as deacons; but when their turn comes for performing the divine liturgy, they separate from their wives, and take up their residence in the diaconicum or sacristy of their respective churches. In large churches, the clergy are on duty for a week, and off duty for a month or so; in smaller churches, they may be on duty for a month, and off duty for another month.

The golden age of the Armenian Church began soon after the death of St. Gregory, and lasted throughout the fifth century, during which period most of the translations from Greek and Syriac were made, among them the Greek Ritual Works, mainly due to St. Isaac the Katholikos, and his disciple, St. Mesrob.

It does not lie within the scope of my undertaking to pursue the history of the Church, or the vicissitudes of the literature, of Armenia. But I must say at least one word in answer to a question, which is probably on the lips of my readers: How far is the Armenian Church heretical or schismatical? In the fourteenth century a grave accusation was lodged before Benedict XII., taxing the Church of Armenia with the modest number of one hundred and seventeen heresies. Such a wholesale accusation—every divergence of the ritual being considered a grievance—produced the reverse of the intended effect, and we need take no more notice of it than the Pope did.¹ Since the

¹ See also the interesting, but exceedingly intolerant form of recantation in Migne, *Gr.* 1, page 864, footnote.

sixteenth century, but especially on the occasion of an attempt at a union with Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth, this formidable list of points of difference has dwindled down to five heads, viz. : (1) The charge of Monophysitism ; (2) the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and* the Son ; (3) the doctrine of Purgatory ; (4) the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and (5) the Primacy of St. Peter.

1. The first point is unquestionably the most difficult and the most important. Armenia was duly represented at the three first General Councils ; but in 451, when the Council of Chalcedon was assembled, Armenia was groaning under the yoke of the Persians, and defended her faith at the price of the blood of numberless martyrs, called from the names of their leaders, the Vartanian and Leontinian¹ martyrs. It is not surprising that at such a juncture no Armenian name appears on the list of the six hundred and thirty fathers of the Council. The acts and decrees were, however, forwarded in due time, but so wretchedly translated, and accompanied by a letter of that wily Emperor, Zeno, couched in such language, that it appeared as if he himself only allowed the Council to sit to prevent greater misfortunes. If, then, the Greeks themselves disapprove of the Council, said the Armenian bishops assembled at Vagharshabad, why do they trouble us with their decrees ? Some of the succeeding Katholikos made efforts to obtain the recognition of the Council, which had been accepted by the neighbouring Georgians, but every attempt proved unavailing. But now comes the crucial point : If the Council is not accepted, are at least its decrees recognised ? In other words, are the Armenians imbued with Monophysitism or not ? I am glad to see that Dr. Neale² himself rejects any such imputation. I cannot waste my space with lengthy quotations from Armenian writers, but I shall later on point out a few decisive passages in the Divine Office,

¹ Dr. Neale reads in the *Calendar* (Introduction, page 798), " Bishop Livonsky ;" and adds that he cannot make out who that may be. It ought to be " the Leontinian martyrs."

² Introduction, 1077-1092.

contenting myself for the present with the remark that the definite meaning we attach to such terms as Person, Substance, Nature, is one of the results of the theological disputes of the fourth and fifth centuries, and that even some of the most renowned Greek fathers were unsettled in their terminology. It is clear from Armenian writings that the Council was misrepresented as having taught the doctrine of two persons, instead of two natures, in Christ. In connection with this point are two divergencies of ritual. The first is the use of the unmixed chalice at Mass. Alone of all Christian communions—leaving Protestants aside—they use wine without water. But instead of seeing in this custom a proof of Monophysitism, I feel rather inclined to consider it as a protest against Nestorianism, “which this wicked and lying people, the Syrians, from whom the Holy Ghost is afar off” endeavoured to disseminate in Armenia. True, the mixed chalice admirably symbolizes the two natures in Christ. But would not leavened bread be equally symbolical of the same doctrine? and yet it gradually disappeared from the Roman Church, though at one time she indifferently used leavened and unleavened bread. When in 1177 the Council of Tarsus took pains to reconcile the Greek with the Armenian Church, the latter submitted that they would conform to the universal rite of the mixed chalice, if the former would conform to the See of Peter by using unleavened bread.

Another point adduced in evidence of the alleged Monophysitism of the Armenians, is the wording of the Trisagion at the Mass and in the Divine Office: “Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, *who wast crucified for us*, have mercy on us.” The italicized clause is varied according to the season: “who didst rise up from the dead,” “who didst gloriously ascend to heaven unto the Father,” and so on. It is well known that these words were first introduced by Peter the Fuller, the infamous Nestorian heretic, who polluted the first See of St. Peter, Antioch, by repeated intrusion (471-472 and 476-477), and from his point of view they are certainly heretical; but they may bear also a Catholic meaning, for the Trisagion is capable of being

appropriated to One Person of the Blessed Trinity; and that such is the case with the Armenians, appears clearly from the form it takes on Pentecost: "Who didst descend upon the Apostles." A Hellenizing party having omitted this clause, hot words, and even bloodshed, ensued among the Armenians. The present state of things is that the Gregorian (schismatical) party adhere to both the unmixed chalice and the clause of the Trisagion; whereas the Uniats, while protesting against any wrong interpretation of these two points, have conformed to the Roman custom.

2. With regard to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Armenians agree with the Greeks. It comes to the same whether the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father *and* the Son, or (as these two Churches hold) from the Father *through*, or *by*, the Son;¹ and apart from human passion, the whole dispute is a quarrel about words. The Mekhitharists insert the words, "and from the Son," in all those places of the breviary where the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father is mentioned.

3. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the Greek, Russian, and Armenian Churches, with regard to the formulation of the doctrine of Purgatory, it is evident from the liturgical books that their faith in this matter is blameless, since the prayers for the dead, which, without the belief in Purgatory, would be nonsensical, form a prominent part of the liturgy. It might be added that our word Purgatory is somewhat misleading, as originally it was more expressive of the *state* of souls in process of expiation, than of the *place* where this expiation is performed; and, indeed, much more is known of the former than of the latter.

4. The Sacrament of Extreme Unction was regularly administered by the Armenian clergy until the fourteenth century, when the laity began to neglect confession, on the plea that Extreme Unction wiped out all the sins committed during lifetime. To counteract such a dangerous practice the clergy resolved to discontinue the administration of this

¹ S. Thomas, S. Th., qu. 36, a. 3 and 4.

sacrament; but they were certainly wrong in not reintroducing it after the end they had in view was attained. But even so, the Armenians acted more wisely than the Copts, who, in the twelfth century, abolished the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, believing that the prayer of the morning incense, or even interior repentance before a burning censer, conveyed sacramental absolution. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Armenian Uniate administer Extreme Unction, although they make use of a more simple ritual than the one followed before the fourteenth century.

5. I come now to the last point, which will also furnish an answer to the question, "Are the Armenians schismatics?" Allowing that some of the formularies of this Church are less explicit than one could wish, and that even some of her members individually may have swerved from the true faith, no sweeping accusation against the Church, as such, can be substantiated. This holds good also with regard to the primacy of St. Peter. The prerogatives of the "head of the apostles, the rock of faith," have frequently found expression in the early fathers, as well as in the office-books of the Armenian Church; while, on the other hand, she remained unstained by that spirit of rebellion almost unceasingly fostered in the Greek Church by emperors and Œcumenical patriarchs. If, nevertheless, the relations between Rome and Armenia were few and far between until the time of the Crusades, this fact must be ascribed to the difficulty of travelling, and even more to the isolation of Armenia on account of her language. Why, Photius himself could never have accomplished his barefaced forgery of documents, under the very eyes of the Papal legates, had the latter been sufficiently conversant with the Greek language; and the Armenians were necessarily much farther removed from the sphere of Roman action. As soon, however, as the Crusaders brought Western influence to act upon Eastern nations, relations were resumed, letters exchanged, embassies went to and fro, and presents were made. It would be interesting to dwell upon the relations of the Popes with the Rupenian dynasty; the embassy of Archbishop Conrad of Mayence to King Leo. II.; the presentation

of a costly mitre by Pope Lucius (1181) to the Katholikos, in consequence of which the Armenian bishops abandoned the use of the *saghavard* (or crown, as worn still by the Greek bishops) to the inferior clergy, and adopted the Roman mitre in its place. The registers of the Popes, from St. Gregory VII. downwards, are full of correspondence with the hierarchy of Armenia; and if exception be taken because Armenia was driven through distress to seek an alliance with the Holy See, the answer is obvious, that, if either Church had believed the other to be schismatic or heretical, no such demand would have been made; still less would it have been granted. Surely, Innocent III., to take one instance, was not the man to make a promise without laying down the law. More than that, however jealous the Armenians may have been of any encroachment on their national rite by the Greeks, they did what no mere political expediency could have made them do, for they introduced changes into their usages, with a view to rendering them more conformable to the Roman rite. This concerns principally the Mass, for the Divine Office is obviously less accessible to such alterations. The beginning of the Armenian liturgy is entirely copied from the Roman, though it sadly disconnects the ancient rite of the *prothesis*; again, the conclusion of the Mass with the Gospel of St. John is due to the Romanizing tendency.¹

When Armenia fell into the hands of the Turks, the appointment of patriarchs and bishops, and their subsequent removal (or assassination, as the case might be), became a political matter, as well as a financial. What surprise, then, if, under these circumstances, relations with Rome became more than precarious? Then there sprang up a Romanizing party, who entirely disregarded prudence and toleration, and made the name of Rome odious in the

¹ The recitation of the last Gospel was authoritatively prescribed by the revised Missal of St. Pius V., in 1570; but long before that time it began to be said, by way of private devotion, while the priest was returning to the sacristy, as is still the case at Pontifical High Mass, or while unvesting; and it is curious to notice that this recitation of the Gospel of St. John was one of the charges preferred against the Knights Templars. (See Pfeiffer's ed. of *Wolfram of Eschenbach*, vol. i., page xxvi.)

ears of their fellow-countrymen. Add to this the discord sown by Greeks and Turks, and Protestant missionaries and agents of Bible societies. Since the foundation of the College of Propaganda large numbers of clerics have been educated in Rome; and much good has been done by them on their return to their own country. For the Popes have ever been the most strenuous upholders of Eastern national rites; and the pupils of the Propaganda were, generally speaking, tolerably docile in this matter, though some party feeling is occasionally unavoidable. The Mekhitharists, an Armenian Benedictine congregation, founded by the Abbot Mekhithâr († 1749), with mother houses at San Lazzaro (Venice) and at Vienna, have been most successful; and at one time—about 1810—the long-hoped-for and long-prayed-for union of all Armenians seemed on the point of being realized. Unfortunately it did not last long; but finally led to the creation of a Romano-Armenian patriarch at Constantinople, in 1831. By this very fact all official communications between Rome and Etch-miadzîn ceased, and the Gregorian Armenians became formally schismatical. It is, however, only fair to state that, although Etch-miadzîn since 1823 belongs to Russia, the Katholikos has always been able to hold his ground against the interference of the “Holy Governing Synod” at Moscow. I cannot conclude this chapter without a sigh for the unfortunate divisions rending the Church of Christ, and a prayer that the day may soon arrive when all the flocks shall be penned in the same fold, and under the same shepherd.

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

FATHER ARTHUR MACGEOGHEGAN, O.P., 1633

Hastings.—"If they have done this deed, my noble lord"—*Glo'ster*.—"If!

Talk'st thou to me of 'ifs?' Thou art a traitor."

SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III.*, Act iii., Sc. 4.

HOW much depends on the presence of that little word "if!" If Archimedes had a fulcrum, he would have moved the earth; there is no doubt whatever about it. But Archimedes had not, and the earth remains in its old position. The Greek philosopher, however, postulated an impossibility; and, though he spoke logically, what he said was only in illustration of his system or theory.

Let us take another case, a real one. A theologian, a priest engaged in a religious controversy, makes a hypothesis, and it is as true as he can make it: as an argument *ad hominem* it is unanswerable. But suppose it to be as orthodox as the Nicene Creed, or as loyal as an oath of fealty, yet it can be turned into heresy, or into high treason, by merely taking away the supposition on which it rests. In exact proportion to its original truth and force will its falsehood and wickedness now be. In such cases the monosyllabic particle is all-powerful. Let the priest have some malicious accusers; let them suppress the conditional manner in which he spoke, and falsely ascribe an absolute statement to him, then at once he is made to affirm what he has in reality denied. Let some enemies of Catholicity, who are unwilling that their *odium fidei* should be detected, but who are determined on ending the priest's life, be his judges, they will eagerly take advantage of the absence in the *evidence* of that short word "if." All the priest's protests are in vain; his proffered explanation of the "whole truth" will not be listened to, simply because his death is a foregone conclusion. To keep up appearances, to condemn him ostensibly for high treason, it is necessary to fasten the crime on him; and what more efficacious means of doing so can be conceived, than quoting one-half of his own words?

We who live in quiet times may find it difficult to conceive how a priest's death could be brought about by such knavery and bigotry; but this is what really happened to the holy martyr, Arthur MacGeoghegan, whose history is contained in the following pages. He was accused of having said, "It would be no sin to kill Charles I., King of England." The preliminary examination, before a committee of the Privy Council, was held with the utmost secrecy; it lasted three months. The State Papers, &c., contain allusions to this examination which throw considerable light on the real motives of some of the chief actors, as well as on the hopes and sentiments of their sympathizers. The subsequent proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, London, were watched with the deepest interest. On one side, the Catholics were in anxious suspense, though there could hardly be a doubt as to the ultimate issue; on the other, the Protestants, especially those of the Puritan party, were confident that the priest would be condemned. Both the public trial for high treason and the execution at Tyburn, on November 27th (O.S.), 1633, have been graphically described by eye-witnesses. They appear to have been the chief topic of the day. Ambassadors mentioned the occurrence in their despatches, and missionary priests wrote—one, that the dangers of his position were greatly increased on account of the excited state of the London populace; another, that he had been thrown into prison on suspicion of his being a fellow-conspirator of the Irish priest; and a third, that a sudden change took place—that a general belief in the Dominican's innocence was manifested immediately after his death.¹

¹ Our authorities may, for clearness sake, be divided here into four groups:—

A.—1. The official report of the trial at King's Bench, and of the sentence passed there. (*Coram Rege Roll*, 9 Charles I., Michaelmas Term; *Rex Roll*, No. 31, P. R. O., London. *N.B.*—*The Rex Roll is the part containing Crown cases.*)

2. The semi-official account of the doings in court, and of the execution at Tyburn. (Lord Mostyn's *Archives*, MS. 176, No. 4, Mostyn Hall, Wales.) See the *Hist. MSS. Report*, vol. iv., Appendix, page 355a. There is a duplicate of this most precious MS. in the Duke of Westminster's collection at Eaton Hall, Chester. In the *Hist. MSS. Report*, vol. iii.,

In the history of the numerous martyrs of the Irish Province, we meet with few accounts so complete, and, from a certain point of view, so interesting, as that of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan. A great many of his contemporaries have given us their impressions, and have described the event minutely. We can realize it all, the whole scene seems to pass before our eyes, while, on the contrary, we know comparatively little about some others of our martyrs. They passed their days in the silence and retirement of their cloisters, where life glided calmly on unnoticed save by God, till its sudden close revealed in a moment to the world the brightness of perfect sanctity. And when the cloisters lay in ruins, the remainder of their brethren continued the missionary work of the order as long as they could do so, till the hour came when they too sealed their preaching with

page 212, col. 2, No. 5, it is, by a curious mistake, catalogued thus: "Arraignment of Arthur Gohagan, a demoniac friar" (for "a Dominican friar").

3. The allusions made to the secret examination, during its progress, by Sir John Pennington, Clerk of the Privy Council (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1633-34), some miscellaneous references to the case in various volumes of the same series, and a description of what took place, in consequence of Father MacGeoghegan's execution, at Barcelona, seven years afterwards. (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-43.) Summaries of these are given in the printed volumes of the *State Papers*, but in every instance the originals have been consulted, and the relevant passages copied, for this article.

B.—The correspondence of the foreign representatives then resident in London :—

1. Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador (despatch to the Senate, December 9, 1633).

2. Amerigo Salvetti, Florentine Ambassador (despatch to the Grand Duke, 9th December, 1633).

3. Fontenay, the French Ambassador, was absent from London during the greater part of that year, but the despatch sent by his *chargé d'affaires*, Boutard, on November 16th, appears to refer to Father MacGeoghegan's case, among others.

4. Neither was the Dutch Ambassador, Joachim, in London at the time; but the deputy ambassador, Govert Brasser, mentions the secret examination (despatch of October 3) and the execution (despatch of December 8).

5. The most valuable of all the references to our martyr in the diplomatic correspondence is found in a letter of Don Juan de Necolaldi, secretary of Philip IV. of Spain, and Ambassador Extraordinary to the English Court. The letter was written in London, 9th December, 1633, to Don Martin d' Arpe, secretary to the Cardinal Infanta of Spain, the King's brother, then Governor of Milan.

6. In the same letter Nicolaldi promises his friend De Arpe, better known as the Marquis del Castel Rodrigo, that he will send him a com-

their blood. But, in either case, the death of a martyr was so common, that unless some unusual circumstances called for special mention, a place on the long roll published in various General Chapters was almost all that these heroic servants of God received.

And how few and short are the words that tell us of many a glorious end! The martyr's name, the place, the date, and sometimes not even these. Of Father Arthur's life in the cloister nothing is recorded, the account of the martyrdom in the *Acts of the General Chapter*, 1644, does not extend beyond eight lines as the reader may see,¹ nor should we perhaps know more about his death than about those of many others, but for a series of extraordinary events which preceded it. Occurrences which happened outside his convent home, transactions which did not belong to his

plete account of the martyrdom a few days later. In accordance with the writer's wish this account was forwarded either by the Cardinal or his secretary to Pope Urban VIII. The MS. is at present in the Vatican Library. In 1634 Cardinal Ferdinand became Governor of the Low Countries. A great deal of his correspondence, including the letter from Nicolaldi, is still preserved in the Royal Archives, Brussels (*Ibid.* 4,152). It is hardly necessary to observe that none of these despatches has ever appeared in print before. The originals were transcribed in the archives of the various governments.

C.—Letters of priests to their respective superiors:—

1. Father Eliseus, of St. Michael O.D.C., Vicar Provincial of the English Mission, to the General of his Order, December 6, 1633.—(*MS. Carmelite Archives*, Kensington.)

2. Rev.—Harris to the Venetian Ambassador, Vincenzo Gussoni, whose domestic chaplain he appears to be.—(Printed in *Hist. MS. Report*, XII., Appendix, vol. ii., part 2, page 41.)

3. The Papal agent or correspondent in London.—(*Vatican Archives*, MS. B. No. 13. "P. Arthurī Gohagan Passio," 20.)

D.—Printed accounts:—

1. *Acts of the General Chapter of the Dominican Order*, Rome, 1644.

2. O'Daly's (Dominic of the Rosary) *De Geraldinis*, Lisbon, 1655. (The author knew Father MacGeoghegan intimately.)

3. And last, but not least, Malpe, O.P., *Palma Fidei Ordinis Prædicatorum* (a history of Dominican martyrs), Antwerp, 1635.

¹ "Venerabilis P. Arthurus Geoghegan, post peractum in Hispaniis studiorum cursum, et pertractata cum dexterrate Ordinis negotia sibi demandata, ad suam Provinciam rediens, in itinere ab Anglis comprehensus, et carceri Londini mancipatus, plures calumnias in odium fidei ab hereticis perpessus, de crimine læsæ majestatis ut ibi moris est expositus, tandem ad patibulum ductus, post publicam fidei Catholicæ, et religionis Dominicanæ protestationem suspensus, et adhuc semivivus membratim discissus, ejusque intestinis igne concrematis, mortem gloriose subiit, Anno Domini 1633."

ordinary personal duty as a religious, are precisely those which have left their mark in history. During his stay in Portugal, which was at the time, as our readers know, under the dominion of Spain, Father Arthur was brought into close relations with a high Spanish official; and the faithful discharge of his duty as theological censor, his fulfilment of the trust reposed in him, and his charity, were the occasion of his subsequent arrest in London, and of his martyrdom.

As regards the various sources of information already enumerated, most of these documents are short, and their contents, especially those of the dispatches, almost identical. Without interrupting the course of our narrative we shall insert them in their proper places. In putting them before the reader for comparison, there will, occasionally, be some slight repetition; this, of course, is unavoidable where accounts coincide; but such repetition is amply compensated for by seeing the mutual illustration which these statements afford. It is indeed most interesting to note the complete agreement that exist between all these independent accounts; for instance, between that of an English official and that of a priest, or between that of an ambassador and that of a Dominican historian.

Among them all, three claim pre-eminence, and these accordingly have been selected to form the basis of the present article. Two of them, moreover, supplement each other. One narrates at length what took place in Lisbon, the other what happened afterwards in London; one informs us of the real cause of Father Arthur's death, of the events which originally led to it, and of the miracles that followed it; the other describes his arrest, and the scenes in the King's Bench and at Tyburn. They are respectively the *Palma Fidei*, by Malpe, and the Moystyn MS. Father Malpe who was Prior of the Dominican house in Brussels, says he took down from the words of eye-witnesses what he relates about the miracles. He does not indicate the source of the rest of his knowledge, but he probably heard the whole tale from the lips of some Irish Dominicans that had lived with Father Arthur in Lisbon, and had subsequently been present at his martyrdom. At the time there were a good many

members of the Province in Louvain. In his description of some other martyrdoms, Malpe says his informant was a certain Irish Dominican, Father Thaddeus, who, after spending years in prison for the faith, ended his days in Flanders. Father Thaddeus, who died about 1620 (?), could not have told about Father Arthur, but after 1633 there were several who could.

The Mostyn MS. may, perhaps, be best described by saying that it is what would be called at the present day a special correspondent's report. It has, however, a semi-official look, and it evidently is the work of a legal expert who took down minutely what he saw and heard. What it contains is more circumstantially narrated than it is even in the *Palma Fidei*. In those days such descriptions were often written separately or printed on a single sheet. Noblemen and others residing at a distance from London usually got in this way the news of important trials, &c. Collections of such accounts form the series which is now known as the *State Trials*. But while many of them betray the author's bigotry, and are distinctly anti-Catholic in tone, the Mostyn MS. shows no sign of Protestant origin; indeed one or two phrases would almost indicate that the writer was a Catholic, or at any rate had strong sympathies with the martyr. The Mostyns were a powerful Catholic family until the time of James II., and the elder branch (Sir Piers Mostyn) still keeps the faith. The MS. has never been printed or given to the public before, and of all the English MSS. relating to any of our martyrs, it is unquestionably one of the most interesting.

The third, namely, Nicolaldi's description has many points of contact with both these accounts. It informs us of what happened both in Lisbon and in London, but it also contains a great many important details which are not in Malpe's work nor in the Mostyn MS. For instance, it is our only source of information about Father Arthur's sufferings in prison, and the efforts made for his release up to the last by Nicolaldi himself. As the document is long, and the old Spanish seems to require a translation, instead of being inserted here, both have been relegated to the

appendix. This arrangement will be more convenient, and the great value of Nicolaldi's narrative will be better appreciated when one has got a clear idea of the whole transaction. As far as possible it has been sought to let each of our authorities in turn speak for himself. Many of Nicolaldi's details are passed over here, interesting though they are; only those have been introduced which clear up obscure points, or seemed necessary to prevent incidental misconceptions on the part of some readers.

Around these accounts, all the others naturally group themselves. The most important of the latter for our narrative are the Vatican account, *Passio*, &c., and the Carmelite. Besides giving them *in extenso* in the appendix, we shall sometimes have occasion here to quote them for a passing illustration. In this case they will be referred to by their initials, thus, V. C., and in the same way the Mostyn account by M., and Nicolaldi's by N. The *Palma Fidei* is in a sense the groundwork of our whole description of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan's career, or rather the original of which the present article is little more than a translation. It has been strictly adhered to throughout, and whatever statements are made relative to the martyr for which no authority is here given, are all to be understood as taken from it.

The greater part of Father Arthur's life as a religious was spent in Spain, where he made his ecclesiastical studies apparently at Toledo. As we saw already¹ during the first half of the seventeenth century, the novices of the Irish Dominican Province were on account of the persecution at home sent abroad soon after their profession—some to Italy, others to Belgium or France, but the majority to Spain. In 1613 the famous Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote to Philip III. in behalf of the many Irish Dominican students resident in his Catholic Majesty's realms, especially in Spain; and a list of the members of the Irish Province sent to the Propaganda in 1629, shows that there were then in Spain about fifty students. Both documents may be seen

¹ I. E. RECORD, February, 1894.

in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. In the Propaganda list we find the name of "Frater Arturus Geoghegan," the subject of the present article. He had already shown exceptional tact and aptitude for transacting difficult affairs, when after a short stay in Corpo Santo, Lisbon, which was then recently founded (begun in 1615, finally established in 1629, by Dominic of the Rosary), he was commanded to go to Ireland in order to procure subjects for the new missionary institution. The *Chronicle* of the Portuguese Province in its account of Father Arthur's martyrdom states that he left Lisbon with some companions, and the *Agiologia Domenicana* (or *Lives of Dominican Saints, &c., for Every Day in the Year*), Lisbon, 1719, in the chapter which it devotes to his memory remarks that his companions on his journey homewards are all commemorated elsewhere in the work itself on their respective days as *martyrs*. Neither work, however, informs us who these companions were. But if their names are those which we see near his in the 1629 list, and of this there can hardly be a doubt, the little band destined to wear in heaven the crown of martyrdom consisted besides, of Terence Albert O'Brien, the future Bishop of Emlý; Thaddeus O'Moriarty, and John O'Cuillain.¹ The first two were certainly Toledo students, as we saw in the articles just referred to; hence it is very probable that our martyr read his theology in that grand old university city; and as Terence Albert O'Brien commenced his studies there in 1622, and as our martyr said on the scaffold, "I have been eleven years in Spain" (M.), it is equally probable that he and the future bishop travelled out together.

We do not know whether Father Arthur's companions separated from him early on their journey home, or whether they came with him as far as London. As he was already two months in England (N.) when he was apprehended in July (M. and Rex. Roll.), he is probably the person referred to in the following correspondence:—"May 18th, 1633, Whitehall. Secretary Windebank, to write to Lieutenant of Dover, to examine the Irish priest to know upon what

¹ I. E. RECORD, February and April, 1894.

errand he goes thither into Ireland." Endorsed by Sir John Coke. And the answer—"May 22nd, London. Sir Francis Windebank, for your Honour. The French Ambassador is gone from hence, but such course shall be taken with the priest as you have directed."¹ Sir John Coke was, as we shall see, one of the Privy Councillors that subsequently examined Father MacGeoghegan. As the latter, so far as we are informed, was the only one of the young Dominicans that had business in London, it may have been judged more expedient that he should enter England alone. At that time, even though Charles I. was disposed to act leniently, and though his Queen was a devout Catholic, still it might have been dangerous for four priests to return from the Continent together. However, they may have done so, for at this period a great many priests did go back from France to England.²

In the *State Papers*³ we find it asserted that Father MacGeoghegan had three companions. The letter dated 17th December, which contains the assertion, is addressed to Lord Newburgh who had been one of the Privy Councillors that had sent him to be tried at King's Bench. In it by mistake he is called a Jesuit. The writers, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe and Sir Thomas Wiseman, magistrates of Colchester,

¹ Coke MS., Melbourne Hall, Derby. See *Hist. MSS. Report*, xii.

² "Many believed that a new era was beginning for Catholics; that the consequences of Henry VIII.'s apostasy would soon disappear. In the Propaganda Archives there is a document entitled "The state of the Catholic religion in England about the end of the year 1632." It is an official report to the Holy See, and it begins by saying that England has never been so disposed to return to the faith, whether we consider king, queen, counsellors, pseudo-bishops, or people; and it ends with a declaration "that the Holy See may now confidently look for an early reconciliation of the country." We are told that crowds flocked to the sermons at the Queen's and the ambassadors' chapels. In Holy Week, 1632, as many as ten thousand people visited the altar of repose in the Queen's chapel, and at the time more than one thousand used to attend the sermon in the chapel of one of the ambassadors. On Rosary Sunday, two thousand were enrolled in the Confraternity. (*Downshire Review*, Dec., 1893.) Queen Henrietta Maria obtained leave from the General of the Dominican Order to have the confraternity erected in her own chapel, according to her confessor, Gamache. This was one side of the picture at the time that Father MacGeoghegan thought, perhaps, that he might return with safety.

³ *Domestic*, 1633, vol. 252, No. 67, printed vol., p. 328.

say that they have committed to jail a certain Francis Barrett, "for speakeing wordes which amounte to Treason (as we conceive), being uttered in this manner. The said Brewer demanding of him if hee came from London, the said Barrett answered hee did. Then you heard, said Brewer, of a Jesuit lately executed for treason, to which hee replied hee did, and there is Three more of the companie, but it skills not wheare theay be, I knowe not. These words Brewer, &c." It is amusing to observe the trepidation of these worthy justices of the peace, and their nervous anxiety that none of the "Jesuit's" fellow-conspirators should escape. They appear to have been at the same time desirous of impressing on Lord Newburgh that their loyalty and zeal in no small degree resembled his own. We learn also from the Mostyn MS. that when Father Arthur was apprehended in London, there were "two of his countrymen in the chamber with him who spake Irishe among themselves;" but whether they were Dominicans that had travelled with him, or only friends who came to visit him while he was in London, is quite uncertain.

But to return to himself, and the purpose of his journey homeward to the island he was never more to see. Joyfully did Father Arthur set forth on his perilous mission, which he fulfilled, as we shall now find, but in a way which he and his superiors could hardly have hoped for. The blood of martyrs had ever been the seed of Christians; it was now, moreover, to be the seed of Apostles. Father Arthur did, in fact, draw many fervent postulants to Corpo Santo, there to be clothed with the white habit and to be prepared for the toils and dangers of the Irish mission; but the sacrifice of his own life had first to be made, the grain was to fall into the ground that it might bring forth much fruit.¹

The singular occurrence which, as we said above, took place during his sojourn in Lisbon, must be described here, for it is the turning-point of his life, and it eventually led to his betrayal and martyrdom in London. Father

¹ A Portuguese work, *Historia de St. Domingos*, states that within a single year the Irish Province had more than one hundred and sixty martyrs, most of whom studied in Corpo Santo.

MacGeoghegan stood high in the favour of the Duke of Maqueda, Don Jorgé de Cardenas y Manrique, who in 1626 was appointed Lord High Admiral of the Spanish fleets in the Atlantic (Capitan General del Mar Oceano) and Councillor of State. Malpe calls him Viceroy of Portugal, but this appears to be a mistake according to one of the greatest living authorities on Spanish history. According to this writer, there was at the time no Viceroy of Portugal, but the Duke of Villahermosa governed there as President of the Council. If this were so, it would follow that Maqueda had, properly speaking, no authority in Lisbon itself, but only over the ships which entered its port. He had been Viceroy of Sicily from 1601, the date of his father's death, until the arrival of the Duke of Feria. In 1618 he was made Governor of Oran and Meraquiver in Algiers, and when next heard of he is Admiral; and, as we shall see, Admiral he remained up to 1641, at least.¹ However, as two of Maqueda's own contemporaries, Malpe and Father Arthur ("at Lisborne, with the Duke of Macada, Governor there," M.; "que governava en Portugal," N.), who ought to know, state that in 1631 the Duke had authority; they must be believed, even though there is an uncertainty on our part about the duration, or the correct name of his office. The question does not affect Father Arthur's history very much; so far as it is concerned, it is enough to know that the Duke of Maqueda had a high position in the Government of Lisbon. An error, however, which may be noticed in passing is mentioned in Vincenzo Gussoni's dispatch. He writes: "It is reported that the Dominican was confessor of the Viceroy of Seville." If it is meant by this that Maqueda was Governor there, the rumour was unfounded; and it

¹ See also Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de Espana*, and Cabrera. Rabello de Silvo says, that in 1631 the Government of Portugal was in the hands of Dioyo de Castro, Conde de Basto, who had the title of governor, under the direction of Olivarey. *Historia de Portugal*, &c., tom. iii., p. 405. Where such high authorities disagree, we must be content to let the matter rest. Perhaps, however, these conflicting statements can be very easily reconciled: at different times in the year 1631, different Spanish noblemen may have been governors of Portugal.

may be added, there is no trace of the confessorship in the Seville archives.¹

However this may be, the Duke did really avail himself of Father Arthur's services as censor of books (in Catholic countries an object of close scrutiny at the douane or custom-house) in the ordinary inspection of vessels that entered the port of Lisbon. In this capacity the Irish priest, well versed in theology, who in addition to his own language spoke at least English, Spanish, and Portuguese, rendered valuable services to all, but received a bad return from some whom he had especially befriended. It happened in this way. An English ship which had captured a Dutch one came up the Tagus with its prize, and the latter was immediately declared forfeit to the Spanish treasury in consequence of the treaty then existing between Spain and England.² But such was the address of Father MacGeoghegan, and his influence with the Lord High Admiral, that the vessel was released on the condition that some other Dutch ship when captured should within a certain time be sent to Lisbon. The English sailors also who had been thrown into prison, either because they violated the terms of the treaty by not delivering up their prize, or because they were with good reason suspected of being secretly in league with the Dutch, so that the seizure of the vessel was a pretended one (V.),³ were liberated at

¹ It is a coincidence worthy of notice that one of the English martyrs, the Blessed John Storey, was entrusted with precisely the same office in Antwerp by the Duke of Alva, the Spanish Vicegerent of the Netherlands, and that the office was the cause of his apprehension and death. He went on board a ship in discharge of his duty, and was immediately imprisoned and carried off to England.

² On January 2nd, 1631, a secret treaty between Philip IV. of Spain and Charles I. of England, against Holland, was signed at Madrid by their respective representatives, Olivarez and Cottington. The first clause runs thus:—"In the first place, it is agreed on, that there shall be a league and confederacy, offensive and defensive, settled between the two kings against the Hollanders, which shall last during the war against them, or till there be peace made with them, with consent of both kings." The second clause begins:—"That an offensive war shall be made by both kings against the Hollanders, by sea and land, till the total reduction of these provinces to the due obedience of the King of Spain, their natural sovereign."

³ It may be mentioned here that the Archivist at the Hague says there is no entry in 1631 (the Ambassador Joachim's correspondence) to show that such a ship was taken by the English.

Father Arthur's intercession. He innocently believed the Englishmen's profession of their intention to fulfil the condition, and pledged his word for them; so they were allowed to weigh anchor and depart. The Dutch vessel with her cargo would be a valuable prize for the Spanish Exchequer; Malpe says it was worth fifty thousand florins. But the promised one never arrived, the result of which was that the Duke of Maqueda removed Father MacGeoghegan from his position of trust.

In order that that his patron should not be overreached, so far as he could prevent it, the latter then resolved to go to London on his way home, as the reader already knows. He met the captain of the ship there, told him why he came, and requested him to fulfil the engagement made with the Spanish Admiral. The captain, as if willing to keep his promise, expressed his happiness at seeing his benefactor once more, and asked him where he was staying. Father Arthur little suspecting the motive of the man's inquiry, gave his address, and before long to his utter amazement saw a number of constables enter his room to apprehend him on a charge of high treason. He knew well that his being a priest was the real and only cause of his arrest.¹ On

¹ The circumstances of the arrest are described very differently by the Dutch ambassador, who in all probability was a Lutheran or a Calvinist:—

“Brieven van Govert Brasser, gedeputeerde waarnemend ambassadeur gedurende de afwesigheid van den ambassadeur Albert Joachimi te Londen. 3 October, 1633.

“Seker Engelsch coopman onlangs van Lisboa weder hier gecomen, heeft op straat ontmoet een Yerisch Jesuit, daer methy te Lisboa int clooster gesproocken hadde ende heeft hem naert gebruijck alhier terstont in een herberge geleijt om hem met een pint wijn te vereeren daereenigen tijt met hem geweest zijnde, heeft zich gelaten alsof daarentrent penningen te ontfangen hadde ende den Jesuit verzocht dat hij hem in de herberge wilde blijven wachten, is ondertuschen uytgegaen ende heeft officieren van justitie met zich gebracht, die den Jesuit hebben gevangen genomen. De coopman leijt hem te laste dat hij naer veel propoosten tot nadeel van Sijne Majesteit van Groot Brittaignen gehouden, eijntelijk geseght soude hebben dat hij deselvege noch verhoopte met sijn eijgen hand het leven te benemen. D'examinatie van de Jesuit geschiet gans secretelijck, in voegen dat den heere Grooten Zegel bewaerder zelfs de notulen daervan hout.”

Letter of Godfrey Brasser, Deputy Ambassador during the absence of the Ambassador Joachim, London, Oct. 3, 1633:—

“An English merchant, who lately returned from Lisbon, met in the street an Irish Jesuit, with whom he had spoken in a convent at Lisbon.

the charge, however, of high treason, the one commonly resorted to against Catholics, he was taken before Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal; Sir John Coke, Secretary of State; Lord Newburgh, and Lord Falkland.¹

On that day, we may be sure, the humble religious felt that in all likelihood his fate was sealed, and began to prepare for death. He understood now the purpose of the captain's question. Falkland and Newburgh had issued the warrant for his arrest (M.), and the King afterwards appointed the first two noblemen to take part in the committee of inquiry (N.). All four were rank Puritans. In the Star Chamber, however, Coventry was usually on the side of clemency.² As regards Coke, Gardiner says: "He was a man without any fixed political views, except a hatred of everything that savoured of the Papacy." He was also, according to Prynne, "a most bitter hater of the Jesuits, from whom he intercepted access to the King; he entertained many according to their deserts, he diligently inquired into their factions."³ The Puritan divine, perhaps, had Father MacGeoghegan's examination before his mind as he wrote these lines; at any rate, we may be sure it was congenial occupation for Coke. Lord Newburgh is best known on account of his loyal adherence to Charles I. Lord Falkland,

According to the custom of this country he asked him to have some wine with him in a hotel. After a time he went out under the pretext of getting some money in a place near at hand, but before doing so he begged the Jesuit to wait there till he returned. He came back accompanied by some bailiffs who arrested the Jesuit. The merchant accused him of having used very disrespectful language about his Britannic Majesty, and of having said that he would take the King's life with his own hand. The examination of the Jesuit is being conducted with the greatest secrecy, so that the Keeper of the Great Seal himself retains the notes of it in his possession." These notes of the Keeper of the Great Seal (or Lord Chancellor) will, if possible, be published in the Appendix to this article, or afterwards in the General History of the Irish Martyrs.

Brasser's description of the circumstances of the arrest is due to mere hearsay. It disagrees with Nicoldald's, the Mostyn, and the Carmelite MSS. Father Eliseus, the author of the latter, says he took the greatest pains to ensure correctness.

¹ The four had remained in England during the King's visit to Scotland and were among the noblemen who for the time administered the country, (*State Papers*, Dom. 1633, page 52.)

² Leslie Stephen's *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

³ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

of whom more anon, was of the four the most inimical to our martyr. (N.)

All were Privy Councillors. The Privy Council did not, however, act in its corporate capacity. All its extant records have been carefully searched, page by page; but nowhere is there mention of this inquiry. The King named these four to examine the prisoner; that is, to find out whether there were grounds for proceeding against him in the public law courts. Charles gave express orders that Father MacGeoghegan should not be interfered with on account of his religion; but in case he had offended against his allegiance as a subject, that justice should take its course. (C.) Malpe remarks that the Privy Counsellors, with the exception of Lord Falkland, viewed the matter very quietly, and were disposed, in appearance at least, to acquit the prisoner. A letter of Falkland's to Sir John Coke (now among the Coke MSS. at Melbourne, Derby), places the writer's conduct in a rather unfavourable light. He expresses himself in terms which would hardly be suitable if impartial justice to the Dominican had been the rule and motive of his actions.

“ALDENHAM, Sept. 10, 1633:

“Yf you wyll besyde add the consideracion that it is thus donn immediatly after my detection of father Arthure and his apprehension, you shall doe noe wronge to y^e matter, and much right to y^e present condicion of

“Your Ho. humble servant,

“FALKLAND.

“To Sir John Coke,

“Principal Secretary of State to His Majesty.”¹

Lord Falkland, as he himself soon afterwards acknowledged, was punished by God for the part he took in the condemnation of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan.² (V.) After

¹ See *Hist. MSS. Report*, xii., vol. ii., page 31.

² Henry, first viscount, was father of Lucius, the famous Lord Falkland, and Viceroy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629. During his residence here he was comparatively lenient to Catholics. Lady Falkland was a convert; and no doubt to her influence much of this justice is to be ascribed. She was remarkable for her works of charity in Dublin, and also for her great learning. Her knowledge of languages extended from Hebrew and Greek to Transylvanian: and at nineteen, when she was converted, her study of the fathers had convinced her that the Catholic

his decease, however, as it would appear, the other noblemen answered the King's question in the affirmative, and instructed the Attorney-General (Sir William Noye) to prosecute. The Committee of Council had made its investigation with ominous slowness. It would appear from the Mostyn MS. that the secret examination began early in August, and, from the *Coram Rege Roll*, that it ended late in November. The Privy Councillors were probably desirous of appearing to act irrespectively of difference in religion, or perhaps they hoped to elicit from the accused some valuable information about other ecclesiastics in England, about private negotiations with those in Spain, &c. The writer of the *Vatican MS.*, who was thoroughly cognizant of all the external or public facts, conjectures that Father Arthur's judges (apparently including those of the King's Bench) condemned him to death either because one of the judges bore an ill-will to him, or because they wanted to satisfy the Puritans, who were discontented, and murmuring at Charles's clemency towards the Catholics; or, again, because they intended to strike terror into the Puritans, to deter them from reviling the King, as they were accustomed to do in conversation; or, lastly, because they wished to clear themselves from the imputation of being so partial to Catholics as was commonly said.

Salvetti, the Florentine Ambassador, who was equally well informed, writes thus:—"It was a long time since any regular had been put to death; and it fell to the lot of this poor victim that in his person the old maxims of persecution was the true one. Two of her sons, Patrick, the poet, and Placid, entered the clerical state, and her four daughters became nuns. From a contemporary account, *The Life of Lady Falkland* (first published in 1861), the following particulars respecting her husband's death are taken:—"At the end of summer, waiting on the King (then newly come out of Scotland), shooting in Tibbald's Park, fell from a stand, and broke his leg, and instantly broke it in a second and third place with standing up upon the King's coming up to him . . . The surgeon, undertaking the part of a bone-setter, pretended to set his leg; but, failing in it, instead of being set, it gangrened" (page 46). "And this of his refusing to say he died a Protestant, two of his Protestant servants who were present did acknowledge" (page 47). He died on September 25th, 1633, and was buried in Aldenham (*Dict. Nat. Biography*). Let us hope that the prayers of his family and those of Father MacGeoghegan obtained for him the grace of conversion on his death-bed.

tion should once more be put into practice; and this simply to please the Puritans, and, at the same time, to hinder the Catholic party from increasing.”¹

If we may infer the dispositions of Coventry, Coke, Newburgh, and Falkland from those of the Clerk of the Privy Council (Sir Edward Nicholas), their proceedings and their motives were much better kept in secret, for they would not bear the light of day. Nicholas writes in confidence to his friend, Admiral Pennington, as follows:—

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, CHAS. I., VOL. 246, NO. 26.

“NOBLE CAP^T.,—I have receaved yo^rs of y^e 9th of this moneth & am glad my form^r came safe to y^r hands w^{ch} I sent by the post of Sandw^{ch}.

“There hath bene an Irishe Jesuit here in exaiacon many tymes of late for words w^{ch} he should speake [*in con*] firmacion of their bloody tenet ag^t Kings. I hope he shalbe hanged for example to deterre those that are of his divelish opinion.

“Y^r affeconat freind & humble servaunt,

“E. NICHOLAS.

“Westm., 12 Sept^{bris}, 1633.”
No. 85.

“NOBLE CAPT.,—I have receaved yo^rs of y^e 23rd of this moneth . . . The Irishe preist hath bene here often examyned, but noe course is yet taken for his punishm^t, albeit it be prooved by 2 witnesses that he tould them in Spayne, that if he ev^r came ov^r into England (as he intended) he would kill o^r gracious King himself, for that he said he was an heretick; I beleeve if yo & I were men of y^e Jury to try him wee should make him a popishe Martir att Tiburne.

“Y^r affeconate freind & servaunt,

“E. NICHOLAS.

“Westminster, 27 Sept., 1633.”
Vol. 248, No. 65.

“NOBLE CAPTAIN,—I hope now shortly to see yoⁿ here . . . I heare now a rumour that the Irishe preist that in Spayne said he would kill o^r gracyous Master (whome God Almighty long p^rserve) shal be arraigned, but I shall not beleeve it till I see it.

“Yo^r faithfull & affec^{ate} freind and humble servaunt,

“E. NICHOLAS.

“Westminster, 28 Octo.”
Vol. 277, No. 107.

¹ According to Challoner, the last martyr at Tyburn had been Thomas Maxwell, July 1st, 1616.

Meanwhile reasonable suspicions were aroused in the minds of some Catholic ambassadors that all was not going on right, but that hatred to Catholicity was at the bottom of the whole affair. Thus Boutard says, in his despatch of November 17th, addressed to M. Boutillier, conseiller d'Etat :—"L'on a delivré de nouvelles commissions contre les Catholiques sur lesquelles ayant fait discrètement mes instances, l'on m'a fait entendre c'estoit pour raison d'Etat et non de religion. J'attend avec impatience, vos commissions, etc."¹ And, as we shall see, the Spanish Ambassador Nicoldaldi, says (December 9th) that he had used his utmost endeavours with the King and his ministers to save the life of the *martyr*, but all in vain; and that he would be glad to leave a country where malice, enmity to Catholics, and lies, abound.

Meanwhile Father MacGeoghegan was a close prisoner in Newgate.² On Friday, November 22nd, he was taken from the Gatehouse Prison (Newgate), in custody of Aquila Wykes, gentleman jailor, to the court assembled at Westminster. At the bar he pleaded not guilty; and, as the *Roll*, has it, "thereof he put himself upon his country," or submitted his case to the justice of his fellow-countrymen. The jury was empanelled on Monday, November 25th. The Dominican was sentenced to death, and handed over to the custody of the marshal, by whom he was then taken to the Marshalsea, in Southwark, there to remain till he should be drawn on a hurdle through the middle of the city to Tyburn.

But to return to Malpe's narrative. At length, to the general surprise, on November 25th, it was sworn in open court that Arthur MacGeoghegan was guilty of high treason of the worst possible kind. The charge was, that he asserted, in September, 1631,³ while in Portugal, that it would be no sin to kill the King of England, Charles I., because he was a heretic; and that if he ever got the opportunity, he would do so himself. His accusers alleged, in addition,

¹ Paris, *Archives des affaires etrangeres-Angleterre*, 1633, a. 45, fol. 286.

² *Coram Rege Roll*, from which we take the following statements.

³ September 31, *Coram Rege Roll*.

that he had actually come to England with this regicidal intention.

The only witnesses were two companions of the captain, two merchants (V.), to whom Father Arthur had been so kind when his ship had been seized in Lisbon. Their testimony was accepted, of course. The captain deposed that he had not heard Arthur MacGeoghegan say these words, but only heard the others state that he had said them. The prisoner answered the Lord Chief Justice (Thomas Richardson, *C. R. Roll*) that he had never, even in thought, held that the King of England might lawfully be killed. What he had really asserted—in a discussion with a man who denied free will—was, that if his tenets were true, it would be no sin to take the life even of a king. He was, moreover, at the time, alone with this man, the ship's pilot,¹ so that the captain's companions could not have overheard his words. On that occasion, he had gone on board the English ship to examine all books, as was his duty; and a Lutheran or Calvinist work which had been submitted to his judgment by the pilot was the cause of the discussion. But the malicious suppression of that little word *if* decided the Dominican's fate. At the time, in England, any pretext was sufficient to ensure the condemnation of a priest; Father MacGeoghegan was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, while, as a matter of course, the public crier proclaimed by the command of the Chief Justice and the Attorney-General, that he was condemned to death, not because he was a priest, nor because he was a religious, nor for any other cause connected with the Catholic creed, but because he was a criminal convicted of high treason. Many were found who openly disapproved of the iniquitous sentence, and various expedients were suggested, by which the unoffending victim might be delivered, but all in vain; the Puritans were resolved on doing away with the priest, and no time was to be lost, for they were thirsting for his blood. On the 27th of the same month he was dragged

¹ The pilot was a native of Ostend, as we learn from Rechac, *Les Vies des Saints etc., de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*. Paris, 1650. This is the only additional information Rechac gives; his account of our martyr is an acknowledged translation of Malpe's.

on a hurdle, through the city to Tyburn, where six thousand persons had gathered to witness his execution, when he reached it, sore and bruised as he was, he loudly expressed his happiness at being permitted to die on the spot made holy by the sufferings of all those who had given their lives there for the faith, and thanked God for the privilege. He then protested that he forgave from his heart his false accusers, and everyone else that had a hand in his death, and entreated the bystanders that if, after his death, the truth should come to light, and his innocence should be made manifest, they would intercede with the King for his enemies' pardon. He also called God to witness that he never even harboured the thought of doing that for which he was now ostensibly to be executed. Lastly, he gave expression to his grief, at not being allowed to have a confessor, but hoped that God would accept his desire, and have mercy on him; declared that he was a Dominican and a priest; then he recited the Creed, commended himself particularly to the Blessed Virgin, made the sign of the cross, and gave himself into the hands of the executioner. While actually hanging he was seen, with joy depicted on his saintly countenance, frequently to make the sign of the cross; for, in the final struggle with the powers of evil, the great truth, "In this sign thou shalt conquer," was borne in upon him with more vividness than ever before. According to the barbarous practice then customary in England, he was cut down when half dead, disembowelled, and his heart torn out. The hangman held up the heart that the crowd might gaze upon it, saying as he did so, "Behold the heart of the traitor." Instantly the body, more dead than alive, turned its eyes towards him, as if in abhorrence of the crime of treason, to reproach him with the calumny, and to protest that death was being endured for the holy Catholic faith.¹

¹ The dispatches of the Dutch, Venetian, and Florentine Ambassadors find their most suitable place here. It must be observed with regard to the dates of all the dispatches, that the reformed Gregorian Calendar is used, whereas the English documents have the old method of computation, according to which Father Arthur suffered on November 27th. Malpe

We shall now see how the trial and the execution are described, and the speeches reported in the *Mostyn MS.* :—

Arthur Gohagan, by birth an Irishman, a frier of the Order of *St. Dominick*, was arraigned at the King's Bench Barr, 25 Novemb., 1633, being Munday, for speakinge theis words :—

"I will kill the kinge if I can come to him because he is an heretique," w^{ch} words he uttered the last of Decembr., A° Septimo Car, 1631, in a cabbin of a shipp belonging to one Capteyne

conforms to it, but remarks that it is *stylo Anglicano*. Govert Brasser's second dispatch is short :—

"6 December, 1633.

"Mijn heeren. Op gisteren es alhier gehangen en in vier stucken gehackt den Yerschen priester daervan ick Uwe Hoog Mogenden voor desen geschreven hebbe dat geaccuseert wiert voorhebbens te zijn Sijne Majesteet het leven te benemen, welch hij op de plaetze van de executie ontkende, gebruijkende ijselijcke vervloeckingen en cas sulen waer mochte zijn."

"SIRS—The Irish priest to whom I alluded in a former letter to your Excellencies was hanged and quartered yesterday. He had been accused of intending to assassinate the King. He denied it on the scaffold, with awful imprecations in case it were true."

The mention which Gussoni makes of our martyr is equally brief :—

"Tomentato a strascico de cavalli, fu terzo giorno condotto all' ultimo supplicio un tal qual sacerdote Domenicano di nazione Irlandese che passatosene in Spagna et ivi come dicono, trattenutosi confessore del Vice Re di Siviglia, ritornatosene poi in questo Regno, fu subito riconosciuto, fatto prigionie, accusato et convinto d'haver detto in Ispagna di non voler piu ritornar in Ighilterra se non per amazzar il Re." "A certain Irish Dominican was, on the third day (*after his condemnation*), dragged by horses to the place of execution. He had been in Spain, and, as it is reported, was the confessor of the Viceroy of Seville. When he returned into this kingdom, he was immediately recognised, made prisoner, accused and convicted of having said, while in Spain, that he would never go back to England, unless it were to kill the King."

Amerigo Salvetti (Alessandro Antelminetti di Lucca) resided in London as Tuscan Ambassador from 1618 till his death in July, 1657. He was well acquainted with the ways of the English law courts, and with the injustices done to Catholics. Salvetti's dispatches fill twelve volumes. The passage relating to our martyr is found in the sixth (1632-38) :— "Mercoledì passato fu squartato un frate Domenicano Irlandese, essendo due giorni avanti condannato dal Tribunale della Banca Regia per crimine di maestà, consistente d'avere, mentre si trovava in Spagna alcuni anni sono, sostenuto potersi depuorre et amazarre il Re ec., volendo, inferire questo, et che sarebbe venuto presto in questo regno per effettuare lui stesso questo pensiero. I giudici che lo condannorno, insieme col Procuratore fiscale, volero pubblicamente dichiarare nella condannaione che questo huomo non veniva nullamente condannato per esser frate et catolico, ma si bene per traditore ec. [*The rest is in cypher.*] Quelli che lo videro morire dicono che negasse fin all' ultimo di haver mai detto di volere ammazzare questo Re; ma alcuni mercanti inglesi, che lo conobbero in Spagna, testimoniarono contro di lui, et sopra de loro testimonii fu

Bust an Englishman riding in the roade of Lisborne in Portugall neere the castle there.

To w^{ch} he pleaded not guiltie. The King's Attorney informed against him upon the Statt. of 25 Ed. 3.¹ Wheeler and Essinge, two English Merchants or ffactors, appeared witnesses against him, who deposed they heard him speake the woords then, and there, w^{ch} they presently related to Capteyne Bust who was att that tyme of the uttering of the said words gone forth of the cabbिन where the said *Gohagan* had been disputinge with him about the principles of our Religion, especially about the merit of Works & freewill, w^{ch} the said ffrier mainteyned.

About July last the said Capt. Bust mett wth the ffrier in the Strand neere London, who tooke acquaintance of the said Bust, but hee knew him not, w^{ch} the ffrier perceavinge asked him, have you forgotten y^r freind Father Gohagan that did

condannato. Era gran tempo che non si era fatto morire religiosi et toccò a questo poveraccio di rinuovare le massime antiche, et tutto per dar gusto ai Puritani et in uno stesso tempo tener la parte cattolica di non aumentare." (Firenze, Archivio Mediceo, Legazione d'Inghilterra).

"An Irish Dominican was hanged on last Wednesday. He had been condemned in the Court of King's Bench two days before for high treason, namely, for having maintained, two years ago, in Spain, that the King might be deposed, and put to death, &c., from which it was inferred that he had come to England for the purpose of putting his theory into execution. The judges who condemned him, and the Attorney-General, had it publicly proclaimed that he was sentenced to death, not because he was a friar, or because he was a Catholic, but because he was a traitor, &c. [*The rest is in cypher.*] Those who saw him die say that he declared to his last breath, that he had never said that he would kill the King; but some English merchants who had known him in Spain, gave evidence against him, and upon it was he condemned. It was a long time since any regular had been put to death, and it fell to the lot of this poor victim that on his person the old maxims of persecution should be once more put into practice, and this simply to please the Puritans, and to hinder the Catholic party from increasing."

¹ The following is the Statute referred to:—

A.D., 1350-2. Anno 25^o Edwd. III., st. 6, cc. 1, 2.

Cap. II.

A declaration which offences shall be adjudged Treason.

"Also whereas divers opinions have been before this time in what case treason shall be said, and in what not: the King at the request of the Lords and of the Commons hath made the declaration following, that is to say:—When a man doth compass or imagine the death of our Lord the King (Quant homme fait compasser ou imaginer la mort nostre seigneur le Roi) *Statute Book*, p. 325, Eyre, London. The Attorney-General (Sir William Noye), certainly went back far enough to find a law for his purpose. The 26th Henry VIII., c. 13, was really the statute against which Father Arthur offended, but his judges dared not quote it—their *odium fidei* would have appeared. It was in virtue of this statute of Henry's that so many of the recently beatified English martyrs went from Tyburn to heaven.

you many curtesies in Spaine, att Lisborne, wth the duke of Macada, Gouvernour there, whereupon the said Bust saluted him, thancked him, promised him the best service he could doe for him in England.

The said Bust being departed from him called to mynd the words w^{ch} the said Wheeler and Essing told him the ffryer had had spoken in their p^rsence in Spaine w^{ch} he imparted to one Davenport of London, a Cittizen who advised him not to conceale the same, but to acquaint the Lords of the privie Counsell therewth, who thereuppon went with the said Davenport to Viscount ffauckland, and the Lord Newbergh, Chauncellor of his Mat^{ty} Dutchie of Lancaster, who uppon further informacon of the said woordes and Gohagans arrivall into England (and att that tyme liveinge by Lincolnes Inn ffeilds, near the Cockpitt playhouse) signed a Warrant for his apprehension, and sent a messenger along wth them, who after a weekes search found him in the place aforesaid.

Att there cominge thither the said Gohagans Chamber doore locked, and being denied entrance the Messenger said he would breake it open if hee would not lett them in, w^{ch} after some litle passages of discourse (seeinge noe meanes to hinder them anie longer) was opened unto them, where the Messenger Bust and Davenport found him lyinge upon his bedd, wth two of his countrymen in the Chamber wth him, who spake Irishe among themselves. The Messenger att that instant searching about y^e roome for pa^{rs} w^{ch} might discover somethinge of the said Gohagan's purpose and plott, but found none, wher uppon the Messenger commanded the said Gohagan not to speake in Irish but in English, that they might understand them; and wthall he tould Gohagan that he must goe along wth him, w^{ch} he said he would not doe because he was sicke, but the messenger replied that he must and should, for he was the kings prisoner, to whome Gohagan retorned this Aunswer—I care not thus much for y^{or} kinge, putting his Thumb betweene his teethe and ierching it back againe.¹

This was deposed against him. Further Gohagan answered it was not true that was laid to his Charge, and his argumt was this—

ffirst he never saw their faces, vizt., Wheeler and Essing, who accused him of the Traiterous woords spoken in Spaine. And that Capteyne Bust, wth whom hee had about that tyme disputacon in the cabbin about meritts of woorks and free will, did not heare him speake theis woords.

Secondly he had done manie speciall curtesies for Capt. Bust, and one Graves and Bust being arrested, sentenced, and seized upon as Confiscate to the kinge of Spain, because it was

¹ It must be remembered that this was only a gesture commonly used in Spain, as it is even at the present day.

flemish bottome, but his pvidence hee gott the same restored unto them thorough his creditt and favour wth the duke of Macada.

After w^{ch} he peured a leter of Marke, helped them to a tall stroong builde shipp w^{ch} they much desired att a reasonable price, and all this he did for them (gratis), thoughe it was alleadged they gave him as much searge as would make him a coate, w^{ch} he denied and said that peice of searge was given to the Duke of Macadaes Secritary for dispatch, and concluded that if he had thought soe ill of the kinge he would never have shewen that favour to those men that were the kings subjects and such strangers to him.

He said further that it was a most ungratefull thinge to requite the manie courtesies he had done for them wth this false accusacon of him.

And his Argumt for merrits was this—

“ If ill woorks deserve punishment, good works deserve Rewardes ”

His argument for free will was this—

“ If a man be necessitated to doe an evill act why should he be punished for it, why should a man be hanged for comitting ane offence if it be not in his power to shunne it.”

And after this he was interrupted by the Lo. Chief Justice, who tould him he had spoken much, but it was all imptinent, soe he was silent.

The Lo. Chief Justice badd the Jury goe togeather (the fore man being Sr Thomas fflower Kt and Barronett of Islington), who after a little stay retorned and deliv'd upp their verdict guiltie of those traitorous words. After the Lord Chief Justice spake to ffather Gohagan as followeth :—

“ Sirrah, yoⁿ have been^e arraigned of highe Treason, to w^{ch} yoⁿ have pleaded not guiltie; yoⁿ have beene tried by the oathes of 29 men, 17 grandjurie and 12 pettye Jurie, accordinge to evidence, and have beene by them founde guiltie.”

The cheefe substance of his speech was this—

“ That we were the happiest people in the World, for while all the Christian World were clasheinge together in armes, wee lived in peace and plenty, and that those and all the blessings of this kingdom wee owe, under God, to the juste and quiett government of our most gracious kinge, who is att this day the most pious, religious, and gracious Prince in the Christian World, that hee was the kings Subiect, and that hee was bound to acknowledge the Kings goodness therein, and to render thanks to God for his Maties blessed Governmt over us. That he was a most wretched villaine to say he was an Heretique, howsoever (*i.e. whosoever*) adjudged, and declared him soe or would doe, yet being unsentenced an heretique he would not conclude him soe, And say that therefore he would kill him.

“That they meddled not with him conering his Religion but for Treason, for w^{ch} all the Jesuites and Preists have suffered death wthin theis 80 yeares, and not one of them all for Religion. And therefore they do all vaine^{lie} ymagine that they die Martirs for Religion.

“This is they judgment w^{ch} is not myne but Judicium Regis.

“Thou shall goe from whence thou standest to the place from whence thou camest or to some other Prison, and there stay a convenient tyme. Then thou shalt be taken & drawne upon a hurdle wth thy feete forward, the reason is that such a traiterous villaine as thou art, art not worthy to tread upon the earth, [] to the place of Execucon, where thou shalt be hanged by the Neck, but not till thou art dead, and then beinge cutte downe alive, the fire beinge first prepared, thy . . . into the fire. After thy belly shalbe ript upp, and that traiterouse heart of thine w^{ch} ymaged this mischeefe against our gracious Sovereigne shalbe torne out and likewise cast into the fire. Nextly thy head shalbe cutt off, And last of all thy body shalbe devided into 4 Quarters w^{ch} shalbe at his Ma^{ts} dispose.

“I will say the Lord have mercy on thy Soule in charitie, and desire God to give thee grace to repent thee of thy foule Treason, although I know it is not worth thanks from thee, or any of thy Religion.”

Then the Clarke of the Crowne asked him if he coulde say anie thinge for himselfe.

Hee answered he had nothinge to say.

Upon Wednesday the XXVIIth of Novemb. the said Arthur Gohagan was accordingly drawne upon a hurdle from the Kings Bench to the city of London and soe to Tiburne, from whence he was lifted off into a Cart. Where undismaid and wth a feareles countenance he spake these words, “In manus tuas comendo spiritum meum quia redemisti me O Deus veritatis mee,” w^{ch} he often iterated.

“I have been 11¹ yeares in Spaine. I am free of the Order of St. Dominick. I die a Roman Catholique. I pray yoⁿ al beare witnes of it. I believe the 12. Articles of the Creed according to the exposicon of the Romish Church. I forgive all my enemies hartlie, as hartily as I desire God to forgive me all my infinite sins. I pray God to forgive them that are the Cause of my death, for I never spake theis words. If I did may all the Devills in Hell take away my Soule at this instant tyme. In manus tuas, &c. I pray God blesse the Kinge and his Successors, and make all his enterprises successfull.

“I desire that my body be not dismembered, but that it may be putt,² and that the Spanish Ambassador would send it

¹ A friar (?)

² i.e., interred,

to be buried in some Abby or place belonging to an Abby of St. Dominick's.

"I would suffer in my cloathes, if you would give me leave me for deceneyes sake, if not I will do as you please, which was denied. After this his stockins and breeches pulled of hee asked if he might not weare those little under breeches, viz., a pair of white Trousers, which the Sheriff likewise denied."

Then desiring all good Christians to pray for him hee earnestly commended his Soule to God, and said:—

"O thou glorious Virgin Mary Mother of our Lord and Saviour, pray to thy Sonne Jesus Chr. to receive my soule. I would faine have receaved the Holy Sacrament accordinge to the Injunction of our Order, but I could not gett a priest to give it me."

Then being stript to his shirt holding upp his hands to heaven with great earnestness iterating *In manus tuas, &c.*, the carte was drawne away when he hanged a little tyme, then the Rope was cutt with a Bill, the hangman holdinge him fast in his armes that he should not fall to the ground, att which tyme the corde being slack he made a great noise in his throate.

Then they laid him on the earth, drew him along (being alive) neere the fire, threw there his Bowells and hearte laid him afterwards upon his face, cutt off his head by the Neck, devided his body by the waste and then cut it asunder in fower parts w^{ch} were not dispersed on the gates, but some of his freinds obteyned the disposing of them, and sent them over sea to be interred as he requested.

Inquiries about the martyr's burial-place have been made without result in Holland, Belgium, France, and Spain, and none of the many documents discovered up to the present gives the desired information. One would have confidently expected to find it in the account written by the Spanish ambassador, Nicolaldi. But this appears to have been finished and posted before the translation mentioned in the Mostyn MS. took place, for it merely tells us "*y dicen que le enterraron todo de noche debaxo de la misma horca;*" "*it is said they interred all (the head and quarters) at night near the same place.*" Other subsequent facts of great importance are not mentioned by Nicolaldi; for instance, the King's proclamation of Father Arthur's innocence (due probably to Nicolaldi's own representations), which shows that he sent the account to his friend Don Martin de Arpe very soon after the martyrdom.

At all events, we know that Nicolaldi is the ambassador

alluded to by Father Arthur, and that it was owing to his care that the holy remains were transferred to some Dominican Church. Nicolaldi had been Father Arthur's friend and protector all through. Two days after the martyrdom, he writes :—

“ De aqui no ay que dezir esta semana. A un frayle dominico Irlandes nos aorcaron dos dias ha. Se puede entrar en el numero de los martires, y no puedo embiar ahora la relacion deste caso, que lo haré otro dia y veeran en Roma'que muy al contrario lo que dan a entender a Su Sanctidad (los ?) Franceses de la pequena persecucion de aca por causa de religion, que por ella padecio este frayle buscandole malicioso pretesto, sin que pudiesen obrar mis diligencias con este Rey y ministros, y deseando salir de entre tanta maldad y mentira y tales enemigos.”

[TRANSLATION]

“ There is no news here this week. They hanged an Irish Dominican Friar for us two days ago. He can enter into the number of the martyrs. I cannot send the account of the case now, but will do so another day, and they will see in Rome—whatever the French may say to the contrary, to his Holiness, about the trivial nature of the persecution here on account of religion—that this Friar suffered for religion. His persecutors maliciously invented a pretext, and all I could do with the King and his ministers was of no avail. I wish I could get away from such malice and lies, and out of the midst of such enemies.”

Malpe relates two prodigies which then took place, as he heard on good authority—one, that when the executioner was throwing the heart, &c., into the fire prepared on such occasions, a young man in the crowd perceived that a part had fallen on the ground outside, and put it into the fire with his walking-stick, at the same time cursing the Popish priest and his belief. He had hardly done so, when he was seized with violent interior pains, and trembled like an aspen leaf from head to foot. He fell helplessly to the ground, and could only tell by faint groans the agony he was enduring when some nobleman went to his assistance.

The other wonderful occurrence that Malpe describes testifies still more clearly to Father Arthur's sanctity. Two women, who were going by chance towards Tyburn after the martyr's death, perceived that the air was redolent with fragrance, sweeter than they had ever inhaled before ; and

the fragrance became stronger as they approached the spot, where, to their amazement, they found that only mangled remains were lying. Though one of the women was not a Catholic, yet she openly acknowledged that it was from the priest's dead body the heavenly aroma proceeded. A German perfumer also, who happened to pass that way, asserted, on his part, that in all his experience he had never known any odour comparable to it.

These supernatural signs, by which God glorified His servant, could not be concealed. Queen Henrietta Maria, the Catholic consort of Charles I., was informed of all that had occurred. Ever since her coming into England, Henrietta—whose married life, as her god-father, Pope Urban VIII., is said to have predicted, was a series of afflictions—had done all that piety and zeal could suggest for the support of the Catholic religion. In the first year of their marriage, Parliament reproached the King with having, “through the Queen's influence, spared the lives of twenty priests who had been condemned to die as traitors;” and, later on, Buckingham had the insolence to tell his sovereign “to beware how she behaved, for in England queens had their heads cut off before now.”

Notwithstanding this dastardly opposition and persecution, which must have cost her many a tear, the Queen held out courageously, and as an angel of peace calmly continued her mission of doing good. One of her favourite practices of devotion was a pilgrimage to Tyburn. She went as an act of reparation to the memory of those who had unjustly suffered there, and as a public profession of the veneration in which she held the martyrs. To her the spot was hallowed and dear, even though, while she knelt there, as Queen of England she could not but fear that it called to heaven for vengeance on many of her blinded subjects.

She had now a new reason for sorrow. For the first time in her own reign a martyr's blood had been shed at Tyburn. She communicated to Charles the sad tidings of Father MacGeoghegan's execution, and the King, in consequence, ordered an investigation of the whole trial to be made, with the result that the sentence of condemnation was retrospec-

tively reversed—when too late. All, however, that could be done in atonement was faithfully performed: the King ordered that the quartered remains of the victim of the Star Chamber should not be exposed to view.

The meaning of Malpe's words "Denique omnium fere suffragiis, etiam aulae procerum, acta judicum rescissa et damnata," is not clear to us now, but further investigations may bring to light documents that will show precisely in what this rescinding consisted. Meanwhile two provisional explanations may be put forward. "Aulae procerum" may mean "of the Privy Council." As Charles had allowed the Attorney-General to proceed on the report of a committee of Council, he may now have laid the fresh evidence produced before the Council, and asked for an informal opinion. Or "aulæ procerum" may simply mean "of the courtiers." In any case, "rescissa et damnata" cannot signify a formal rescinding of the sentence. No body of noblemen had power to annul the act of the Lord Chief Justice.

Public opinion certainly branded the action of all concerned in the priest's execution as one of consummate iniquity. Rechac says that the judges acknowledged they had done wrong, but pleaded in self-defence that they had been imposed upon. However, notwithstanding all their protestations of impartiality, the occasion was seized for a renewal of hostilities against the Catholics. The accusation which the judges had now reluctantly acknowledged to be false was nevertheless made a pretext for the necessity of taking further *precautions* for the King's safety, and by the very party which, a few years later, was to rebel against him, and to send him, too, to the scaffold. The following letter, which appears to have been written about this time by a priest who was imprisoned on the pretence of his being an accomplice in Father Arthur's treason, gives us a true idea of the whole situation:—

"To the noble Lord, my Lord Vincenzo Gussoni, Ambassador of the illustrious republic of Venice to His Majesty of Great Britain, these:

"Parcat sua clarissima Celistudo si minus accurate quam vellem scribo' eo quod furto scribam. Dum persuvantes quos vulgo vocamus, occasione istius hominis qui conspirationis in

Regiam Majestatem criminatur obvios quosque inquietant, me in domo cujusdam amicae herae offenderunt ad quam visitandi gratia accesseram; cum ipsis mihi necesse fuit Curiam petere, quamvis me e numero domesticorum vestrae Celsitudinis per apertas literas significaveram. Hinc post longam moram, jussu Domini Secretarii Coke, delatus sum ad domum cujusdam pursuantis juxta turrim Londinensem.—Nihil mihi conscius sum, nisi sacerdotium et longa propter illud incarcerationis periculosum crimen fit.”

The letter was intercepted. Sir John Coke wrote on the back of it, “Harris the priest, to Vincenzo Gussoni, Ambassador for Venice,” and it is still among the Coke papers.

Let us now see what befell some of the witnesses. The report of Father MacGeoghegan’s fate soon reached people in Spain, and naturally created intense indignation against those who had sworn his life away. One of them was not slow in asking the Privy Council to indemnify him for the losses he sustained thereby, as well as to reimburse him for his travelling expenses.

“To the right hon^{ble} the Lords and others of his Ma^{ty}s most honorable privie Counsell.

“The humble peticon of Henry Elzey, of the Towne and Countie of Southampton, Marchant.

“In all humblnes sheweth that whereas yo^r petitioner hath bene at great charges in twice coming upp from Southampton and attending y^r Lopp^s aboute geving evidence againste the Traitor Grohagan, the Irish ffryar, whoe was discovered by Cap^t. Buste out of y^r pet^r’s first relation, as may appeare by all the pceedings, yo^r pet^r being from his youth breed upp in the Spanish trade deareth not now come any more there for fear of the treachery of the ffryars factio, and having no meanes or livelyhood to subsist.

“Doth most humbly beseech y^r hono^{rs} in comiseration of y^r pet^r’s destressed estate and his greate charges hee hath bin at in that busines to confer uppon yo^r pet^r the pursers place of the shipp y^r hono^r comanded the sheare and Towne of Southampton to make reddey for his Maty’s servis, and allsoe to allowe yo^r pet^r his charges hee has disbursed in the aforesaide servis.

“At Whytehall, the 28th of November, 1634.”¹

We have not met his name before; but the name, Elsey of Southampton, occurs elsewhere in the *State Papers* in

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 493, No. 33.

a letter to Sir John Coke, and there is also in the same collection a letter from a John Ellzey, Southampton, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Nicholas, who was so desirous of seeing Father MacGeoghegan hanged.

A word about the betrayer, Captain Bust, and we have done. He appears also to have been rewarded according to his deserts. His petition for aid shows that Father Arthur's death was long remembered by the Duke of Maqueda.

"Edward Bust was Capt & Henry Fabian Mr wth him of a shipp in a voyadge to Lisbon 8 yeares now past, where aboard the said shipp Arthur Graogan, an Irish preist, threatned to take away his Ma^{ts} life.

"About 12 months after Capt. Bust did aprehend the said preist in London, whoe was tryed at the Kinges bench barr, & there convicted, and suffered death at Tyburne according to his demerrits.

"Since w^{ch} time neither the said Capt. nor Mr durst travell into those parts by reason of threats against themselves and their company for the death of the said preiste.

"This winter Fabian went to Barselona, where the Duke of Makeda is Admirall of the Spanish fleete, who was informed of Fabians beinge there, and therupon gave order for his present aprehending & execution, wh. Fabian had notice of by an English man, whoe is guner of the Admiral's) Gally, by whose helpe & the assistance of the company of 3 Dartmouth shippes he escaped, though the said shippes were serched for him.

"The Duke hath sollemly vowed to execute all that he can take that were in the said shipp wth Capt. Bust 8 years since, as the said guner enformed, w^{ch} Fabian is able to prove by the testimony of above 40 men belonging to the Dartmouth shippes.

"Edward Bust being comanded by the Lords of his Ma^{ts} most hono^{re} Councell to attend hys tryall, whoe was then bound to sea, to trade between the Straights and the Spanish dominions, lost his imployment & before 6 monthes were past heard of these threats, therefore durst not since follow his usuall imployments, being forced to live heere wholly upon expence these 7 yeres, to the utter undooing of himself and his.

"Both pray to be releevd by some speedy imployment in his Ma^{ts} Navy, & to be secured by the Spanish Embasador if they shall finde occasion to travell into those parts.

"And shall dayly pray, &c." ¹

Such were the misfortunes that overtook Father Arthur's

enemies, such was the just retribution of their crime. While events were passing thus on earth, never-ending glory was, we believe, the reward of the Dominican in heaven. He had confessed his Lord and Master before men, and now was honoured for it by angels and saints. Let us hope that the day may soon come when the Church on earth will unite with the Church triumphant in celebrating the martyr's praises.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

LAMENNAIS

VII.

"I desire that this little work [*Les Affaires de Rome*] should be considered as the last of the series which I have been bringing out during the past five-and-twenty years. Henceforth I have simpler and clearer duties before me. The rest of my life will be, I trust, devoted to these as far as my strength will allow. No more is required of any man. Let there be no mistake: the world has changed; it is weary of theological discussions."

To follow the career of a fallen priest is not usually an edifying or even an interesting task. Lamennais' case is, however, an exceptional one. His difficulties did not arise from the higher criticism or the lower passions. His great aim had been the regeneration of society; he had looked upon the Church as the one organization capable of such a work, and when she had refused to undertake it he had no choice but to quit her pale. We can see now easily enough that his errors were not errors of principle, but simply of exaggeration. A little moderation on his part, a little forbearance on the part of his adversaries, and all might have turned out well. The *Paroles d'un Croyant* must not be taken as a deliberate expression of his opinions. It was rather the cry of one wounded to the very quick, of one who found that all his cherished hopes were blighted for ever. But when once he had so spoken it became difficult for him ever to return. The Church is often reproached with having cast out her ablest champion. But

what did Democracy do for him? As long as he remained a faithful priest he knew no want; after his fall the radicals and infidels left him to starve. In truth, he had the misfortune to please no party. The *Paroles* contained too much religion for the infidels, and too much rebellion for the Catholics. To the last he continued to have some belief in Christianity: but it was a vague and undogmatic Christianity—a form of belief much less common in his day than in ours.

We have seen that none of his friends followed him in his revolt from Rome. But he soon found others. Béranger, Liszt, George Sand, Charles Didier, were some compensation for those whom he had lost. To give him an opportunity of exercising his brilliant journalistic talents, they founded for him the *Monde* newspaper. But the new venture was not a success. And here we may ask, why did his writings fail after he had left the Church? Some have said that he suffered from the blight which affects genius when it abandons the cause of justice and truth. It may be granted that there is something in this explanation. We miss the brightness and hope, the enthusiasm for the strife, the confidence in victory, which are so conspicuous in the early works. On the other hand, he gains not a little in pathos, but it is the pathos which belongs to a lost cause and a fallen champion vainly striving against fate. Many apostates, indeed, have seemed to acquire fresh power by their apostasy. But these have completely gone over to the enemy, and have distinguished themselves by the bitterness of their attacks on all that they formerly held sacred. Not so Lamennais. After his fall he simply ignored the very existence of the Church. Then again, in his orthodox days, he had an elaborate ecclesiastical organization to spread abroad his writings; and everyone knows how the thought that he is addressing a wide public stimulates his pen. Moreover, his new friends had their own ways of thinking and working, and so could not prove such efficient colleagues as Lacordaire and Montalembert, Gerbet and Salinis.

The *Affaires de Rome*, though written when he was no longer a member of the Church, belongs by its subject to

his Catholic days, and is to my mind the most interesting of all his books. It has already been frequently quoted in these articles. The reader will have noticed that though he speaks severely, he has none of the rancour of the vulgar apostate. He speaks more in sorrow than in anger. One could have wished that he had allowed certain passages to stand unchanged instead of trying to weaken their force by palpably prejudiced notes. The *Livre du Peuple* is also well worthy of study, especially at the present time. It is a sort of echo of the *Paroles*, or rather it is a prose and sober version of the *Paroles*. But now we must speak of his relations with the government of the Citizen King.

The compromise between the Revolution and the reaction had never been accepted by Lamennais. Half measures were never to his taste. He had been a legitimist; he had become a Republican; and now was ready to wage fierce war on the comfortable, narrow-minded adherents of Louis Philippe. His nephew, Ange Blaize, was arrested, and put in prison, for being a member of an electoral committee. Lamennais, who was also a member, was roused to indignation by this "infamous tyranny." In a bitter pamphlet, entitled *Le Pays et le Gouvernement*, he vigorously attacked the whole system of the Government of July. The first edition was rapidly sold out; but any further sale was checked by the arrest of Lamennais himself, and the seizure of his papers (November 10, 1840). His trial was watched with the greatest interest. Men wondered whether the government would dare to convict so illustrious a delinquent. But, if the repressive laws were to be enforced at all, the only way was to give a striking example. Lamennais was accordingly found guilty of holding up the King's government to ridicule and contempt, and of setting class against class; and for these offences he was sentenced to a fine of two thousand francs and one year's imprisonment. A great demonstration was organized to conduct him to the gates of the prison; but he at once put a stop to the preparations.

"I have a fairly large cell [he wrote to an old Breton friend], seeing that I can take nine paces from one corner to the opposite.

It is lighted by little windows, ten inches in height, which give it, by reason of their height, and the bars of iron which fasten it outside, the agreeable appearance of a cellar. Some rays of sun, however, can enter at this time of the year. I have two look-outs—one to the east, and one to the south; and, as I am perched under the roof, I can discover, by getting on a chair, a wide extent of view. When I stand on the brick floor, I can touch the ceiling with my wrist. A little stove which I have had placed gives me enough warmth. There is a narrow courtyard, in which I could take exercise with the others at certain times, but I do not go, nor will I. I prefer to stay in my dungeon, for more than one reason. Permission is readily granted to my visitors: As to letters, they are first carried to the police-office; and so I have refused to receive them. About nine o'clock I make my coffee; four hours later I eat a little bread and butter; at six a dinner of two courses is sent in from a neighbouring restaurant. The day passes without any *ennui*; for one cannot suffer from that while one has books . . . But shall I be able to work? I do not know yet."

He did work, and worked hard. The great philosophical work, *L'Esquisse d'une Philosophie*, which he had begun in his Catholic days, was now continued, in a spirit very different from his first designs. He continued also to compose three smaller works—*Une Voix de Prison*, *Du Passé et de l'Avenir du Peuple*, and *De l'Esclavage Moderne*. The titles of the two last named sufficiently indicate the nature of their contents; the first was a pathetic repetition of the terrible *Paroles*. Thus he passed the whole of the year 1841. When he regained his freedom he found himself in delicate health, and in great want. He kept apart from active politics, though he was often consulted by the leading Republicans. His literary labours occupied nearly the whole of his time. It seemed that his public career had come to an end, when suddenly a great change in the state of Europe once more brought him into notice.

VIII.

In the early summer of 1846 a great event took place in the Catholic world. Gregory XVI., the pope who had condemned the *Avenir* and its editors, died on June 1st. The ensuing conclave was short. Lambruschini, the leading member of the reactionary party, was looked upon as the likeliest to secure the majority of votes. But once again,

Chi entra papa esce cardinale. To everyone's surprise, and most of all to his own, Cardinal Mastai, a strong liberal—an admirer of Gioberti, D'Azeglio, Balbo, and others of the young Italy party—became pope under the title of Pius IX.

Twelve years had passed since Lamennais had quitted the Church amidst the tears and regrets of so many of the faithful. During all this time countless devout souls who had owed to him their first awakening to things spiritual or their enthusiasm for religious freedom, had not ceased to hold him in reverence and love. Many a tearful prayer had been offered up for him as the spouses of Christ listened to his reflection on the *Imitation*, or as the old curés took down the volumes of the *Essai*, and turned over the files of the *Avenir*. They noted with a melancholy satisfaction his successive reverses, in the hope that these would open his eyes and touch his heart. Hitherto they had prayed in vain, but now it seemed that at length they were to be heard. The new Pope accepted much that Lamennais had contended for. He had broken with the Holy Alliance; he had declared himself on the side of the people. Why should the erring priest hesitate to be reconciled when he had been met more than half way? His good friend Padre Ventura sent him at this time a work which the celebrated Theatine had composed on Daniel O'Connell. With it was a letter stating that the book was nothing but a *résumé* of Lamennais' own magnificent ideas in the days of his orthodoxy. "I have also a message for you," continued the writer: "it is from the angel whom heaven has sent us—from Pius IX., whom I saw this morning. He told me to tell you that he sends you his blessing, and that he is waiting to embrace you. It is the shepherd who is seeking his sheep: the father who has gone in search of his son. So I do not despair of seeing you again under the old flag, working as we have done before for the glory of religion and the happiness of poor mankind." A portrait of the Pope accompanied this message. But, as in the days long before, when he was asked to rally to the royalist cause, so now Lamennais said again: "Too late." His reply, though full of affection for Ventura, and of respect for the new Pope cut off all hopes of any return to the fold.

Not long afterwards another opening more to his taste presented itself. The hated government of Louis Philippe, against which he had struggled so long, came to an ignominious end in February, 1848. The dream of Lamennais' life—the establishment of a Republic in France—was at last realized. Now was the time to rouse the people to insist on the full enjoyment of their rights. Twenty days after the fall of the monarchy he brought out his third newspaper, *Le Peuple Constituant*. Here he advocated extreme republicanism, and severely criticized the Provisional Government as being too much the mouthpiece and tool of the *bourgeoisie*. His own contributions can be easily singled out from those of his colleagues. Something of the old fervour, something of the old sublimity still remains in them. They must often have gone over the heads of his workingmen readers, who, doubtless, preferred the sledge-hammer style of his inferior colleagues. When the elections for the new assembly took place, he and his friend Béranger had the honour of being returned by the important part of the Seine. He joined the party of the Extreme Left. As he entered the chamber his old friend Berryer, who had so ably defended him a quarter of a century before, came forward to greet him. But some violent radical members were watching, and Lamennais turned sadly away. No sooner had he taken his seat than a fresh trouble befell him. Looking up from a paper which he was reading, he noticed some commotion at the doors. Presently a friar with shaven head and white habit entered, and advancing towards the Mountain, sat down within a few benches of him. "Do you see who that is?" said a friend. Lamennais became more absorbed in his reading. "Look! it is Lacordaire." "Let me alone," was the answer: "that man weighs upon me like a world."

Lamennais was convinced that he was called upon to play the part of the Abbé Siéyès, the renegade priest, and constitution-monger in the days of the great Revolution. But he was now in his sixty-sixth year. He was no public speaker. He had never sat in any previous assembly. When he first rose to read an elaborately-prepared speech, the

members flocked in, but as soon as they satisfied themselves about his appearance and manner, they returned to the lobbies or went on writing their letters. Disappointed in his hope of swaying the Assembly, he still thought that he could exercise much influence in the committee-rooms. Accordingly he was chosen by acclamation as a member of the committee for the formation of the constitution. Here again he was doomed to failure. His scheme which he had drawn up with so much care, and presented with such confidence, was not even entertained. The invasion of the Assembly by the mob, on May 15th, should have been to him, as it was to Lacordaire, a sign that there was no hope for the regeneration of France by such a government. Then came the terrible revolution of June. Lamennais, true to his extreme opinions, openly sided with the insurgents. But from that time the fate of the Republic was sealed. The reaction commenced by the suppression of the freedom of the press. It was decreed that every newspaper should deposit a large sum as caution-money. The *Peuple Constituant*, already impoverished, was unable to raise the required amount, and accordingly ceased to appear. The last number, bordered with black, came out on July 11th, 1848. It contained Lamennais's farewell article. Four hundred thousand copies were sold:—

“The *Peuple Constituant* began with the Republic; it now ends with the Republic: for what we see is certainly not the Republic, or indeed anything that has a name. Paris in a state of siege, delivered over to martial law; Louis Philippe's dungeons and forts crowded with fourteen thousand prisoners, after a frightful butchery organised by dynastic conspirators; countless transportations without trial; proscriptions worse even than those of 1793; laws against the right of public meeting; the slavery and ruin of the press by the revival of old monarchical regulations; the national guard disarmed; the people decimated and driven back into greater misery than ever; no, assuredly, this is not the Republic, but rather the saturnalia of reaction round about its tomb.

“The men who have become its ministers, its devoted servants, will soon reap the reward which the reaction has in store for them, and which they only too well deserve. Driven away with contempt, bowed down with shame, cursed in the

future, they will go to join the traitors of every age in the charnel-house where the corpse-like souls, the dead consciences, rot away.

"As for us, Soldiers of the Press, devoted to the defence of the liberties of our country, we, too, are treated in the same way as the people; we, too, are disarmed. For some time past our paper has been dragged from the hands of our agents, torn to pieces, and burned in the public streets. The intention was clear enough: we were to be reduced to silence at all costs. The caution-money has at last succeeded in doing this. To enjoy the right of free speech a man must now have money, and plenty of it. We are not rich enough. Henceforth, silence for the Poor!"

As long as the Republic lasted he kept his seat in the Assembly, assisting regularly at its meetings, and voting silently with his party. At last the infamous *coup d'état* came; but so low had his influence fallen, that he was not thought worthy of being arrested.

IX.

The last of Lamennais' various careers was now over, and it only remained to prepare for his own end. His Catholic friends, in spite of frequent disappointments, still hoped and prayed for his conversion. They thought that in his case, as in so many others, the passing away of this world and the near approach of the grave, would turn him to repentance. The years 1852 and 1853 went by, his health gradually failing; but still he gave no sign. In January, 1854, he felt that death could not be far off. It was then, with full deliberation, that his mind was fully made up. Calling his friend, M. Barbet, he drew up and signed the following document:—

"I wish to be buried among the poor, and in the way that the poor are buried.

"Nothing is to be placed over my grave, not even a simple stone.

"My body is to be carried straight to the cemetery, without being taken to any church."

Verbal orders too were given by him that no priest should be allowed to approach his death-bed. To make this sad deliberation all the more marked, there was no suddenness about his death. His final illness, bronchitis,

complicated with congestion of the lungs, lasted six weeks. Madame de Kertanguy, his favourite niece, was summoned from Brittany to attend him. Her first word was to ask him if he would see a priest; but she only received a determined and repeated refusal. Many of his later friends visited him, and found him cheerfully awaiting the last summons, and firmly convinced of their all meeting again in another life. On the morning of February 27 the sun rose brightly, and poured its beams through the windows of the miserable room of the dying man. "Let it in," he said; "it has come to fetch me!" And at half-past nine he was gone.

Great was the excitement in Paris as the sad news got abroad. The Government, fearing a demonstration, gave orders that the funeral should be strictly private: nevertheless a vast crowd assembled around the house. At an early hour, on March 1, the body was brought out, and placed on the pauper's hearse. As the *cortège* passed through the streets, without priest or religious emblem, and guarded by so many police, and followed by multitudes, the bystanders murmured to one another, "It is Lamennais." At the entrance to Père-la-Chaise all were stopped, except the few immediate friends. The coffin was carried along through the broad walks of stately monuments to the narrow trenches into which the nameless dead are cast. There, without a single prayer, the remains were laid.

One evening, some weeks later, a carriage stopped at the door of the little chapel at La Chênaie. An old priest, weighed down with grief rather than age, alighted and entered. Falling on his knees before the denuded altar, the hot tears streaming down his cheeks, he remained a long time in prayer. Then rising to his feet, he moved towards the house, and looking up at one of the windows, "Féli, Féli," he cried out, "O my brother, where art thou?" It was Jean de la Mennais.

Lamennais' sad story is often held up as a warning; and a warning assuredly it is. It is a warning to us all not to chain our hearts to our ideas; to bear in mind that there is no greater obstacle to repentance than wounded

pride, and that the most brilliant qualities are no security for salvation. It is a warning to those who have rendered great services to the Church, that a day may come when these may be forgotten. And no less is it a warning to those in high places, that their decisions concern something of greater import than the tenability of a proposition, or the prudence of a policy, or the enforcement of a right—for what they hold in their hands is the fate of many an immortal soul.

T. B. SCANNELL.

ST. CANICE, ABBOT AND CONFESSOR, PATRON
OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY

11TH OCTOBER

AS the Feast of St. Kieran of Ossory, the *Primogenitus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, March the 5th, brings us back to the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, and the advent of the heavenly spring that gladdened the hearts and homes of Erin, so also, the festival of St. Canice, on the 11th of October, cannot fail to remind us of the first-fruits of that rich golden harvest which was gardened by the celestial husbandman from the virgin soil of the Island of Saints.

The commencement of the sixth century, 515 or 516, witnessed the birth of St. Canice or Kenny, at Glengiven, "the Valley of the Roe," in the barony of Keenagh, County Londonderry. His parents were so poor at the time of his birth, that a special interposition of Providence was required in order to afford the new born babe the very means of subsistence. But although destitute of worldly goods, they were rich in virtue, and of superior intelligence. His father, Lughadh Lethdearg, was a member of the bardic class, and held the post of tutor to Gael Bregach, afterwards Prince of Hy-Many. Lughadh Leithdearg appears also to have been a poet of some distinction, and it may have been from him that our saint inherited that rare gift of eloquence, which

caused him to be compared by Irish writers to St. Philip, who is supposed to have been the most eloquent of the Apostles.

In a manuscript catalogue of the Irish saints, which dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is preserved in the College of Salamanca, Meaula or Mealla is mentioned as the mother of St. Canice, and that her principal church is in Kilkenny. Hanmer in his *Chronicle* relates that in the thirteenth century, a church was erected in Kilkenny under her invocation, over against the east side of the Nore (where St. Maul's cemetery now lies). The Church of St. Maul, with four marks of silver yearly, was conferred on the Vicars Choral of St. Canice, by Bishop Barry, in 1428.

At an early age, Canice resolving to devote himself to the study of sacred truths, proceeded to the monastery of Lancarvan in Wales. This school of piety was at that time ruled by the Abbot Cadoc, surnamed the Wise—a saint who had himself been trained in the paths of piety by a saint of Irish birth, St. Tathai. At Lancarvan Canice soon distinguished himself by the practice of every virtue, especially by the strict observance of holy obedience. One day whilst engaged in what was to him the delightful occupation of transcribing the Holy Scriptures, the bell of the monastery called him to other duties, and we are told that the obedient novice left the letter, at which he was engaged, half finished, and thenceforward his abbot loved Canice exceedingly.

After having received the Holy Order of the priesthood, about the year 546, Canice asked and obtained permission to proceed to Rome in order to receive the blessing of Christ's Vicar on his future missionary labours. At that time Italy was overrun with barbarians, the Goths and their leader, Atilla, and so, the pilgrimage of St. Canice must have been a work of great difficulty. But the special Providence of God preserved him in all the vicissitudes of that perilous journey, the very men who sought his life were converted, and became his devoted disciples, so that he was enabled through their instrumentality to found in the distracted land a monastery, where his own name and those of his

compatriots, known as "the saintly pilgrims from Ireland," were for ages held in the greatest veneration. On his return to Ireland our saint, wishing to perfect himself still more in the knowledge and practice of virtue, spent some time in the great schools of Clonard, under St. Finnian, and Glasnevin, then governed by St. Mobius. He had for his companions, Columkille, Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Comgall, Brendan, and others of the great saints, who were styled the twelve Apostles of Erin.

St. Mobius having built a beautiful oratory of oak, of unusually large proportions, a question arose among his disciples as to their wishes regarding it. St. Kieran expressed his wish that it were filled with holy men who, by day and night would chant the praises of God. St. Comgall, wholly intent on penitential exercises, would wish it to be filled with all the pains and burdens which are the lot of men during their pilgrimage on earth, and that all might come to him as his inheritance. St. Columba would like to see it well filled with gold and silver, to be expended in the erection of churches and monasteries, and in the service of the poor. St. Canice, being asked to tell his thoughts, declared that it would be his desire to see the oratory filled with religious books and sacred texts by which men would be imbued with a knowledge of divine truths, and led to the fervent service of their Creator. St. Mobius, hearing their pious wishes, prayed that each of these holy youths would receive from heaven the special gift which he desired. The time came when Canice was called upon to leave his peaceful solitude and the sweet society of his brethren; when the holy priest and perfect religious was to become himself a founder of churches, and a vessel of election to carry the light of faith to a people sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. Following the example of his friend St. Columba, Caledonia was selected by him as the country then affording the best prospect of a rich virgin harvest of souls.

His first success was in rooting out from his native place in Derry the surviving superstitions of Druidism, and the conversion of his foster-brother, the chieftain of Dungiven,

who afterwards assisted our saint in founding the great church of Drumachose, in Londonderry. His sister's son, St. Berchan, also owed his recovery from a mortal illness to the prayers of St. Canice. His name appears in our Irish Calendars as the founder and patron of Consast, in the King's County. St. Columbkille had already converted the Island of Mull to the faith, and had made repeated missionary excursions to the adjoining mainland. He now meditated an assault on Pictish Paganism in its very centre and stronghold, and took for his companions Canice and Comgall. Imagine the three holy companions setting out on that perilous voyage, seated in their little coracle or ozier boat, covered with hide, which the Celtic nations employed for their navigation. Their destination is the heart of Caledonia, "stern and wild," which the imagination of our forefathers made the dwelling-place of hunger and of the prince of demons. Their way lies through an archipelago of naked and desert islands, sowed like so many extinct volcanoes, upon the dull and sullen waters, which are sometimes washed by the Atlantic waves, swept by the Atlantic blasts, and broken by rapid currents and dangerous whirlpools. The pale sickly sun of the North only serves to point out the fogs and mists surrounding and surmounting the lofty summits, and abrupt and naked sides of the bare and desolate mountains of that sterile, icy land. After overcoming all the perils of that adventurous voyage, the holy missionaries beheld, rising up before them, to the height of fully five hundred feet, the rock fortress of the Pictish King, some two miles west of the River Ness. His name was Brude; and he is styled by Venerable Bede, "a most powerful king," who had vanquished the Scots or Dalradians in many a hard-fought battle-field: and was now enjoying his kingdom in peace, having triumphed over all his enemies. From his eyrie on the rock, this bird of prey beheld with savage eyes Columbkille, "the dove of the churches," and his two companions advancing to plant the standard of the cross on his redoubtable stronghold. Burning with indignation at their boldness in presenting themselves unbidden before him, King Brude ordered the gates of the fortress to

be closed, and strongly barred against them. But our brave Irish priests had recourse to prayer; and Comgall, having made the sign of the cross on the outer gates, they immediately fell broken to the ground; Columba made the sign of the cross on the inner door of the enclosure, with the same effect. When the three saints stood face to face with the enraged King, he drew his sword, swearing by his ancestral gods, that he would avenge the insult offered to him; but Canice, making the sign of the cross towards him, his hand was instantly withered. And it so remained till Brude believed in God, received Baptism from St. Columba, and the perfect restoration of his daughter to her sight, hearing, and speech, by the intercession of St. Canice. The victory of the cross was complete; Caledonia became a portion of the vineyard of the Lord, rivalling the soil of her mother, Erin, in the fertility with which, for ages, she produced the fairest flowers and richest fruit of holiness and justice. And Iona became in a higher sense than any earthly Pharos, a spiritual lighthouse, shedding its beams of religion and culture far and wide. It was there Columba fixed his rude retreat:

“ There the first symbol of his creed unfurled ;
And spread religion over a darkened world.”

The amount of co-operation given by St. Canice in the glorious work of evangelizing Scotland may be judged from the number of places that retained his name, and cherished his memory in that country. Amongst these, the most remarkable was the monastery of Rig-Monadh, or the royal mound where the Cathedral of St. Andrew was afterwards erected. The *Felire of St. Ængus* contains in its notes of St. Canice's Feast, at 11th October, a reference to this foundation: “ Achadhbo is his principal church, and he has a Recles, *i. e.*, a monastery at Cill-Rigmonaig in Alba.” Scottish writers record that St. Canice was regarded, after St. Brigid and Columba, as “ the favourite Irish saint in Scotland.” He was honoured even in Iona, where a burial-ground still retains the name Kill-Chainnech. And fain would he have remained till death a voluntary exile from his

native land, in order to enjoy the heavenly conversation of St. Columba, and of his holy companions, and to help them to secure that golden harvest; but the saints of Ireland, not willing to be deprived of his example and counsels, sent messengers after him, praying him to return to his own country. They found him "living as a hermit in Britain, and Canice was then brought from his hermitage against his will."¹ This hermitage, according to Cardinal Moran, is identified with the remains of an ancient church called Laggan-Kenny; *i. e.*, St. Kenny's church at Laggan, towards the east end of Loch Laggan, at the foot of a mountain, in the Grampian range.

The homeward voyage of our saint was signalized by his having miraculously saved from a watery grave the illustrious St. Fintan, of Clonenagh, styled by the old writers the Father of Irish Monks and the Benedict of Ireland. The establishment of the first Irish monastery following the rule of St. Columba and St. Canice, that of Kilkenny West, in the County of Westmeath, was inaugurated by a miracle, related by all our saint's biographers. A turbulent chieftain of Meath, Colman Beg MacDiarmaid had carried off by violence a nun, sister of St. Aedh, Bishop of Killair, in Meath, and detained her captive in an Island in the centre of an lake. The Bishop took up his position near that part of the lake in which his sister was held prisoner, and there fasted and prayed that the heart of the King might be moved. Nothing, however, appeared to produce any effect on the heart of that wicked king until St. Canice came to the assistance of his episcopal friend. The King, hearing of the saint's approach, ordered the bolts to be drawn up, and all avenues to his fortress to be closed. Vain precautions! St. Canice passed over the lake, and entered the castle or fort; and, then, Colman Beg, struck with terror at a chariot of fire, which he saw moving towards the island, confessed his crime, delivered up the nun to her brother, and made a grant of that island to our saint. Some years after St. Canice travelling in Breffny rested at a wayside cross, at Bealach

¹ *Burgundian Life of St. Canice*, Ormonde edition, cap. 19.

Daithe, in the parish of Lurgan, county Cavan, and performed there the devotion of None. On inquiring whose cross this was, he was informed that it was there Colman Beg MacDiarmaid had fallen in battle. "I remember," said the saint, "that I promised that prince a prayer after his death;" and, turning to the cross, he prayed with fervour and with tears, until it was revealed to him that the soul of Colman was freed from suffering. In the 43rd and 44th chapters of *The Life of St. Canice*, there is an account of some incidents which occurred during a civil war in Ossory, in which Feredach, the son or grandson of a Munster usurper in that territory, was slain, *circiter* 582, by "the sons of Connla," *i. e.*, the true Ossorians. Colman, the son of this Feradach, notwithstanding this opposition, succeeded his father and ruled this territory till his death, in 601. He was the friend and patron of St. Canice, who settled permanently in Ossory during his reign, after the death probably of his former patron, Colman Beg, King of Meath, as the late Father Shearman remarks.¹

The reign of Colman MacFeradach was marked by the frequent rebellions of the discontented Ossorians. In one of these tumults, Colman was closely besieged in his fortress which was probably at Kells, which they gave to the flames. St. Canice, in his church at Aghaboe, hearing of this outrage, set out to the relief of his friend; and passing through Magh Roghni, the great centre plain of Kilkenny, *per medium regni*, he comes to "Dominick Moir Roighni," St. Patrick's parish, on the southern border of the town, to which subsequently his own name was annexed. The portly abbot of Domnach Moir, *Pinguis princeps*, whose sympathies were with the Ossorians, his own countrymen, came out from his church, and thus addressed the saint:—"I know that you are hastening to set free your friend, but unavailingly; as you shall only find his charred and mutilated corpse." St. Canice replies:—"The Son of the Virgin knows that what you imagine is not true, for before you return to your church, you shall find yourself a corpse."

¹ *Loca Patriciana*, No. XI.

After this interview the portly abbot returned in his chariot to his city, through another gate near at hand, the name of which was Darnleth. While the abbot was passing through the portal, the swinging gate or door fell on his head, and killed him on the spot.

In this legend we discover that Domnach Moir, St. Patrick's, Kilkenny, was at this period a place of some importance, containing an ecclesiastical establishment, surrounded with walls or "septa," with gates opening on the various roads diverging from the "civitas" or cashel, which was the nucleus of the town or villa which grew up about the Patrician church, the name of which was destined ere long to be merged, and all but lost, in a new designation. St. Canice rescued his friend Colman from the hand of his enemies; dashed through the serried lines of the assailants, under a shower of javelins and arrows, into the burning pile, rescued the King, and when he had brought him to a place of safety, he says: "Remain here awhile, for although you are alone to-day, you shall not be so to-morrow, for three men shall join you in this place, and afterwards three hundred shall come to you, and on the third day you shall be King over the whole of Ossory." After this occurred we may suppose what is described by anticipation in cap. 43, that Colman gave many towns (villas) in which St. Canice erected monasteries and churches. The chief ones amongst these were Cill Cainnech, now Kilkenny, and Aghaboe, or *Agerboum* in the Queen's County, the lands of which are well known as amongst the richest pastures in Ireland.

Aghaboe was during his lifetime the sanctuary most closely connected with the name of St. Canice. It was his treasure-house of graces, the favourite school in which through winter frost, through rain and storm, through summer sunshine, generation after generation of his spiritual children lived and prayed, and at last laid them down and died. Bright with dew, and enamelled with the sweetest flowers, the sunny dells, the stately trees, and rich pastures of Aghaboe formed a striking contrast to the desolate grandeur and more ascetic surroundings of Iona and its sister isles. Iona and Aghaboe, however, although so distant

and so dissimilar, were bound together by the golden link of a very intimate communion of saints. It is related that St. Columba and his monks were on one occasion overtaken by a violent tempest; every wave threatened instant death. The monks cried out to their abbot to pray to God for protection, but he replied that the holy abbot Canice, alone could save them in this danger. At the very moment St. Canice, in his monastery of Aghaboe, heard by revelation the voice of Columba speaking to his heart. Starting up from the repast of which he was partaking with his religious brethren at the hour of none, he rushed to the church, exclaiming: "This is no time for food, when Columba's ship is struggling with the waves." Having entered the oratory, he prayed for some time in silence with tears. The Lord heard his prayer, the tempest instantly ceased, and the sea became quite calm. St. Columba, seeing in spirit Canice hastening to the oratory, cried out, "Canice, I know that God hath heard thy prayer; it is well for us that thou hast run with one sandal to the altar"—for in his haste Canice had dropped one of his sandals. The prayers of both saints co-operated in this miracle, observes St. Adamnan; an example of the blessings which God grants through the communion of saints. So Columba said to his brethren, "God has bestowed on Canice the gift of calming every tempest." And St. Canice was invoked in the early Irish Church as the special patron of the faithful against the storms of the sea. An incident in the life of St. Canice proves the survival of Druidism in parts of Ireland up to his time. Another incident gives an account of a barbarous custom that appears to have been then very prevalent.

In the life of our saint,¹ it is related that when Canice came to the west of Leinster he found a great assemblage of people with Cormac, the son of Diarmaid, chief of Hy Bairrche. "Then a little boy, was led forth by the people to a cruel death called *Giallcherd*. It consisted in this—the spears of the military were fixed upright in the ground, and the hostage of those who violated their engagement was seized and flung upon them. The name of this

¹ Cap. 38.

cruel amusement, "the Gillacherd or foreign art," betrays its origin. When St. Canice perceived the horrible act which was about to be perpetrated, he prayed to have the boy set free. His entreaties were unheeded, and the innocent youth was pitched high into the air so as to fall back on the spears which were held erect to receive him. Through the prayers of St. Canice, the boy escaped the bristling points, and was saved. Terrified by his extreme danger his eyes became awry, and the name Leabdeare, or crooked eye, was affixed to his name Dolne—Dolne Leabdeare. He became a disciple of St. Canice, and afterwards founded a church, around which grew up a town, which was called Killdolne Leabdeare. About fifty years after the death of St. Canice, Cuimin of Connor commemorated it in an Irish verse, of which the following is a translation:—

"Canice of the mortifications loved
To be in a bleak woody desert,
Where there were none to attend on him
But only the wild deer."

As was the case with other Irish saints, there was a legend that the deer became so tame in the saint's presence that he could, whilst engaged in study, rest his book or manuscript on their antlers.

The favourite retreat of St. Canice was a solitary spot in a marshy bog called Lough-cree, situated between Roscrea and Borris-in-Ossory. There the saint erected a cell, and thither he loved to retire, in order to enjoy the sweets of silent meditation in the study of Sacred Scriptures. It became, in later times, a favourite resort for pilgrims, and it was popularly known as *Monahincha*, or "*Insula Viventium*." On this island Canice more than once passed the whole time of Lent, keeping a rigorous fast for forty days. There also he completed a beautiful copy of the Latin Gospels, adding a cantena or commentary which was highly prized throughout the Irish Church. This precious manuscript, called *Class-Canneche*, was still extant in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is, according to Cardinal Moran, one of those ancient copies of the Gospels now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin,

At Aghaboe it was that our venerable abbot spent the evening of his life in prayer and penance, in the government of his monastery, the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and in spiritual conferences with the holy personages by whom he was surrounded. St. Brendan of Birr, St. Mochaomog of Liath (now Leemokeevogue), near Thurles, the holy community of Saigher, and St. Fintan of Clonenagh (Mountrath), resided within easy distance of the last earthly domicile of St. Canice at Aghaboe. The society of such holy men must have been to St. Canice a source of the sweetest consolation, a foretaste of the delights of Paradise. And when, after the labours of spring, the heats of summer, and the toil of that luxuriant harvest, our saint was summoned in this season of autumn, at the advanced age of eighty-four, to meet the Master of the vineyard, it was from the hand of his loved friend and neighbour, the fervent Fintan of the "Ivy Meadow," that he received, for the last time, that Bread of Life which was to be to him the seed of a glorious immortality. And so, after imparting his blessing to the assembled brethren, and exhorting them to perseverance in prayer and penance, he passed to his heavenly reward at Aghaboe, on the 11th October, about the year 599.

MEMORIALS OF ST. CANICE

The relics of St. Canice, after having escaped the ravages of the Northmen, were enshrined in the church of the monastery of Aghaboe, in 1052. The shrine and relics of our saint were, however, ruthlessly burned, in 1346, by Diarmid MacGillapatrik, Prince of Ossory. Clyn's graphic notice of this outrage is as follows:—"Item, on Friday, the 13th of May, Diarmid MacGillapatrik, the one-eyed, ever noted for treachery and treasons, making light of perjury, and aided by O'Carroll, burned the town of Aghaboe; and venting his parricidal rage against the cemetery, the church and shrine of that most holy man, St. Canice, the abbot, consumed them, together with the bones and relics, by a most cruel fire."¹

In the National Museum, Kildare-street, is preserved a

small ancient bronze, representing in relief the figure of an ecclesiastic, bearing in his left hand a book, and in the right a short episcopal staff or *cambutta*. St. Canice was of small stature, and was dubbed by his enemies, *Parvulus baculatus*; that is, "the little man with the staff." "This antique bronze was found in the church-yard of Aghaboe; it would seem, from the rivet-holes remaining, to have been a portion of the ornamental work of an ancient shrine. Perhaps it is the sole remaining vestige which has survived 'the most cruel fire' of the one-eyed MacGillapatrik."² The bronze representation or figure is considered by Mr. Westwood, and other eminent palæographers to form one of the three earliest known of the short pastoral staff used by Irish prelates. The grandest surviving monument of our saint is St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, which has witnessed so many vicissitudes in Irish history, and whose own history, architecture and antiquities have been so splendidly illustrated by two liberal and learned Protestants, Messrs. Prim and Graves. The Catholic deanery and parochial church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and the beautiful church of Aghadoe, are also very creditable and well-kept temples, in which the old devotion of Ossory to her patron and protector is preserved and fostered, and his festival kept with great solemnity every year.

ST. CANICE'S WELL

The Archives of the Corporation of Kilkenny preserve among their most valuable deeds and charters the original grant made by Bishop Geoffrey, of Ossory, about the year 1244, to the Friars Preachers of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, of a supply of water from St. Canice's well for the use of the religious of the monastery. To the stipulation is added, that the circumference of the water-pipe at the well should not be larger than that of the bishop's ring; and at the end, where it enters the monastery, it should be only of such a size that it could be stopped by a man's little finger. A *facsimile* of this interesting concession has been printed by Gilbert in *The Irish National MSS.* series, vol. ii., n. lxxii.

² *Ilist. of St. Canice's Cathedral*, Prim & Graves, page 19.

It still retains a considerable portion of the bishop's seal. A ring of copper is attached to the seal to mark the size of the bishop's ring.

The Dominican Bishop Hugh who governed the diocese from 1258 to 1260, granted to his religious brethren of the Black Abbey, the custody of St. Canice's Holy Well, which was much frequented by pilgrims and by the citizens. Lynch writes that many persons in his day continued to visit it through piety or in search of health; and he also attests that many miraculous cures were every day effected by using this water and invoking the aid of St. Canice. There is also a beautiful tradition to the effect that any native of the "faire citie" by the Nore who drinks of the waters before leaving home for the foreign land will surely live to return to his native shore.

"For it is a tender story, and an old tradition hoary,
That in battle dread or gory, or upon the ocean's breast,
He will ne'er meet death, or never die by cold or burning
fever,
Till the old land, tho' he leaves her—he shall see—this is
the spell
Which unto the peasant's thinking, comes by simply drinking,
If his faith be all unshrinking, from St. Kenny's Holy Well."

The holy friendship between SS. Canice and Columba is proved and perpetuated in Ossory by the fact of having six old parishes placed under the patronage of St. Columbkille, Scanlan, King of Ossory, in gratitude to St. Columba, for having liberated him from the cruel treatment and imprisonment to which, as a hostage, he was subjected at the hands of Aedh MacAinmire, King of Ireland, fixed an impost of one sgrebal, that is, of three pence, on each hearth of his principality, from Bladma to the sea, which was to be paid every year to the community of St. Columba, at Durrow, in Osraidhe.

"My kin and tribes to thee shall pay
Tho' numberless they were as grass,
A sgrebal from each hearth that lies,
From Bladma's summit to the sea."¹

St. Columba, on his part, gave his blessing to Scanlan,

¹ *Ambra Columcille.*

his descendants and subjects, as we also read in the *Ambra* :—

“ My blessing rest on Osraidhe’s sons,
And on her daughter’s sage and bright ;
My blessing on her soil and sea,
For Osraidhe’s King obeys my word.”¹

N. MURPHY, P.P.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE OF LOUVAIN

WE have been asked by the Right Rev. Mgr. Mercier, of the University of Louvain, to submit to the gracious consideration of the Irish bishops the claims of the new “Philosophical Institute,” with the direction of which he has been charged by our Holy Father Leo XIII. He also expressed a desire that we should bring his institution, through the medium of the I. E. RECORD, under the notice of the clergy of Ireland. He is particularly anxious to secure for it some distinguished Irish students, whether clerical or lay ; and, with that object in view, he communicated to us a short account of the origin and aim of the important establishment over which he is placed.

In his marvellous zeal for the enlightenment and salvation of all classes and grades of society, Pope Leo XIII., in the year 1884, after previous consultation with the Belgian bishops and the authorities of the University of Louvain, sent for Mgr. Mercier, and explained to him the idea that he had conceived to meet the wants of the present time in the matter of philosophical teaching. The following was the substance of the Holy Father’s commission.

Scientists incline too often towards positivism, agnosticism, and similar errors, because they have no philosophical training. They confine themselves too exclusively to observation and experiment, without having gone through the necessary preliminaries, or bestowed sufficient thought

¹ O’Mahony’s *Keating*, p. 458.

Loca Patriciana, Rev. J. F. Shearman, No. XII.

on the intellectual process which leads unerringly to truth. They have so far discarded the technical terms of the science which was so laboriously and successfully built up in the days of St. Thomas, that they are now actually ignorant of their meaning. Of the solution of the whole body of philosophical problems given by Catholic teachers they know scarcely anything. They have a native distrust of professional Catholic scientists whom they regard merely as advocates or special pleaders for their creed, and whose interest in scientific progress must, as they imagine, necessarily be limited and directed by the results which from the outset are sought to be attained. This special difficulty of the present time has been admirably presented by Mgr. Mercier himself in an address which he delivered at the Catholic Congress in Mechlin in 1891. Speaking of the causes which have led to the present attitude of hostility on the part of non-Catholic scientists, he says :—

“ Une seconde cause, dont l'influence est plus générale, c'est cette *idée préconçue* que le savant catholique est un soldat au service de sa foi religieuse, et que la science ne peut être, entre ses mains, qu'une arme pour la défense de son *credo*. Il semble, aux yeux d'un grand nombre, que le savant catholique soit toujours sous le coup d'une excommunication qui le menace ou enlacé dans des dogmes qui le gênent, et que, pour rester fidèle à sa foi, il doive renoncer à l'amour désintéressé et à la culture libre de la science. De là la défiance qui l'accueille : une publication qui émane d'une institution catholique—les institutions protestantes sont jugées plus favorablement, sans doute parce qu'elles ont donné par leur révolte contre l'autorité religieuse des preuves d'indépendance —est traitée comme un plaidoyer *pro domo*, comme une thèse d'apologétique à laquelle on refuse a priori les honneurs d'un examen impartial et objectif.”

Catholic philosophers, on the other hand, deal generally with theological questions more than with scientific ones ; and so it happens that their language is misunderstood, or rather not heard at all, by men of science. When they come to treat of scientific questions they are too often on the defensive, too timid in their attacks, too seldom able to carry the warfare into the ranks of their enemies. They are too much given to collecting the results already obtained, and endeavouring to reconcile them with their

speculative convictions. Too few amongst them break new ground or add anything to the general stock of knowledge. And yet this is what the present generation prizes more than anything else. The synthetic and comprehensive view of science has given way, in a great measure, to minute observation and almost infinite analysis. Special rather than general laws engage the attention of the most earnest workers. Mgr. Mercier lays particular stress on this phase of the question :—

“ Pour beaucoup d’entre nous, la science consiste surtout à *apprendre*, à collectionner les résultats déjà acquis, et à tenter de les *synthétiser* sous la direction de la Foi ou de la métaphysique spiritualiste. La science contemporaine n’a plus ces visées comprehensives, ces allures synthétiques ; elle est avant tout une science d’observations partielles, minutieuses, une science *d’analyse*. Notre siècle a conçu une défiance extrême pour les conclusions générales et les constructions d’ensemble ; les nouveaux moyens d’investigation mis à sa disposition ont accru sans mesure son pouvoir de décomposer, et fait naître un désir intense de reprendre l’examen des choses par l’observation patiente de leurs éléments. Nous, au contraire, sous l’influence de notre éducation théologique qui part de principes immuables pour en déduire des conclusions, par respect pour une tradition dont nous avons l’honneur de garder le dépôt, par crainte peut-être de certaines surprises de l’inconnu ou de hardiesses téméraires, nous sommes restés avant tout des hommes *de synthèse*.

“ De cette différence de point de vue dans la façon de considérer la science, résulte cette conséquence, qui les catholiques se résignent trop facilement au rôle secondaire *d’adeptes* de la science et que trop peu parmi eux ont l’ambition de travailler, comme le disait si bien naguère notre vénéré Président dans son discours inaugural à l’Université, à ce que l’on a nommé *la science à faire* ; trop peu visent à rassembler et à façonner les matériaux qui doivent servir à former dans l’avenir la synthèse rajeunie de la science et de la philosophie chrétienne. Sans doute cette synthèse finale s’harmonisera avec les dogmes de notre Credo et avec les principes fondamentaux de la sagesse chrétienne, mais ne attendant que cette harmonie éclate dans tout son jour, les objections que l’incrédulité soulève la voilent aux yeux du grand nombre, et parce que les nôtres ne sont pas toujours là pour y opposer avec la compétence et l’autorité voulue la réponse directe et immédiate qu’elles réclament, le doute surgissent et les convictions s’ébranlent ; les matériaux sont groupés, rangés classés sans nous et trop souvent contre nous, et l’incrédulité accapare à son profit le prestige scientifique que ne devrait servir qu’à la propagation de la vérité.”

There is thus a general clashing of interests, which to a great extent arises more from misunderstanding and want of knowledge than from any other cause. The Holy Father's aim was to find out a remedy for this unfortunate situation, equally harmful to the Church and to science. He, therefore, entrusted Mgr. Mercier with the important charge of founding an institute where science and philosophy could be combined, and where the teachings of St. Thomas, and the advancement of the physical sciences could be promoted together. To this noble purpose the Holy Father contributed about six thousand pounds. Several generous Belgian Catholics supplemented this generous gift, and enabled Mgr. Mercier to erect a large and handsome pile of buildings, specially suited to the purpose for which they are destined. It contains a spacious library, a chemical laboratory, a hall for experimental psychology, and a fine suite of lecture-rooms, with all the most recent appliances ; besides apartments for the professors, and a suitable residence for the president.

A special staff of professors was prepared for that great work since 1885. There are now five of them specially attached to the institute. Each of them had to take his degree, first, in Thomistic philosophy ; and, secondly, in a special department of science, either in physical and mathematical sciences, or in chemistry, or in biology, or in social economy, or in historical and political sciences. In addition to them, the ordinary professors of the Catholic University are called in to fill the chairs still wanting in the Institute. All the professors must be members of the pre-existing faculties of the University. In that capacity¹ they share in the life and proceedings of the various faculties to which they belong ; but, at the same time, they form a body by themselves. They have a permanent dean in the person of the rector, who is *ex-officio* a member of the Rectorial Council. The institute is not merely an appendage of the University ; it is an integral part of it, and has been repeatedly so declared by the Holy Father. So great is the interest which the Pope takes in the success of the Institute,

¹ See *Tablet*, September 15th, page 403.

that he has himself composed two elegant Latin inscriptions, destined to be placed in some conspicuous part of the exterior of the building.

The students are either laymen or ecclesiastics. There is a special house of residence for ecclesiastical students. It is called the Seminary of Leo XIII. The whole course of studies lasts four years. The degrees which the Institute is empowered to confer are those of Bachelorship, Licentiate, and Doctorate in Philosophy; and after a fourth year, for some specially prominent students, the degree of "Agrége de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie."

The energy and determination with which Leo XIII. has followed up the cherished project, are worthy of the great character of the Pontiff. Already in 1880, he had written to the late Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin, exhorting him in conjunction with the other Belgian bishops, to erect a chair of Thomistic Philosophy in their great University:—

"Nihilominus tamen, perspecta conditione temporum, Nos omnino censemus, nunc esse acrius ac vigilantius elaborandum quam antea in imbuenda penitus juventute largioribus iisdemque sinceris atque incorruptis philosophiae fontibus. Eamque ob causam tibi, dilecte fili Noster, auctores, sumus, ut Nostra cum ceteris episcopis Belgicis consilia communices, rogataque singulorum sententia, perficias ut in Universitate studiorum Lovaniensi schola singularis, data opera, instituatur Thomae Aquinati auditoribus interpretando. Id tibi impense suademus tum propter communis salutis studium, tum maxime quia periculis permovemur, quibus Belgicam juventutem videmus oppositam. Etenim effrenata illa, quae in Belgio dominatur, cogitandi scribendique libertas pessimarum opinionum portenta peperit; atque in ipsis scholis publicis non pauci sunt, qui christianos spiritus in adolescentium animis extinguere, et initia causasque impietatis serere audacissime moliantur. Tuque, dilecte fili Noster, qui nefarias istas improborum hominum artes cominus intueris, facile intelligis, quam multi, doctrinis praesertim Naturalistarum et Materialistarum decepti, ad perniciem quotidie devocentur. Quare contra pravam opinionum auctores oportet in Universitate Lovaniensi munire adolescentes sanae philosophiae armis, et patribus familias christianis institutionem liberorum praestare ab omnibus erroribus tutam ac defensam. Cujus rei major etiam necessitas cernitur, si consideretur, posse complures ex Academiae subselliis ad honores aliquando assurgere, ad munera publica,

ad ipsa gubernacula civitate; neque eos posse meus tueri populorum salutem, et communitatis bono efficacius consulere, quam si ad rempublicam accesserint, insidente penitusque in animis insculpta christiana philosophia."

Following still further on the same lines, the Holy Father writes again, in 1888, to Cardinal Goosens, who had meantime become Primate of Belgium and Archbishop of Mechlin. Congratulating him and the other Belgian bishops on the success of their first effort, the Holy Father continues :—

"Verumtamem quemadmodum haec Nos bene posita initia delectant, sic reliqua sapienter et accurate perficienda censemus. Neque dubitamus quin ipse, Venerabilis Frater, ceterique Belgarum episcopi, Nobiscum plane consentiatis; siquidem novistis, Thomae Aquinatis doctrinam tum quidem fructus allaturum plene cumulateque perfectos, si largius atque enucleatius tractetur, cunctis ejus partibus, disputando, investigando, comprehensis: quae partes unum velut corpus efficiunt, sed unus omnes assequi complectique in docendo non potest.

"Itaque utile esse atque expedire magnopere videtur, ejus disciplinae augeri magisteria, ex quibus scilicet inter se ratione nexis atque ordine colligatus institutem doctrinae thomisticae tradendae seorsim existat. Magna haec esset eademque singularis laus, unde accessionem gloriae caperet non mediocre nobile istud optimorum studiorum Lovaniense domicilium. In quo sane saluberrimarum doctrinarum opes, velut in magno quodam emporio, sibi large paratas reperirent non solum clerici sed etiam laici, ita ut vis quaedam, salutis publicae conservatrix, ex Lovaniensi studiorum Universitate in civitatem totam manaret."

Again, in 1889, he follows with another letter to Cardinal Goosens, to congratulate him on having entrusted the direction of the new Institute to his beloved son, Desiré Mercier, in whom he expresses his fullest confidence :—

"Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Per alias litteras idibus julii anno superiore datas Nostram tibi sententiam explicavimus de philosophiae studiis in illustri Athenæo Lovaniensi amplificandis. Equidem necessum, nedum opportunum, esse ducimus ea recte et ordine dispertita sic tradi alumni, ut complexa quidquid veterum sapientia tulit et sedula recentiorum adjecit industria large copioseque eos sint paritura fructus, qui religioni pariter et civili societati proficiant. Qua vero ratione et ope ea res expediri commodius et perfici possit

perpensis etiam difficultatibus quas praecavere oportet, id tibi non ita pridem significari curavimus per dilectum filium Nostrum Cardinalem a publicis negotiis Administrum. Jamvero libenter comperimus te aliosque Belgarum Episcopos non modum propensam huic consilio Nostro, prout et ceteris ostendisse voluntatem, sed etiam rei gerendae initia fecisse. Novimus scilicet renuntiatum fuisse praesidem Instituti philosophiae superioris dilectum filium Desideratum Mercier, Urbanum Antistitem, virum multa doctrinae, philosophiae praesertim, laude praestantem ejusque provehendae studiosissimum, eidemque curam novi operis rite ordinandi apteque constituendi fuisse demandatam. Collatum huic munus ultro confirmamus auctoritate Nostra, ac certa spe nitimur fore ut ille favore ac praesidio fultus Belgarum Antistitem et Rectoribus Athenaei protinus et impigre salutari huic operi manus admoveat, nec ulli parcat vigiliae aut labori donec nobile incoeptum feliciter videat absolutum. Huic operi aggrediendo, pro tenui largiendi facultate, quae Nobis suppetit in hisce rerum angustiis, centum addiximus et quinquaginta millia argenteorum francicorum, prout jam tibi Nostro nomine nunciatum fuit. Quo munere testari voluimus cum favorem, pro magnum Lyceum Lovaniense prosequimur, tum patriam caritatem qua Belgarum populum, complectimur, cujus haeret adhuc animo Nostro suavissima nec ulla temporis vi delenda recordatio. Profecto haud ignoramus sumptibus longe amplioribus opus esse ad institutum perficiendum, quod Athenaei Lovaniensis dignitati congruat et scopum quo spectat prorsus attingat. Sed enim Nobis spem facit, opes collatum iri incepto pares, cum actiosa pietas sacrorum Antistitem, tum perspecta liberalitas fidelium Belgarum, quae luculenter enituit quoties religionis tutelae et incrementis vel publico bono prospiciendam fuit."

In 1892, he writes again, this time to the rector of the new establishment, Mgr. Mercier himself:—

"Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Tam gratum Nobis extitit quam quod gratissimum literarum tuarum officium. Nam quum Nobis nihil antiquius sit quam ut Clerus solida scientia non minus quam virtute floreat, non potest Nobis non placere vehementer consilium a te initum tuisque litteris explicatum. Siquidem perutile atque opportunissimum fore intelleximus Belgicis Dioecesibus seminarium philosophicum quod condere Lovanii moliris, Instituto Superiori philosophiae thomisticae adjungendum. Hoc autem novo praesidio cum stabili ejusdem Instituti firmitati commode prospectum erit, tum nobilis palaestra patefiet Belgicis juvenibus qui in sortem Domini vocati sunt, iis praesertim qui celeri praestantes ingenio optimam faciunt expectationem sui. Sacris enim disciplinis quibus eos imbui optortet cumulum adjicient pleniore scientiae philosophicae

instructu, quo destitui nequeunt qui contra religiones hostes tenentur catholicam veritatem tueri. Qua ex causa haud ambigimus quin, si egregium hoc inceptum perfeceris, cum de patria tua tum de religione optime sis meriturus, multamque adepturus laudem penes cordatos piosque viras, praesertim sacros Antistites qui in Belgica ditione sunt tuique beneficii maximos fructus percipient. Itaque te etiam atque etiam hortamur ut eo quo spectas progredi contendas alacriter et divitem in misericordia Deum rogamus et quaesumus ut operi tuo propitius faveat ac prosperos det successus. Hujus autem divinae benignitatis auspicem esse cupimus Apostolicam Benedictionem quam paternae caritatis testem tibi peramanter impertimus."

And finally, on the 7th of March of the present year, he writes to Cardinal Goossens, approving the whole work, and the constitutions and regulations of the new Institute, defining the position in the university of its rector and professors, and confirming for ever their privileges and independence as distinct from the other professors of the university:—

"Itaque volumus ut hoc *Institutum superius Philosophiae Thomisticae* adstructumque Seminarium sic habeatur, non tanquam Universitatis quiddam adscititium, sed immo uti pars quaedam ad eisdem pertinens integritatem, atque eum locum obtineat, quem et pontificia eius origo et gravitas ipsa disciplinae omnino exposcunt. Quapropter eius Praeses in Consilium rectorale, ut aiunt, admittatur, eisdem quibus Decani Facultatem iuribus, Magistri autem in aliquam adlegantur ex Facultatibus Universitatis, quae iam sunt, paribusque ac collegae iuribus et privilegiis eodemque Episcoporum patrocinio utantur. Quoniam vero huic Instituto peculiaris etiam est finis et suae quaedam propriae distinctaeque rationes, idcirco oportere ducimus ut Magistri suos etiam seorsum habeant coetus, Praeside moderante. Potestatem autem eisdem et ius facimus ut decernant de philosophiae gradibus, baccalaureatu, licentia, laurea, deque superiore gradu cooptationis in Scholam S. Thomae tribuendis, accedente tamen Rectoris Universitatis comprobatione. Quae omnia et singula iubemus rata et firma consistere, neve in posterum iniussu Nostro vel successorum, de iis quidquam immutari. Mandamus praeterea ut leges et praescripta tum Instituti tum a dñxi Seminarii opportune ad Nos, per sacrum Consilium studiis regundis, probanda, confirmanda deferantur. Minime autem dubitamus quin Athenaeum Lovaniense, cuius in nos atque in Apostolicam Sedem obsequium multa eaque egregia argumenta testantur, eidem Instituto, Nobis vel maxime accepto, opinione qua coepit et animo suffragari insistat. Utrâque vero ex parte observantia et

concordia, qua quidem stabiliendis educendisque rebus nihil est aptius, idemque publici boni studium ita certent optamus, ut in dies utrique decus augeatur et laborum honestissimorum ubertas. Sed in hoc ipso prudentiâ operaque vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, plurimum nos posse confidere iampridem perspectum certumque habemus: quos enim res ipsa perstudiosos nacta est ad exorandum fautores, eis profecto ad prospere consistendum patronis erit optimis laetatura. Hoc denique restat pientissimum votum, ut conditum Institutum Doctor ipse Angelicus, cuius nomine et tutela insigniter gaudet, benignâ in omne tempus gratia respiciat, sapientia et virtute sua illustret: quo præstite, communia consilia, opera, spes, perinde ecclesiae et civitati succedant feliciter."

At the end of a short communication addressed to us by Mgr. Mercier, in which the information contained above was embodied, the rector concludes:—"We hope the Irish people who were always in the first rank of the nations for their devotion to learning and to the Holy See, and among whom many able and promising young men are to be found, will be neither the least nor the last to share the advantages of the Institute of Louvain."

This short but friendly appeal we may leave to speak for itself. It is altogether unnecessary for us to lay stress on the special claims of Louvain to our grateful and sympathetic support. Its great university deserves well of Ireland and of the Catholic Church. Some of the most sacred memories of our ecclesiastical history are associated with its schools, and are part of its merit and its glory. In its historic halls many of our martyred prelates won the scholastic laurels which for them were but emblems and presages of the more lasting wreaths which they were to acquire at the cost of life and blood. It was there that the illustrious Dermot O'Hurley obtained his degrees in arts, and taught philosophy for five years. There also his brother in faith and martyrdom, Richard Creagh, is inscribed in the roll of graduates. There again, the Jesuit fathers and martyrs, Nicholas Comerford, William Bathe, and James Archer, obtained their degrees in philosophy and theology. To Louvain our persecuted friars were welcomed, when to remain at home in Ireland would have been certain death. The Irish Dominicans, Gregory and Henry Joyce, founded

there a convent of their order in 1656. The Irish Carmelites had taken refuge there long before, and had got charge of the College of St. Placidius. But it was there particularly that our Irish Franciscans found a refuge and a home, under the protection of Philip III. of Spain. The foundation-stone of their convent, dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, was laid in 1616, by Princes Albert and Isabella. In its humble cells, some of the best work that was ever done for Ireland was conceived and carried out. It was there that John Colgan compiled his invaluable *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*. It was there that Hugh Ward wrote his famous work, *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, and that his colleague and contemporary, Patrick Fleming, compiled his *Collectanea Sacra*, and taught philosophy and theology before setting out for Prague to receive his martyr's crown at the hands of the heretics of Saxony. It was from Louvain that Brother Michael O'Cleary started on the noble errand that resulted in *The Annals of the Four Masters*. Many of our exiled Irish gentry sought there the education and culture which was denied them in their native land, and in their undying fidelity to the Catholic faith, spent a considerable part of their rescued fortunes in establishing burses and scholarships for the education of their persecuted countrymen. More than one of the latter upheld the credit of Irish intellectual capacity in its halls of philosophy and theology, both as students and professors. In later times also many important favours have been conferred on the clergy of Ireland, and on Maynooth in particular by the authorities of Louvain and of the Belgian Government.

But independent of such considerations as these, the Institute of Louvain offers advantages and attractions worthy of attention. The Holy Father intended that the Institute should be not only for Belgium, but for the Catholic world; not national, but international.

Unfortunately, we have not in this country a single institution of higher Catholic education, in which either layman or cleric can get a complete all-round course of instruction in such branches as are taught in this

establishment; and especially have we none in which the atmosphere of university and Catholic life is breathed, that bracing atmosphere in which not alone the mind but the heart and character are formed under the thousand influences that go to make a thorough Catholic, conscious of his security in the possession of truth, and capable not only of defending the faith that is in him, but of proving and showing clearly that all other is groundless and deceptive. Whilst we still wait and struggle for our rights in this matter. Louvain proffers us the advantage of its institute and asks us, through Mgr. Mercier to submit its claims to the gracious consideration of bishops and clergy. We do so with pleasure, and we are sure that any request coming from such a quarter will receive the attention it deserves.

J. F. HOGAN,
Editor I. E. R.

Liturgical Notes

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY

It is now generally admitted that the Rosary owes its present form to the great St. Dominic, who, according to a pious and well-founded tradition, received it from our Blessed Lady herself. Always since the time of St. Dominic a popular devotion amongst the faithful, it has again and again received the fullest and most cordial approval from the successors of St. Peter, while the innumerable miracles, as well in the natural as in the supernatural order, which the faith of the people have attributed to this beautiful and powerful devotion, have likewise received recognition at the hands of many Supreme Pontiffs. But of all the Popes who have sat in the Chair of St. Peter from the days of St. Dominic until our own, no one has spoken more highly

of the Rosary, no one has been more indefatigable in season and out of season, in inculcating this devotion, and in endeavouring to impress on Catholics the advantages to be derived from practising it, than the present occupant of the Holy See, our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. In testimony of his zeal in this holy cause, we have but to appeal to the consecration by him of the month of October to the Rosary, and to the numerous Encyclicals on the Rosary which have emanated from his pen. With unflagging zeal and unfailing regularity he exhorts the faithful as each succeeding October comes round to renewed fervour in the practice of this devotion. The latest of these exhortations we publish in our present number; and it will be seen that this, like all that preceded it, breathes the tenderest devotion and the firmest confidence in her on whom Leo XIII. has conferred the title of “Queen of the Most Holy Rosary.”

We are well aware that our readers do not need any exhortation from us to induce them to practise the devotion of the Rosary, or if they be priests, to strenuously recommend the practice of it to those under their care. The love for this devotion, and the confidence in the intercession of our Blessed Lady, which have been ever entertained by Irish priests, and by the Irish people, would render it presumptuous on our part even to emphasize for their benefit the teaching of our Holy Father regarding the frequent and fervent recitation of the Rosary. There is one important point, however, in connection with the Rosary—or rather one important form of the devotion of the Rosary—on which without appearing to be presumptuous, we may speak, and on which we have long been waiting for an opportunity of speaking. We refer to the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, which for some unaccountable reason does not seem to be duly appreciated amongst us. There is hardly another—if there be even *one* other—confraternity in the Church so enriched with indulgences and other spiritual gifts as is this confraternity; and there is hardly another the erection and direction of which are more simple, or of which the exercises can be more conveniently practised, or the rules more easily observed by people in the world. With

the hope, therefore, of inducing priests to establish this confraternity, and thereby giving their people an opportunity of participating in the vast spiritual treasures which are thrown open to its members, we will state as briefly as may be what is necessary for the valid erection of the confraternity, and for valid membership of it.

According to some writers the Confraternity of the Rosary dates back to the time of St. Dominic himself, and in proof of this they state that one was founded at Valence in France in 1221, the year of the saint's death.¹ But it was not until the latter half of the fifteenth century that this confraternity became popular. During that period the children of St. Dominic took care to have a confraternity of the Rosary connected with each of the numerous churches of which they then had charge. Among the confraternities of this name then established the most famous was one established in Cologne in the year 1475, by Jacob Springer, Prior of the Dominican Convent in that city.² About this time too the Holy See began to bestow on this confraternity the privileges which succeeding Popes have so increased and extended. Sixtus IV., Leo X., Clement VII., Pius V., Sixtus V., and many other Popes, are mentioned as having conferred new favours and confirmed those already bestowed.³

1. A priest about to erect a confraternity of the Rosary must first of all procure from his bishop, *in writing*, permission to erect this particular confraternity. In the case of a new, or of a little-known confraternity, it is necessary for the priest to submit to the bishop for his approval the statutes of the confraternity; but the Confraternity of the Rosary is now so ancient, and so well known, that this formality may, we think, be dispensed with. The permission *in writing* to establish the confraternity must come from the bishop himself; the permission or approval of a vicar-general is not sufficient unless he has received special delegation for this purpose from the bishop. And in this case he must make mention in his letter granting the

¹ Beringer, *Indulgences*, &c., tom. ii, partie 2, sect. 4, p. 179.

² Esser, *Rosenkrantz*, p. 289.

³ Beringer, *loc. cit.*

required permission of the fact that he has received special delegation.¹ *Sede vacante* a vicar capitular cannot, unless in virtue of special powers granted by the Holy See, give valid permission for the erection of a confraternity.² Further on we will give a specimen of a convenient form in which request for the permission of the bishop to erect the confraternity may be couched.

2. Having received the *written* permission of the bishop the parish priest or rector of the church in connection with which the confraternity is to be established will forward a copy³ of the bishop's letter to the General of the Dominicans accompanied by a request that he will authorize the erection of the confraternity. For it must be borne in mind that, even in countries under the care of Propaganda, bishops have not power to so erect confraternities of the Rosary that they will enjoy the peculiar privileges of this confraternity. All other confraternities they have power to erect and to enrich with their special indulgences and privileges, but the Confraternity of the Rosary belongs so exclusively to the Order of St. Dominic, that no one but the General of the Order is empowered to impart to new erections the privileges peculiar to this confraternity.

D. O'LOAN.

(To be continued.)

¹ "An vicarii generales possint valide dare consensum pro erectionibus Confraternitatum SSmi. Rosarii ex speciali Episcopi delegatione? Resp. Affirmative, facta mentione specialis delegatione." (S. C. Ind., Aug. 2, 1888.)

² Beringer, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

³ The original, together with the diploma from the General of the Dominicans, must be placed in the archives of the church.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII., ON THE ROSARY

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHI-
EPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS, ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

DE ROSARIO MARIAE

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHI-
EPISCOPIS, ET EPISCOPIS, ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Jucunda semper expectatione erectaque spe Octobrem mensem conspiciamus redeuntem; qui, hortatione et praescripto Nostro dicatus Virgini Beatissimae, non paucos iam annos concordi per catholicas gentes et vivida ROSARII floret pietate. Quae nos ad hortandum moverit causa, non semel ediximus. Nam calamitosa Ecclesiae civitatumque tempora quum praesentissimum Dei auxilium omnino deposcerent, hoc nimirum Matre eius deprecatrice implorandum esse censuimus, eoque praecipue supplicandi ritu contendendum, cuius virtutem christianus populus numquam sibi non saluberrimam sensit. Idenimvero sensit et ipsa marialis Rosarii origine, tum in fide sancta a nefariis tutanda incursibus hominum haereticorum, tum in consentanea virtutum laude, quae per saeculum corrupti exempli relevanda erat et sustinenda: idque perenni sensit privatim et publice beneficiorum cursu, quorum memoria praeclaris etiam institutis et monumentis ubique est consecrata. Similiter in aetatem nostram, multiplice rerum discrimine laborantem, fructus inde salutares provenisse commemorando laetamur: attamen circumspicientes, Venerabiles Fratres, videtis ipsi causas adhuc insidere partimque ingravescere, quamobrem hoc item anno obsecrandae caelestis Reginae ardor, Nostra exhortatione, vestris in gregibus excitetur. Accedit quod, intima in Rosarii natura cogitationem defigentibus, quanto Nobis eius praestantia utilitatesque illustrius apparent, tanto acuitur desiderium et spes, posse adeo commendationem Nostram, ut

eiusdem sacratissimae precis religio, aucta in animis cognitione et amplificata consuetudine, optimis vigeat incrementis. Cuius rei gratia non ea quidem revocaturi sumus quae superioribus annis varia in eodem genere ratione libuit edisserere: illud potius ad considerandum docendumque occurrit, qua divini consilii excellentia fiat, ut, ope Rosarii, et impetrandi fiducia in animos precantium suavissime influat et materna in homines almae Virginis miseratio summa benignitate ad opitulandum respondeat.

Quod Mariae praesidium orando quaerimus, hoc sane, tamquam in fundamento, in munere nititur conciliandae nobis divinae gratiae, quo ipsa continenter fungitur apud Deum, dignitate et meritis acceptissima, longeque Caelitibus sanctis omnibus potentia antecellens. Hoc vero munus in nullo fortasse orandi modo tam patet expressum quam in Rosario; in quo partes quae fuerunt Virginis ad salutem hominum procurandam sic recurrunt, quasi praesenti effectui explicatae: id quod habet eximium pietatis emolumentum, sive sacris mysteriis ad contemplandum succedentibus, sive precibus ore pio iterandis. Principio coram sunt GAVDII mysteria. Filius enim Dei aeternus sese inclinat ad homines, homo factus; assentiente vero Maria et *concupiente de Spiritu sancto*. Tum Ioannes materno in utero *sanctificatur* charismate insigni, lectisque donis *ad vias Domini parandas* instruitur; haec tamen contingunt ex salutione Mariae, cognatam divino afflatu visentis. In lucem tandem editur Christus, *expectatio gentium*, ex Virgine editur; eiusque ad incunabula pastores et magi, primitiae fidei, pie festinantes, *Infantem inveniunt cum Maria Matre eius*. Qui deinde, ut semet hostiam Deo Patri ritu publico tradat, vult ipse in templum afferri; ministero autem Matris ibi *sistitur Domino*. Eadem, in arcana Pueri amissione, ipsum anxia sollicitudine quaeritat reperitque ingenti gaudio. Neque aliter loquuntur DOLORIS mysteria. In Gethesemani horto, ubi Iesus pavet maeretque ad mortem, et in praetorio, ubi flagris caeditur, spinea corona compungitur, supplicio, multatur, abest ea quidem Maria, talia vero iamdiu habet cognita et perspecta. Quum enim se Deo vel ancillam ad matris officium exhibuit vel totam cum Filio in templo devovit, utroque ex facto iam tum consors cum eo exitit laboriosae pro humano genere expiationis: ex quo etiam, in acerbissimis Filii angoribus et cruciamentis, maxime animo condoluisse dubitandum non est. Ceterum, praesente ipsa et spectante, divinum illud sacrificium erat conficiendum, cui victimam de se generosa aluerat; quod in

eisdem mysteriis postremum flebiliusque obversatur : *stabat iuxta Crucem Iesu Maria Mater eius*, quae tacta in nos caritate immensa ut susceperet filios, Filium ipsa suum ultro obtulit iustitiae divinae, cum eo commoriens corde, doloris gladio transfixa. In mysteriis denique GLORIAE quae consequuntur, idem magnae Virginis benignissimum munus confirmatur, re ipsa uberius. Gloriam Filii de morte triumphantis in tacita delibat laetitia : sedes autem superas repetentem materno affectu prosequitur ; at, caelo digna, detinetur in terris, exorientis Ecclesiae solatrix optima et magistra *quae profundissimam divinae sapientiae, ultra quam credit valeat, penetravit abyssum*.¹ Quoniam vero humanae redemptionis sacramentum non ante perfectum erit quam promissus a Christo Spiritus Sanctus advenerit, ipsam ideo in memori Cenaculo contemplamur, ubi simul cum Apostolis pro eisque postulans inenarrabili gemitu, eiusdem Paracliti amplitudinem maturat Ecclesiae, supremum Christi donum, thesaurum nullo empore defecturum. Sed cumulado perpetuoque munere causam nostram exoratura est, ad saeculum immortale progressa. Scilicet ex lacrimosa valle in civitatem sanctam Ierusalem evectam suspicimus, choris circumfusus angelicis : colimusque in Sanctorum gloria sublimem, quae stellanti diademae a Filio Deo aucta, apud ipsum sedet regina et domina universorum. Haec omnia, Venerabiles Fratres, in quibus *consilium Dei* proditur, *consilium sapientiae, consilium pietatis*,² simulque permagna in merita Virginis Matris, elucent, neminem quidem possunt non iucunde afficere, certa spe iniecta divinae clementiae et miserationis administra Maria consequendae.

Eodem spectat, apte concinens cum mysteriis, precatio vocalis. Antecedit, ut aequum est, dominica oratio ad Patrem caelestem : quo eximiis postulationibus invocato, a solio maiestatis eius vox supplex convertitur ad Mariam ; non alia nimirum nisi hac de qua dicimus conciliationis et deprecationis lege, a sancto Bernardino Senensi in hanc sententiam expressa : *Omnis gratia quae huic saeculo communicatur, triplicem habet processum. Nam a Deo in Christum, a Christo in Virginem, a Virgine in nos ordinatissime dispensatur*.³ Quibus veluti gradibus, diversae quidem inter se rationis, positae, in hoc extremo libentius quodammodo longiusque ex instituto Rosarii insistimus, salutatione angelica in decades continuata, quasi ut fidentius ad ceteros

¹ S. Bernardus, de XII. *praerogativ. B.M.V.* n. 3.

² S. Bernardus, *serm in Nativ. B.M.V.* n. 6.

³ *Serm. VI, in festis B.V.M. de Annunc. a. I. c. 2.*

gradus, id est per Christum ad Deum Patrem, nitamur. Sic vero eandem salutationem toties effundimus ad Mariam, ut manca et debilis precatio nostra necessaria fiducia sustentetur; eam flagitantes ut Deum pro nobis, nostro velut nomine, exoret. Nostris quippe vocibus magna apud illum et gratia et vis accesserit, si precibus Virginis commendentur: quam blanda ipsemet invitatione compellat: *Sonet vox tua in auribus meis; vox enim tua dulcis.*¹ Hanc ipsam ob rem toties redeunt praedicata a nobis quae sunt ei gloriosa nomina ad impetrandum. Eam salutamus. quae *gratiam apud Deum invenit*, singulariter ab illo *plenam gratiâ*, cuius copia ad universos proflueret; eam cui Dominus quanta maxima fieri possit conjunctione inhaeret, eam, *in mulieribus benedictam*, quae sola *maledictionem sustulit et benedictionem portavit*,¹ beatum ventris sui fructum, in quo *benedicentur omnes gentes*; eam demum *Matrem Dei* invocamus; ex qua dignitate excelsa quid non *pro nobis peccatoribus* certissime exposcat, quid non speremus in omni vita et in agone spiritus ultimo?

Huiusmodi precibus mysteriisque qui omni diligentia et fide vacaverit, fieri certe nequit ut non in admirationem rapiatur de divinis in magna Virgine consiliis ad communem gentium salutem; atque alacri gestiet fiducia sese in tutelam eius sinumque recipere, ea fere sancti Bernardi obtestatione: *Memorare, O piissima Virgo Maria, nunquam auditum a saeculo quemquam ad tua currentem praesidia, tua implorantem auxilia, tua petentem suffragia esse derelictum.*

Quae autem est Rosarii virtus ad suadendam orantibus impetrationis fiduciam, eadem pollet ad misericordiam nostri in animo Virginis commovendam. Illud est manifestum quam sibi laetabile accadat, videre nos et audire dum honestissimas petitiones pulcherrimasque laudes rite nectimus in coronam. Quod enim, ita comprecando, debitam Deo reddimus et optamus gloriam; quod nutum voluntatemque eius unice exquirimus perficiendam; quod eius extollimus bonitatem et munificentiam, appellantes Patrem ac munera praestantissima indigni rogantes: hisce mirifice delectatur Maria, vereque in pietate nostra *magnificat Dominum*. Digna siquidem precatione alloquimur Deum quum oratione dominica alloquimur. Ad ea vero quae in hac expetimus, tam per se recta et composita, tamque congruentia cum christiana fide, spe, caritate, addit pondus commendatio quaedam, Virgini

¹ *Cant. ii., 14.*² *St. Thomas, op. VIII., super salut. angel. n. 8.*

quam gratissima. Nam cum voce nostra vox ipsa consociari videtur Iesu Filii; qui eandem orandi formulam conceptis verbis tradidit auctor, praecepitque adhibendam: *Sic ergo vos orabitis*.¹ Nobis igitur talem praeceptionem, Rosarii ritu, observantibus propensiore illa voluntate, ne dubitemus, officium suum, solliciti amoris plenum, impendet; haec autem mystica precum sarta facili ipsa vultu accipiens, bene largo munere praemio donabit. In quo, ut liberalissimam bonitatem eius certius nobis polliceamur, non mediocris causa est in propria Rosarii ratione, ad recte orandum perapta. Multa quidem et varia, quae hominis est fragilitas, orantem avocare a Deo solent eiusque fidele propositum intervertere: at vero qui rem probe reputet, continuo perspiciet quantum in illo efficacitatis insit, quum ad intendendam mentem et socordiam animi excutiendam, tum ad salutarem de admissis dolorem excitandum educendumque spiritum in caelestia. Quippe ex duobus, ut percognitum est, constat Rosarium, distinctis inter se coniunctisque, meditatione mysteriorum et acta per vocem preatione. Quocirca hoc genus orandi peculiarem quamdam hominis attentionem desiderat: qua nimirum, non solum mentem ad Deum modo aliquo dirigat, verum in rebus considerandis contemplandisque ita versetur, ut etiam documenta capiat melioris vitae omnisque alimenta pietatis. Neque enim iisdem rebus maius quidquam aut admirabilius est, in quibus fidei christianae vertitur summa; quarum lumine ac virtute, veritas et iustitia et pax, novo in terris rerum ordine laetissimisque cum fructibus processerunt. Cum hoc illud cohaeret, quemadmodum eadem res gravissimae cultoribus Rosarii proponantur; eo videlicet modo qui ingeniis vel indoctorum accommodate conveniat. Est enim sic institutum, non quasi proponantur capita fidei doctrinaeque considerata, sed potius veluti usurpanda oculis facta et recolenda: quae iisdem fere atque acciderunt locis, temporibus, personis, oblata, eo magis tenet animos utiliusque permovent. Quod autem haec a tenoris vulgo sunt indita animis et impressa, ideo fit ut, singulis enunciatis mysteriis, quisquis vere est orandi studiosus, nulla prorsus imaginandi contentione, sed obvia cogitatione et affectu per ea discurrat, abundeque sibi imbibat, largiente Maria, rorem gratiae supernae. Alia est praeterea laus quae acceptiora apud ipsam ea sarta faciat et praemio digniora. Quum enim ternum mysteriorum ordinem piâ memoria replicamus, inde testator a nobis extat gratiae erga ipsam affectio voluntatis; ita nimirum profitentibus, nunquam non expleri beneficiorum

¹ Matth. vi. 9.

recordatione, quibus salutem ipsa nostram inexplebili est caritate complexa. Tantarum autem monumenta rerum frequenter in eius conspectu diligenterque celebrata, vix adumbrare cogitando possumus quali beatam ipsius animam usque novae laetitiae voluptate perfundant, et quos in ea sensus exsuscitent providentiae beneficentiaeque maternae. Atque adeo ex iisdem recordationibus consequitur, ut imploratio nostra vehementiorem quemdam ardorem concipiat et vim induat obsecrandi: sic plane, ut quot singulatim revolvuntur mysteria, totidem subeant obsecrationis argumenta, sane apud Virginem quantopere valitura. Nempe ad te confugimus, sancta Dei Parens: miseros Hevae filios ne despexeris! Te rogamus, Conciliatrix salutis nostrae aequae potens et clemens; te, per suavitatem gaudiorum ex Iesu Filio perceptam, per dolorum eius inexplicabilium communionem, per claritudinem eius gloriae in te redundantem, enixe obsecramus; eia nos, quamvis indignos, audi benigna et exaudi.

Vobis igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Rosarii marialis praestantiâ, duplici quoque ex parte quam laudavimus, considerata, eo fiat apertius cur non desinat cura Nostra idem inculcare, idem provehere. Caelestibus auxiliis, quod initio monuimus, maiorem quotidie in modum indiget saeculum, praesertim quum late sint multa quibus afflicteretur Ecclesia, iuri suo libertatique adversis; multa quae civitatibus christianis prosperitatem et pacem funditus labefactent. Iamvero ad ea demerenda auxilia spem Nos plurimam in Rosario habere sitam, rursus affirmateque profitemur. Utinam sanctae huic pietatis pristinus ubique honor, secundum vota, reddatur; haec in urbibus et villis, in familiis et officinis, apud primores et infimes, adametur et colatur, non secus ac preclara christianae professionis tessera, optimumque praesidium divinae propitiandae clementiae. Quod quidem in dies impensius urgeant omnes oportet, quando impiorum vesana perversitas nihil iam non urget machinando et audendo ut divini Numinis iram laceSSat iustaeque animadversionis trahat pondus in patriam. Inter ceteras enim causas, hoc dolent Nobiscum boni omnes, in sinu ipso gentium catholicarum nimium esse multos, qui contumeliis religioni quocumque modo illatis iaentur, ipsique, incredibili quadam licentia quilibet evulgandi, in id videantur incumbere ut sanctissimas eius res exploratamque de Virginis patrocinio fiduciam in contemptionem et ludibrium multitudinis vocent. Proximis hisce mensibus, ne Christi quidem IESV Servatoris personae augustissimae temperatum est. Quam rapere

in illicebras scenae, iam passim contaminatae flagitiis, minime puduit, eandemque referre propriâ deminutam naturae divinae maiestate; qua detracta, redemptionem ipsam humani generis tolli necesse est. Neque puduit velle a sempiterna infamia hominem eripere, sceleris reum perfidiaeque summa post hominum memoriam immanitate detestabilis, proditorem Christi. Ad haec, per Italiae urbes vel patrata vel patranda, indignatio universe commota est, acriter deplorantium sacerrimum ius religionis violatum, in eâque gente violatum, oppressum, quae de catholico nomine in primis meritoque gloriatur. Tum vigilis Episcoporum sollicitudo, perinde ac oportebat, uxarsit: qui expostulationes acquissimas ad eos detulerunt quibus sanctum esse debet patriae religionis tueri dignitatem, et greges suos non modo de gravitate periculi admonuerunt, sed etiam hortati sunt ut nefarium dedecus Auctori amantissimo salutis nostrae singularibus religionis officiis compensarent. Nobis certe omnino probata est bonorum alacritas, multis modis egregie declarata, valuitque ad leniendam aegritudinem ea de re intime acceptam. Per hanc vero alloquendi opportunitatem, supremi Nostri muneris vocem iam nequimus premere; atque cum eis ipsis Episcoporum et fidelium expostulationibus Nostras coniungimus quam gravissime. Eodemque apostolici pectoris studio quo sacrilegum facinus conquerimur et exsecramur, cohortationem ad christianas gentes, nominatim ad Italos, vehementer intendimus, ut religionem avitam, quae locupletissima hereditas est, inviolate custodiant, strenue vindicent, honeste pieque factis ne intermittant augere. Itaque, hac etiam de causa, continua octobri mense certet optamus singulorum et sodalitatum industria in honore habendo magnae Dei Matri, Adiutrici potenti christianae rei, Reginae caelesti gloriosissimae. Nos vero munera indulgentiae sacrae, in hoc ipso antea concessa, maxima voluntate confirmamus.

Deus autem, Venerabiles Fratres, qui nobis *talem Mediatrix benignissima miseratione providit*,¹ quique *otum nos habere voluit per Mariam*,² ejusdem suffragio et gratia, faveat communibus votis, cumulet spes; accedente benedictionis Apostolicae auspicio, quam vobis ipsis et vestro cuiusque Clero populoque peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VIII. Septembris anno MDCCCXCIV, Pontificatus Nostri decimo septimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ S. Bernardus, de XII. praerogativ. B. M. V. n. 2.

² Id, serm. in Nat B. M. V. n. 7.

Notices of Books

A RETREAT: consisting of Thirty-three Discourses with Meditations for the use of the Clergy, Religious, and others. By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London : Burns and Oates ; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THIS admirable work supplies a great and long-felt want, and deserves to be cordially received by the numerous readers for whom it is intended. Available either as a book of devotion, or as a text-book on the most effective method of conducting a Spiritual Retreat, it will prove a valuable accession to our parochial libraries, and will be found to contain many useful hints, not only for religious who have to go through the exercises of a Retreat without a conductor, but also for priests who undertake to preach Retreats to others. The discourses, as the author informs us in his preface, regard the human soul in its relations with its Creator and Redeemer, and, for the most part, do not depend for their application on obligations arising from vows or any particular state of life ; yet a perusal of the contents will show that the subjects treated are those usually put before ecclesiastics during their annual Retreat, and hence the work under review must possess especial attractions and advantages for them.

After an introductory chapter on the nature and purpose of a Spiritual Retreat, the author proceeds to examine the fundamental truths of the origin, the essence, and the immortality of the soul. Then follow three meditations on God and His relations with intellectual creatures, leading up naturally to a dissertation on grace, by which man becomes a partaker of the Divine Nature. Sin, in all its bearings, is next considered, and side by side with sin the great over-mastering thoughts by which its commission is rendered terrible—on death, judgment, and hell. Man, however, has not been left in his unregenerate state ; and the Incarnation is the Divine plan for raising him up, and uniting him once more to God. “ The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us ; ” and the mystery of His life and sufferings inculcates the lesson of modelling our conduct on His. Nor are efficient aids wanting to enable us to lead the life of the Spirit, and realize this union with God. The religious state, with its sacred obligations and manifold supernatural helps, is a means to perfection ; prayer, the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, apply

the merits of Christ to the soul, and strengthen it in the grace and friendship of God; fidelity to duty, the observance of charity, punctuality in certain pious practices and forms of devotion, ensure perseverance; and perseverance to the end is followed by heaven as a reward. These thoughts indicate sufficiently the clear and logical method in which the author handles his subject. A more complete and consecutive treatment of the mystery of salvation in all its parts, it would be impossible to conceive, or one more admirably suited for the object in view.

But fulness and consecutiveness are not the only merits of the work; Dr. Hedley's reputation as a writer and pulpit orator is sufficient guarantee that originality of thought and elegance of expression mark every page of these discourses. Many subjects, of which the plan of the book necessarily demanded a detailed treatment, are so threadbare from constant handling, that few writers are capable of lending them a novel interest; yet this Dr. Hedley succeeds in doing. Everywhere will be found a freshness of thought and polished beauty of expression that readily impress the memory and render meditation on the subject proposed comparatively easy. When to this is added that these compositions are characterized throughout by a simplicity and devotional feeling, not always met with unhappily even in modern books on piety, we have said enough to secure a large circulation for the work among the readers of the I. E. RECORD. J. J. C.

EPITOME SYNODORUM, SEU EXCERPTA PRACTICA EX DECRETIS
CONCILIORUM PROVINCIALIUM WESTMONASTERIENSIIUM.
London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THE title-page of this work does not tell us who is its author, nor does any preface or introduction tell us what is its object. It bears, however, the *Nihil Obstat* of a highly respectable "Censor," and the *Imprimatur* of the Bishop of Southwark. Hence we suppose that it contains a faithful reproduction, as far as it goes, of the decrees and recommendations of four Provincial Councils of Westminster, and that the extracts are considered useful and practical.

Those regulations which apply to Matrimony, to Extreme Unction, to the payment of Cathedratica, to missionary rectors, to seminaries, and priests' houses, will be found here in a convenient compendium; and as the work has episcopal authority, it may safely be recommended.

J. F. H.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

NOVEMBER, 1894

THE CENTENARY OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

THE custom of holding centennial festivities is at present confined to no particular country, and the advantages that invariably attend such celebrations more than justify the widespread interest attaching to them. They bring together distinguished men who otherwise could never meet, and present opportunities for an interchange of views on the experiences of a lifetime. Scholars of eminent abilities are invited to be present, and questions of national, or perhaps international importance find ample room for discussion. Solemn religious functions are performed, eloquent sermons preached, instructive lectures delivered, musical and literary entertainments presented to the guests; and all this exercises a spiritualizing and refining influence not easily available at any other time. But public interest, on such occasions, centres chiefly in the history, character, and aims of the institution whose hundredth anniversary is being celebrated. One of the great objects of such solemnities is to recall the past with its struggles, its losses, and its gains; to concentrate attention on the present, with a view to test the adequacy of existing resources for the demands made upon them; and to forecast the difficulties of the future, and provide the necessary means of encountering them with a prospect of success. Seeing these and similar advantages attend on the celebration of centennial festivals, we are not surprised that their advent is looked forward to

with interest, and their remembrance cherished with feelings of gratitude and pride.

If these statements be true of celebrations of this nature generally, there are special reasons why they should be realized on the occasion of the centenary of Maynooth College, which—as our readers are aware—is to be celebrated during the coming year. The *alumni* of Maynooth are not confined to any particular diocese, or any particular ecclesiastical province, but are to be met with in every parish in Ireland. Nay, having gone far beyond the limits of their native country, they are found bearing the responsibilities of the ministry in the busy cities of England and Scotland, in the great centres of American trade, in the wild and sparsely-populated districts of Australian pastoral life. But, be they at home or abroad, there is one feeling that never deserts them, that finds expression in eloquent words and generous actions whenever a fitting opportunity presents itself, namely, an unquenchable love for the *Alma Mater* under whose fostering care they grew from youth to manhood, and learned the sacred sciences by which they are made useful servants of the Church. When the past *alumni* of Maynooth, therefore, assemble on the occasion of the centenary within the College walls, they will embody interests co-extensive with the world, and their minds, sharpened by the experience of years, will bring to the discussion of home problems a clearness of perception and an impartiality of judgment which are certain to be productive of much salutary fruit. And, in return for the advantages they will be sure to impart, they will have no small pleasure to receive. The Maynooth of to-day is vastly different from the Maynooth of twenty or thirty years ago. The guests, on the occasion of the centenary, will behold grounds laid out with the studied taste of an Italian garden; corridors adorned with choice works of art; libraries well-stored with the richest treasures of, at least, theological learning; a chapel already approaching completion, in which beauty of form and chasteness of colouring combine to produce effects inspiring in their artistic grace, and subduing in their devotional influence on the soul. And, apart from the material

features of the institution, a series of religious and intellectual exercises will be provided, which will prove that there is no stagnation in the life of the College, but that in most departments of ecclesiastical culture she is well abreast of the age.

At the time at which Maynooth College was founded, Irish ecclesiastics, denied education in their own country, were obliged, often at the risk of their lives, to seek in the colleges and universities of the Continent the knowledge requisite for the discharge of the pastoral office. Following in the footsteps of the early missionary saints of Ireland, they travelled along the Rhine, and by the banks of the Douro and the Tiber, seeking the instruction they could not obtain at home. Everywhere they went they were hospitably received. Louvain, Salamanca, Valladolid, Paris, Rome, opened their gates to the wandering refugees; while their own countrymen, who had become prominent in the courts and armies of Europe, proved their benefactors, and founded burses for their education. When their ecclesiastical studies were completed abroad, these youthful volunteers in the service of a down-trodden Church turned homewards to become the victims of a system of espionage and persecution during the remainder of their lives, and oftentimes to submit to the ordeal of martyrdom itself. Such, however, was the only means left for the preservation of the ancient faith in the hearts of our people; and hence the heroic priesthood of Ireland joyfully embraced their sufferings for the sake of the Divine Master in whose sacred cause they laboured.

But with the last decade of the eighteenth century new ideas began to come into vogue. The great democratic upheaval on the Continent of Europe; the far-reaching consequences of the volunteer movement at home; the prevalence of what were commonly known as "French principles," and the danger of their being imported into this country by ecclesiastics educated abroad—these combined influences moved the Legislature of Ireland to regard Catholics with more consideration than hitherto, and forced them to the conclusion that toleration is preferable to repression, and unshackled education at home a wiser policy than a

foreign training which embodied elements that, as some thought, might easily prove subversive of the safety of the State. While on this account the Government of the country was not unwilling to listen to overtures on the question of establishing some system of ecclesiastical education in Ireland, the bishops of the country, on the other hand, were prepared to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for advancing the same project. During the progress of the Revolution in France, many ecclesiastical colleges on the Continent were closed; and, in consequence, there was extreme danger that recruits for missionary work in Ireland should soon disappear altogether. Both sides entertained apprehensions, well-founded or otherwise; and, hence, when Dr. Troy, acting on the part of his brethren of the hierarchy, approached the Earl of Westmoreland, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a memorial petitioning for permission to establish and endow a national college for the education of ecclesiastics, he was listened to with a willing ear. This was early in 1794. During the course of that year a lengthened correspondence passed between Burke and Grattan on the subject, and the great political philosopher threw himself into the project with all the well-known enthusiasm of his Celtic nature. Convinced of the necessity of dealing with the subject in the most cautious manner, he urged Dr. Hussey, then Chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London, and one of the most successful diplomatists of his time, to proceed to Dublin at once, and assist in forwarding the scheme. With the accession of Lord Fitzwilliam to power, in the spring of 1795, the prospect seemed to brighten, for in his mind the policy of Catholic education was only a portion of the larger measure of Catholic Emancipation. In this, however, the country was doomed to a bitter disappointment. Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled a few months subsequently to his accession to power, and with him disappeared for more than thirty years the hopes of securing an adequate measure of rights for the Catholics of Ireland. But the scheme of Catholic education remained.

Lord Camden assumed the reins of power on the

removal of Lord Fitzwilliam, and at once expressed his determination to push forward the project of establishing an ecclesiastical college for the education of the Irish priesthood. Accordingly, on the 24th of April following, the Irish Government introduced a bill designed to make provision "for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion." On the 13th of May the measure passed the House of Lords without change, and on the 5th of June following received the royal assent and became law. In virtue of this "Act of Incorporation," as it was called, a body of trustees was appointed, consisting of the then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the then Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, "six Roman Catholic laymen, the four Roman Catholic Archbishops, and seven other Roman Catholic ecclesiastics ;" and was empowered "to receive subscriptions and donations, and to purchase and acquire lands not exceeding the value of £1,000 per annum, and to erect and maintain the necessary buildings." The Act further granted to the trustees visitorial rights, the power to appoint a president and staff of professors, and allocated to them the sum of £8,000 annually towards the establishment and maintenance of the College. On the 25th of June following, Dr. Hussey, who had taken so active a part in the negotiations from the beginning, was appointed first president ; and on the 27th of the same month, a vice-president and six professors were nominated to the staff. Of these, Dr. Darrè and Dr. Delort, who were entrusted respectively with the chairs of mental and physical science, were distinguished French ecclesiastics ; while Dr. Power, Dr. Ahern, and Dr. Clancy, to whom were confided the vice-presidency and the departments of theology and Sacred Scripture, were Irish priests who had hitherto been engaged at educational work on the Continent. The other members of the staff were, without difficulty, secured at home.

One of the most important questions to be decided by the promoters of the new institution, was the selection of an appropriate site. Many prominent statesmen advocated a scheme according to which the Catholic establishment

should be affiliated to Trinity College, having its buildings and grounds, if not a portion of, at least, in proximity to the Elizabethan foundation. But Dr. Hussey, in his correspondence with Burke, and with other statesmen who were interested in the success of the Government policy, showed that such an arrangement could never work satisfactorily, since the training suitable for Catholic ecclesiastics, demanding as it does a stricter discipline, a closer application to study, a greater estrangement from the allurements of social life, than may be permissible to students intended for secular pursuits, or offices in other churches, should be entirely different from that which was deemed sufficient in the Dublin University. The question was finally discussed at a meeting of the trustees, held on the 28th of July, in the Lord Chancellor's chambers of the Irish House of Peers. We learn from one of Dr. Troy's letters, that a variety of proposals was before the meeting ; but, finally, an offer from the Duke of Leinster, who was desirous that the College should be established on his own estate, was accepted, and Maynooth was selected for the site.

From many points of view the choice was highly commendable. Though the surrounding country, as the etymology of the word sufficiently indicates, was low-lying and marshy, yet its remoteness from the turmoil of city life enhanced its value as a site for an ecclesiastical college. In addition to this, the place was sacred and historic ground. Above the lands offered to the trustees, arose in stately grandeur the venerable keep of the Geraldines, which in ages past had sustained many a protracted siege in defence of the liberties of Ireland ; while hard by stood the tower of what was once the abbey of St. Mary, in which the priests of an earlier age had been trained, and which had continued to flourish under the fostering care of the Fitzgeralds, until, like so many similar institutions, it was destroyed by Henry VIII., and its treasures confiscated to the crown. A place hallowed by so many venerable associations was not unsuited for an ecclesiastical college. Accordingly, the trustees, accepting the proposal of the Duke of Leinster, purchased a house and fifty-four acres of land on a lease of lives renewable for ever. The

property thus secured was subsequently enlarged by an additional twenty acres on the abolition of the lay college in 1817.

But the foundation of the College, important though the event is from an historical point of view, will not evoke such interesting reminiscences, on the occasion of the centenary, as other features in the life of the institution. When the gates of the establishment were thrown open to students, in the autumn of 1795, only fifty presented themselves for admission; and so wretched was the accommodation, that many of these were compelled to find lodging in the adjacent village. In the years 1797 and 1798, however, when the wings that at present flank the front central building were completed, the number rapidly increased; and in 1799 the College records show the respectable total of one hundred and fifty resident students on the rolls. As years advanced the financial condition of the College improved, and the number of occupants grew in proportion. In 1808 the English House of Commons voted the sum of £12,610, which included £5,000 for building purposes. From 1809 to 1813 the annual allowance was £8,972, and this was increased in the latter year to £9,673, Irish currency, the figure at which it remained until 1845. In this year Sir Robert Peel's Government passed an Act which increased the annual grant to £26,000, allowed £30,000 for the erection of new buildings, and empowered the trustees to acquire lands to the value of £3,000, in addition to those already belonging to the College, and to hold them, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain. In this condition the finances of the College remained until the year 1871.

Until 1845 there existed only two hundred free places, exclusive of private foundations; but, in virtue of Sir Robert Peel's Act, the number of free places was increased to five hundred, while two hundred and fifty students were to receive £20 a-year each, to defray the expenses incidental to College life. While these provisions continued, the establishment, as might naturally be expected, was in a most prosperous condition, the number of students being rarely less than that provided for by law. The disestablishment of

the Protestant Church in Ireland, and the consequent withdrawal of the annual Parliamentary grant from Maynooth, are matters of recent history, and therefore known to all our readers. At the time it was generally believed that the College could not continue to exist under the new conditions; but beyond a retrenchment of its monetary resources the institution was not unfavourably affected by the change. It will be gratifying to those who knew Maynooth in the noon-tide of its opulence to learn, that never, during the hundred years of its chequered history, was the number of students within its walls so large as at present. During the twenty-five years that the College enjoyed the increased Parliamentary grant, the students on the rolls rarely exceeded five hundred, whereas at present, in spite of slender resources and an enlarged expenditure, no fewer than six hundred and twenty names of students in actual residence stand recorded on the College books.

But increase of numbers may not be the most reliable criterion of the success of an ecclesiastical college; the world will demand achievements of a moral or an intellectual character in the men it has given to the Church. Has Maynooth such a record to show after its centenary of years? The visitors to the College during the approaching festivities will find a conclusive answer to this question in the portraits on the College walls. As yet only a moiety of the bishops that have been educated at Maynooth have had their portraits painted for presentation to the College, and yet the spacious cloisters are well-nigh completely furnished. Representatives of the hierarchy in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia are there, in addition to many who have ruled over the Church at home; and the monuments of zeal and piety that remain wherever they have laboured are the most eloquent testimony of their worth. Nor are evidences of valuable intellectual work achieved by the past *alumni* of Maynooth difficult to discover. It is expected that, when the centenary celebration comes round, the Collège library will be supplied, by way of donation or otherwise, with the works of all the authors who have been educated at Maynooth; and if this expectation be realized, as we

confidently hope it will be, the accession to this important portion of the establishment will be very considerable. Not to mention living writers—with whose works our readers are intimately acquainted—we need only refer to such names as Dr. M'Hale, Dr. Russell, Dr. Murray, and Dr. O'Reilly, to indicate the intellectual energy that has characterized the College since its foundation. When the history of the institution is given to the world—as it will be during the coming year—it will contain few chapters of deeper interest to the reading public than that which will treat of the success of its *alumni* in almost every department of letters.

But, at present, the question of paramount importance for the country is, whether the College, when she enters on her second century, will be furnished in every department with the necessary resources to enable her to meet the requirements of the age. Is her condition in every way satisfactory? Is her panoply on all sides war-proof? Is she in a position to equip her students, ere they enter the spiritual and intellectual arena of the twentieth century, with indispensable weapons for the defence of truth and the conquest of error? In replying to these questions we shall rigidly confine ourselves to the expression of views entertained by men who are thoroughly conversant with the condition of the College and the needs of our time.

In virtue of a resolution passed by the Episcopal Board in June last, a Committee for the arrangement and carrying out of the centenary celebrations was formed, consisting of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, the present and past members of the College staff, and two priests from each diocese in the country, to be nominated by their respective bishops. The first general meeting for the transaction of business was held in the College on the 4th of October, and, in the course of the deliberations, there was a free interchange of opinion among the delegates as to the most suitable manner of celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the College. Among the questions discussed was one which dealt with the desirability of establishing some permanent memorial of the approaching event, and a few of the

observations made on the occasion cannot fail to interest our readers. In our capacity of Secretary to the Committee we feel justified in giving them to the public.

It may be a matter of surprise to many, as it certainly was to not a few present at the meeting, to learn that the students of the College have at present to contribute from their own personal resources, towards the support of the institution, a sum varying from eight to ten thousand pounds a-year. Last year the exact sum was eight thousand four hundred, while this year it will not fall much short of ten thousand pounds. When it is remembered that vocations to the priesthood are confined for the most part to the sons of farmers and shopkeepers, it will be manifest that this state of things is far from satisfactory, and that from a financial point of view at least the condition of the College admits of considerable improvement.

Again, it cannot be denied that recent developments in many fields of science have completely changed the nature of the Church's warfare. The enemies to be encountered at present are no longer the Nestorians and the Eutychians, the Gnostics and the Iconoclasts. The vanguard of the Church's opposition at the present day, are men who either deny the historical authority and inspiration of Scripture, or base their objections on biological, or geological, or psychological phenomena; and how are these to be met, with their own weapons and on their own ground, except ample provision be made for the training of ecclesiastics on broader principles than those that underlie our existing educational system. On this account a general feeling prevailed among the delegates that Maynooth College, even with its present numerous staff, cannot be deemed fully equipped for the duties it has to discharge until some further provision be made to meet the developments of modern scientific thought.

Moreover, the magnificent College Chapel, in which it is hoped so to enshrine the faith and generosity of our people that the students ordained within its walls may go forth with minds full of sublime and spiritual ideas, yet remains unfinished; and the delegates were unanimous in the view that

no more suitable time could be appointed for its completion than the centenary year of the College.

But how are these vast projects to be accomplished? The steps to be ultimately taken will be determined in due course by those to whom such matters properly belong. Meantime we feel justified in laying before our readers the pressing wants of the institution, in the hope that our remarks may not be altogether without fruit. Knowledge is seldom inoperative, and in the present instance it ought to be productive of excellent results.

It has been decided that the College Centenary shall be celebrated on the 25th of June next and the two days immediately following. The celebration will be of a character partly social, partly intellectual, and partly religious. A distinguished prelate and past member of the College staff, is to be invited to preach the centenary sermon; another distinguished prelate, who is also a past member of the staff, has already promised a lecture on the history of the College; while his Eminence the Lord Cardinal, and his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, both of whom were for many years intimately associated with the institution, will take prominent parts in the function. There will be a Centenary Ode by the most distinguished Catholic poet of the age, and a series of scientific papers by the most illustrious representative of Catholic learning throughout the world. During those days the College will throw open its gates to as many of its past students as its spacious halls can accommodate as well as to prominent supporters of Catholic interests at home and abroad. The occasion will be one to enlist the warmest sympathy of our country; and when the Centenary festivities will have concluded, we trust that the achievements of Maynooth College and the pre-eminence she has won as the *Alma Mater* of the Irish priesthood may be the theme of every tongue.

J. J. CLANCY,

Hon. Sec. to Centenary Committee.

FATHER SEBASTIAN KNEIPP AND HIS WATER CURE

A VISIT TO WÖRISHOFEN IN THE SUMMER OF 1894

I. FIRST IMPRESSIONS

WÖRISHOFEN, a little village in Bavaria, about thirty miles south-west of Augsburg, has become famous, during the last few years, for its parish priest, Father Sebastian Kneipp, and his Water Cure. In early life, when pursuing his studies at Munich, Pfarrer Kneipp got into a state of very feeble health, and was, in fact, given over by the doctors, as a victim of consumption. While in this condition, he came across a little book on the cold water cure then in vogue. He tried the system on himself, and in the course of two years, he became a strong and healthy man. He naturally recommended to others the treatment to which he owed his own life ; his name spread abroad ; people came from a distance to consult him ; and thus in the course of a long life, he was led to develop gradually a system of cold water treatment, which is quite unique in its character, and which has made his name widely known throughout the world.

The number of patients who now come to Wörishofen, to consult Pfarrer Kneipp, and to follow the cure under his directions, amounts to somewhere about thirteen thousand a year. The great majority of these patients are Germans and Austrians : but many come, too, from other parts of Europe—from France, England, Italy, Poland,—and even from America, Australia, and the East. They remain here for various periods, from three or four weeks, to eighteen or twenty months. The great majority go away improved in health, and a large number altogether cured ; many come back again, to confirm the good effects they have already derived from the treatment ; and a general belief prevails amongst them that Pfarrer Kneipp has discovered a new and valuable secret in the art of healing.

Nothing is more surprising, at first sight, than the great variety of maladies which are submitted to the treat-

ment of Pfarrer Kneipp. The most common are nervous affections, rheumatism, gout, and indigestion; but there are also many cases of asthma, bronchitis, consumption, and the various forms of catarrh. Fat people come here to get thin, and thin people come to get fat; the lame, the blind, and the deaf, are seen on every side; and not a few cases meet the eye, of the horrible disfiguration known under the name of lupus. Wörishofen is, in fact, a veritable museum of diseases; and on that account alone, if on no other, it must be exceedingly interesting to a medical man. It is worthy of note, also, that a large number of the cases that come to Wörishofen, have been already treated by eminent doctors in the different capitals of Europe, and have been given up by them as incurable.

In the early days of the "Cure," the treatment was administered by the worthy Pfarrer himself, in the kitchen of the parochial house. But as the influx of visitors increased, it became necessary to train in other hands, and to build regular bath houses. These bath houses are of the simplest construction; and as each patient is only a minute or two under treatment, three or four skilled men can administer the system to several hundred persons in the course of a few hours.

Of late years, also, the Pfarrer has found it necessary to associate with himself three professional doctors, to assist him in his work. By this means, every patient is placed in a position to have competent professional assistance; while, at the same time, he has the special advice and general superintendence of the Pfarrer himself. The method of procedure is as follows.

Each visitor, on his arrival, goes to the Kneipp-bureau in the Kurhaus, and there a little book is given to him, in which his name is inscribed, and which serves as a passport to the whole system of treatment. In this book he finds printed information telling him how he is to proceed during the time of his cure. He is advised to present himself, in the first instance, to one of the doctors associated with Pfarrer Kneipp, and to explain his malady to him as he would to an ordinary doctor. The

doctor examines him carefully, and writes down, on a blank page of the little book, a short statement of his case. The visitor next appears before the Pfarrer in his consulting room, and hands in his book. The doctor whom he had previously consulted is present, and briefly explains the case from a medical point of view. The Pfarrer asks such questions as he may deem needful, and then prescribes aloud the particular forms of cold water treatment to be adopted. This prescription is written down, by his secretary, on another blank page of the patient's book; the book is then handed back to the patient, and the interview is over.

So complete is this organisation, and so perfect the order established, that a consultation with the Pfarrer is often over in less than a minute, and seldom exceeds two or three minutes. All the various forms in which cold water is applied are represented by letters of the alphabet; and thus a few mystic letters, written down by the secretary in the patient's book, will often contain a complete prescription for a fortnight to come. The reader will understand the necessity for this great economy of time, when he remembers that, in the summer months, the Pfarrer often sees and prescribes for more than three hundred patients a day.

A word on the cost of this singular and interesting treatment. The patient may have a private consultation with the Pfarrer, or he may go with the crowd: he may present himself, so to say, in camera, or in open court. In a private consultation, the only persons present will be the Pfarrer, his secretary, the assistant doctor, generally three or four other doctors who wish to study the system, and perhaps a couple of priests who are admitted by special favour. For such a consultation, the fee is three shillings, which the visitor pays when he gets his passport at the bureau. He also pays three shillings on each subsequent consultation, that is to say, about once a fortnight during his stay. If, however, he is content to go with the crowd, and to present himself in open court, he pays two shillings on the occasion of getting his passport, and no other fee whatever during the time of his treatment. Thus, those persons who cannot afford to pay, are received practically

free of charge; and those who wish for the luxury of a private consultation, can have it on very easy terms.

All patients are advised to consult a professional doctor, but no one is obliged to do it; each one, on getting his book and paying the preliminary fee, is at liberty to present himself at once to the Pfarrer. Those who consult a doctor pay two shillings for each visit. The baths themselves cost three halfpence or twopence halfpenny each, according to the accommodation, attendance included.

II. THE TREATMENT

The leading idea of Pfarrer Kneipp is not so much to attack each particular disease by a special remedy, but rather to strengthen the body generally, and thus enable it to combat disease by its own natural powers. His favourite principle is, that if the blood is healthy, and the circulation good, the whole body will be healthy, and fit to withstand and to overcome disease. On this basis his system is built up. He insists on the necessity of a simple wholesome diet, to supply the needful nourishment to the blood; and he regards the use of cold water skilfully applied, as the best means to promote a good circulation, and to carry away the noxious humours of the body.

The most familiar form in which cold water is applied, in the Kneipp system, is the jet, or Guss, as it is called at Wörishofen. In this form, the water is allowed to flow over the body, from an india-rubber tube about an inch in diameter, pretty much as it flows from the spout of a watering can when the rose is removed. Indeed, a common watering can was the instrument used for many years, in the administration of the system, and is still regarded as the most typical symbol of the Pfarrer's cure. There are many kinds of Guss. Thus, for example, there is the Knie-Guss, in which the water is made to flow from the knee downwards; the Schenkel-Guss, in which the water flows from the waist downwards; the Ober-Guss in which the water flows from the waist upwards, the body being bent forward so as to bring the shoulders down towards the ground; the Rücken-Guss, in which the water is poured

over the shoulders and back, the patient standing upright; the Voll-Guss, in which the water is poured over the whole body; and so forth.

In all these cases, the water is discharged in a gentle stream, without pressure. But there is one form of Guss, called the Blitz-Guss, or Lightning jet, in which the water is projected, under great pressure, from a brass nozzle, about half an inch in diameter, and is made to play over the whole body with considerable force. This is the strongest of all forms of Guss, and is only given to persons who are in fairly good health, and who have been, so to say, trained up to it by some days' experience of the milder forms. The first effect of the Blitz-Guss is somewhat startling, and a little courage is required to bear the shock and the cold; but when the reaction sets in, immediately after, the refreshing and invigorating effect is at one surprising and delightful.

The various kinds of Guss are combined together in many different ways, according to the condition of the patient and the nature of his disease; and the combinations prescribed, in each case, are varied from time to time. But, however they may be combined, the main object of all is the same: to stimulate the nervous system, to promote a healthy circulation of the blood, and to carry off the evil humours of the body.

In the administration of the Guss, the following are the most important points to be attended to. (1) The water should be as cold as possible; in winter it would be desirable, says the Pfarrer, to mix a little snow with it. (2) Before taking the Guss, the body should be thoroughly warm; the warmer the body beforehand, the greater is the advantage derived from the bath. (3) The Guss should last only a very short time, varying according to circumstances, and hardly ever exceeding a minute. The chief exceptions to this rule are the Voll-Guss, which lasts a minute and a half, and the Blitz-Guss, which lasts three to four minutes. (4) The body is not to be dried after the Guss; but the patient is to dress as quickly as possible, and then walk about until he is dry and warm.

Besides the jet or Guss of cold water, Pfarrer Kneipp uses an ordinary bath, in which the body is immersed in cold water to a little above the waist. This he calls a Half Bath, and it is one of his **most** favourite remedies. He also employs, in special cases, cold water bandages, which are of various kinds. Sometimes they are purely local; sometimes they are applied to half the body; sometimes to the whole. Each of these bandages has its own particular function to fulfil: to open the pores of skin, to promote perspiration, to subdue feverish symptom, or to carry away noxious humours. In some cases, the water is mixed with salt, or vinegar; in others, the bandages are steeped in a decoction of hay flowers (Heublumen), or of the cones and fresh growth of pines and firs, or of some other vegetable product.

Medicine, in the ordinary sense of the word, has little or no share in the system of Pfarrer Kneipp. But he has an extraordinary knowledge of the herbs and plants that grow in the neighbourhood of Wörishofen; and he has invented various preparations and decoctions of these, and has proved their efficacy by long experience. These preparations he recommends, under certain circumstances, to his patients; but the greater part of his immense following never hear of medicine, even in this simple form.

Walking barefoot is one of the most singular and picturesque adjuncts of the Kneipp cure. The Pfarrer considers this practice as eminently fitted to make the body hardy, and to fortify it against disease; besides being a specific remedy for cold feet, headache, sore throat, loss of voice, and many other common ailments. It is, indeed, the constant refrain of all his counsels. He recommends it to young and old, healthy and infirm. To the young he says, Walk barefoot, to make your limbs hardy which have to carry you all through life, from the cradle to the grave; to the old, Walk barefoot, to strengthen your limbs which have been enfeebled by the effeminate habits of the age; to the healthy, Walk barefoot, that you may keep the health you have got; to the infirm, Walk barefoot, that you may recover the health you have lost.

Accordingly a large part of the people of Wörishofen, including both the native population and the visitors, go about their ordinary business absolutely barefooted. A larger proportion, however, while discarding the use of stockings, wear sandals to protect their feet from the stony roads. Only a comparatively small number, who have failed to catch the spirit of the place, make themselves remarkable by going about in the boots and stockings of ordinary civilized life.

This practice of walking barefoot, or wearing only sandals, so far from being found inconvenient, becomes, after a little experience, a positive luxury. The feet, released from their close prison house, enjoy an unwonted freedom; they revel in the bright sunshine and the fresh air; they cast off, by a natural process, all corns and other evil excrescences begotten in the days of their thralldom; and, when the time comes for leaving Wörishofen, they return with reluctance to the irksome restraint of shoes and stockings.

But the Pfarrer is not content with getting his patients to walk barefoot; he makes them, for a certain time every day, walk barefoot in wet grass, or in a shallow river, or in fresh fallen snow. This practice he prescribes to all his patients without distinction; and there is hardly any feature in his system of which he speaks with greater confidence. He is especially emphatic on the efficacy of walking barefoot in snow. A girl came to him one day, he tells us, who had lost her voice through illness. It was in December, and the ground was covered with fresh fallen snow. He told her to take off her shoes and stockings, and go out into the garden, and walk about for a little while. She looked at him with astonishment, but did as she was told. In a few minutes, he heard her calling out to him from the garden, to say that her voice had come back.

III. FOOD AND CLOTHING

As regards food, Pfarrer Kneipp insists on a simple, wholesome, nourishing diet. He allows the use of meat, but favours the adoption of a larger proportion of vegetable food than is common in northern Europe. He thinks that

no one should exceed three meals a day, except those who are engaged at hard labour in the open field; and he is strenuously opposed to the practice of eating and drinking between meals. Wine, spirits, spices, and all kinds of stimulants, he absolutely condemns. He is eloquent in his denunciation of tea and coffee, to which he ascribes, in large measure, the nervous diseases so common in the present generation. According to him, tea and coffee are not only directly injurious to the nerves, but they prevent the proper digestion of other food; thus checking the process of nutrition, and leaving the body a prey to all forms of disease.

To meet the general desire that seems to exist for some such drink as tea or coffee, Pfarrer Kneipp has invented, with the aid of a chemist from Munich, a beverage, which goes under the name of Malz-Kaffee, and which is in general use at Wörishofen. It is made from barley, the grains being first roasted and then ground to powder. It has a singular resemblance to coffee, both in appearance and in flavour; and though it certainly wants the fine aroma of the best coffee one gets in France, it is rather more agreeable than the coffee usually served in England and Ireland.

There is also a special kind of bread made at Wörishofen, under the directions of the Pfarrer, and known as Kneipp'sches Brod. It is made of flour obtained from the mixture of several kinds of grain, chiefly wheat and rye, without any separation of the bran, which according to the Pfarrer possesses great nutritive value. In colour it is a very dark brown, and for eating it is tough; but it is not disagreeable when you get accustomed to it. With this bread a kind of soup is made which is called by the Pfarrer Kraft-Suppe, or Strengthening Soup, and which is taken with apparent relish by many of his patients.

In the matter of clothing, Pfarrer Kneipp teaches that while the dress we wear should be as warm as the climate requires, it should be always loosely made, so as to allow free access of air to all parts of the body. This is necessary in order to promote the easy escape of vapours from the surface of the body, and the free admission of oxygen to the pores of the skin,—a process which he calls breathing

through the skin, and which he regards as hardly of less importance to health than the process of breathing through the lungs.

He allows the use of woollen clothes, but he maintains, in opposition to the views of many doctors, that they should never be allowed to come into contact with the skin. Flannel vests and drawers, so much recommended of late, have, he says, a weakening effect on the body, and leave it an easy victim, sooner or later, to rheumatism and such like diseases. Instead of flannel, he advises the use of strong coarse linen, which by its gentle friction stimulates the action of the skin, and by its porous nature allows the free escape of the vapours of the body. Linen, too, is of its nature, he says, cleaner than flannel, and is more easily kept clean by washing. The effect of this teaching is seen in the shops of Wörishofen, and of many other German towns, where Kneipp linen and Kneipp shirts, of gray colour, and of coarse texture, are largely exposed for sale, and look very tempting in the hot summer days.

IV. CURES EFFECTED

The reader will probably be interested to learn something about the cures effected at Wörishofen. No regular account of these cures has hitherto been preserved, but, quite recently, an office has been opened in which it is proposed to keep a carefully compiled record of the diseases treated and the cures effected. For this purpose, printed forms are furnished on application to all patients, who are invited to enter, under suitable headings, a full account of their case; setting forth the nature of the disease from which they have been suffering, the length of time for which it has lasted, the period of their stay at Wörishofen, the treatment there adopted, the result of the treatment, and other circumstances of interest or importance from a medical point of view. Above all, they are requested to obtain, from a professional medical man, a written statement of their condition previous to the treatment at Wörishofen, and to enter this statement under a special heading provided for the purpose.

Thus, after some years, the medical profession will be

placed in a position to estimate, from authentic records, the success or failure of the Kneipp Cure. For the present, we must be content with such an account of the cures effected as may be gleaned from the published works and discourses of Pfarrer Kneipp himself. Such an account cannot, of course, carry with it the same weight as the regular systematic record which it is now proposed to keep. But it represents, at least, the honest convictions of one who, though he cannot be regarded as an impartial judge, has had for many years the fullest opportunity of verifying the facts to which he bears witness. With this preliminary remark, I now proceed to give a few instances of cures, taken chiefly from a work entitled *So Sollt ihr Leben, So Shall you Live*, which was first published by Pfarrer Kneipp in the year 1889, and of which the twentieth edition, now before me, was issued during the present year.

A man came to him, he says, about thirty-six years of age, and explained his case as follows: "My arms and feet are full of rheumatism. I am often quite unable to walk; sometimes I have to stay in bed for weeks together. I have generally a great difficulty in breathing, often so great that I feel as if I were going to be suffocated. I lead a simple life, and drink but little. My professional calling keeps me chained to an office desk."

The treatment in this case was very simple. Every morning a Schenkel-Guss, and two hours later, an Ober-Guss; in the afternoon, a Rücken-Guss; and in the evening, walking barefoot in cold water. At the end of fourteen days, the patient was perfectly well. The rapidity of his cure, says the Pfarrer, was due to the fact that his bodily organs were all sound, and his disease was only the result of his sedentary mode of life. He was naturally strong, and able to bear a strong treatment. Had he been weaker, a milder treatment would have been necessary, and the cure would have been slower.¹

A woman, forty-two years old, said to him:—"For the past two years, I have been suffering from catarrh and

¹ *So Sollt ihr Leben*, pp. 297-8.

rheumatism. Sometimes the catarrh gets better, but if I go near a window, it comes back. If I leave my sitting room, and go about the house, I get pains in all my joints, and am forced to sit down and rest. By direction of my physician, I have wrapped myself up in wool, sometimes three or four folds thick; since that time, the rheumatism has spread over my whole body; before that, it was only in the shoulders. I have no respite from my pains, day or night." The poor woman, adds the Pfarrer, looked indeed the picture of suffering.

In this case, the chief object of the treatment was to make the body strong and hardy, and to produce, at the same time, a gentle and uniform perspiration. The remedy prescribed was cold water washing, and various forms of Guss, changed from time to time. After eight weeks of this treatment, the patient was well, and able to return to her ordinary duties.¹

A lady had a swollen foot, and the swelling extended upwards to the knee. For a year and a half she had suffered intense pain. She had tried many remedies, and gone to several watering places; but her condition had steadily got worse, and she was now obliged to use a crutch. Moreover, she began to feel pains of the same kind in the other foot. The doctors considered she was suffering both from rheumatism and gout. This lady was put under a treatment, which included bandages of hay flowers (*Heublumen Wickel*) various forms of Guss, and cold baths; and in four weeks she was restored to health.²

A master-smith, thirty-one years of age, came to the Pfarrer, and reported his case thus:—"I have pains in all my body, and the whole night long I cannot sleep. Sometimes my knees are swollen, sometimes my shoulders. I have rarely any appetite. For four years I have suffered in this way, and my pains have so increased that I am unable to work, and can do nothing to support my family. The doctors have prescribed many things, but I have got no relief."

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 295-6.

² *Ib.*, pp. 293-4.

Here the treatment was chiefly Ober-Guss and Schenkel-Guss, with a Half Bath for half a minute, every day. After a week, the treatment was made stronger, and the duration of the Half Bath was somewhat extended. At the end of fourteen days, the swellings had disappeared, the rheumatic pains were gone, appetite and sleep had come back, and the smith was able to return to his work.¹

The treatment seems to be not less efficacious in diseases of the lungs, and in consumption, than it is in cases of rheumatism and gout. A man of thirty-two years of age told his story thus:—"I had severe inflammation of the lungs, two years ago. Since that time I have never been without a cough, I have continual catarrh, and often great pains in the right side. The doctor said it was Emphysema of the lungs, and that it would go away of itself, with time. But instead of that, it has got worse; my strength is failing; and if I attempt even light work, I get into a profuse perspiration. The medicines which I have taken have produced no effect." After six weeks of treatment at Wörishofen, this patient was perfectly restored to health.²

A young girl, nineteen years of age, explained her case as follows. "Three sisters of mine have died of consumption, and I fear that I too am destined to be a victim to it. I have no cough, but I am often so weak that I can hardly do any work. My spirits are very low; I have rarely any appetite; and I can bear no strong food." The treatment, in this case, which included walking daily in cold water, lasted for three weeks. At the end of that time, the condition of the girl was altogether changed. She had recovered her appetite and her strength; she had a pleasure in life, and a desire for work; and all suspicion of consumption had disappeared.³

Here are two instances of the cure of asthma, of which Pfarrer Kneipp gave an account in a lecture at which I was present. A priest came here, he said, who had been suffering from asthma for twelve years. Scarcely a day passed that he had not an acute attack. So great was his difficulty of

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 241-2.

² *Ib.*, pp. 265-6

³ *Ib.*, pp. 262-3.

breathing, in some of these attacks, that it seemed as if each breath he drew would be his last. He remained here three months under treatment, and went away perfectly cured; and he has never since had a return of the disease. Another patient, also a priest, had frequent attacks of asthma; but the disease, in his case, was of recent standing. He went away cured, at the end of four weeks.

Very numerous are the cases, recorded by Pfarrer Kneipp, of the efficacy of his system in disorders of the stomach. Of these I have selected the following two, which may be regarded as typical. A patient said to him:—"I am very ill, and have already had three doctors. One of them said I was suffering from my liver; another said that my heart was at fault; and the third could not say where the mischief was. I have a good appetite, but as soon as I have eaten, I begin to feel pains in my stomach; after that, comes a beating of my heart. My hands and feet are always cold; and every week I am falling away in flesh and in strength. I am a master cabinet-maker, and for the last two years I have been unable to follow my business."

This patient was treated for fourteen days with Knie-Guss in the morning, and Ober-Guss in the afternoon. Three times a week he had poultices of hay flowers applied to his stomach, and he drank every day a decoction of juniper berries. Later on he had a Half Bath every second day, and he walked barefoot, once a day, in cold water. At the end of four weeks, he was well, and only needed for the maintenance of health, to take a Half Bath from time to time, and to continue the decoction of juniper berries.¹

Another patient told his story thus:—"For nine or ten years I have been afflicted with constant pains in the stomach, more or less intense. I have, besides, for a long time, a cough in the morning, accompanied by much expectoration, which is often mixed with blood. My nerves are very weak; every little trifle excites me; and my sleep is greatly broken." The treatment, in this case, was nearly the same as in the former. In four weeks the patient was

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 285-6.

perfectly well ; but was advised to continue, for some time, the use of juniper berries, and to take a Half Bath once or twice a week.¹

These examples, which are only a few chosen out of many, will give the reader some idea of the wide range of diseases, brought under the treatment of Pfarrer Kneipp. They may not be sufficient to bring home conviction to the minds of scientific men ; but they show, at least, the claims that are made on behalf of this new system of water cure, and the grounds on which Wörishofen has won for itself the foremost place in the world as a resort for the sick and infirm. Before leaving this branch of my subject, I should wish to add the testimony of a celebrated Paris doctor, who is reported to have said : “ I do not know the system, and therefore I can offer no opinion about it ; but I know that several of my patients have gone to Wörishofen, and that none of them has come back worse than he went, while many have come back better.”

V. LITERATURE OF THE KNEIPP CURE

Though Pfarrer Kneipp is personally the most disinterested of men, he is nevertheless keenly alive to the importance and value of his system, and very desirous that it should become widely known and adopted. He feels assured that he has discovered an important secret of Nature, hitherto unknown, or at least disregarded. He believes that this secret is capable not only of restoring health and strength to many sufferers, but of improving gradually the physical condition of the human race ; and he desires accordingly to publish his discovery to the whole world.

With this end in view, he has found time, amidst his multitudinous engagements, to issue from the press, besides some fugitive pamphlets, two important works, on the subject of his cure. One of these is called *Meine Wasser Kur, My Water Cure* ; the other, already referred to, is intitled *So Sollt ihr Lehen, So Shall you Live*. The former has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe,

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 287-8.

and is probably the most widely circulated book of our time, certainly the most widely circulated book treating of medical questions. It gives a very full account of his system, and the application of his treatment to various diseases.

The second work has a wider scope than the first, and is addressed alike to the healthy and the sick. It consists of two parts. The first part lays down the general conditions of health, and the means of preserving it; dealing with such subjects as food and drink, clothing and fresh air, and the physical training of the young. The second part contains a detailed account of many cases of disease which have been treated by the author, with the treatment adopted, and the result attained, in each case.

These works are very interesting reading. They are written in a clear, vigorous, simple style; they show great powers of observation, as well as great experience in dealing with disease; and they are full of sound practical precepts, useful alike to old and young. But even more attractive than his books are the popular lectures, now given by the Pfarrer, every afternoon, at Wörishofen, during the summer months. Soon after four o'clock, a stream of people may be seen pouring out of the village, and wending their way to a great wooden shed which stands on an elevated plateau just on the verge of the open country. This shed was erected, in the first instance, to afford an opportunity to the patients of taking exercise, in wet weather, before and after the cold water applications. But it was afterwards found convenient to use it as a kind of *al fresco* lecture hall; and, with this end in view, it was considerably enlarged and provided with a rustic pulpit.

By half-past four, every spot within earshot of the pulpit is occupied. The audience, numbering some five or six hundred people, is curiously mixed: nobles and peasants, farmers and shopkeepers, old and young, men and women: some talking, some knitting, some reading books or newspapers; all eagerly waiting for the arrival of the great Master, in whose skill and knowledge they have unbounded confidence. At five o'clock he appears, surrounded by a small knot of doctors, priests, and ecclesiastical dignitaries. He is

always greeted with applause, which has become, however, so much a matter of course as hardly to attract his attention ; and before the applause has ceased, he has already mounted his pulpit, and is ready to begin his discourse.

The subject matter of these lectures covers the whole ground of the Kneipp treatment in health and disease. But each lecture is something complete in itself, and can be easily understood without reference to what has gone before or what is destined to come after. One day the lecturer deals with food, another with drink, another with clothing. Then he takes up the various diseases to which he has applied his system : one day asthma ; another, blood poisoning ; another, gout and rheumatism ; another, affections of the lungs ; another, disorders of the stomach. In each case, he gives a graphic account of the symptoms as set forth by the patients, then describes in detail the remedies prescribed, and lastly states the result attained. On other occasions, he turns to the various features of his system, and explains the different kinds of Guss, the swathing in wet linen cloths, the poultices of hay-flowers, the numerous decoctions of herbs and plants.

In all this, he never fails to fix the attention of his audience, by his power of picturesque narrative and lively illustration, his command of simple homely language, and above all by the earnest spirit of conviction which animates all that he says. He is eminently practical, but never commonplace, and never dull. He does not aim at eloquence, but when occasion offers he is often eloquent without intending it. He has both humour and pathos at his command ; and he can stir his audience to mirth, or move them to tears, at his will. In general, the spirit of humour prevails ; and yet, while his words sparkle on the surface, and laughter is rippling around, you cannot help feeling that there is an under current of sound judgment, practical common sense, and sympathy with human suffering, which pervades and dominates the whole discourse.

Pfarrer Kneipp has been lately induced, by the pressure of many friends, to give public lectures in some of the principal capitals of Europe, on the nature and efficacy of

his Cure. In this way, he has visited Vienna, Rome, Berlin, Cologne, and other cities, and has everywhere been heard with eager and respectful attention. These lectures, together with the fame of the cures he has effected, have arrested public attention, and have led to much discussion amongst medical men. As usual, in such matters, there is great diversity of opinion. Some are in favour of the treatment, some are against it; some say there is nothing new in it, while others say there is nothing true in it; others again, as if holding the scales of justice more impartially, will admit that there is some originality in the system, and some truth in it, but they maintain that what is new is not true, and what is true is not new.

Everywhere throughout Germany, one sees evidence of the ardour with which this controversy is carried on. The booksellers' shops are crowded with pamphlets on the burning question of the Kneipp Cure. I have glanced over some of these pamphlets. On the one hand, it is alleged that the worthy Pfarrer of Wörishofen is not up to the level of the present day, in his knowledge of medical science; that he overlooks the important part which bacteria play in the modern theory of disease; that his ideas about the humours of the body represent the views of forty years ago, which are now abandoned by the medical schools and the universities. But we are told, on the other hand, by the followers of Pfarrer Kneipp, that he is not quite so ignorant of modern theories as his opponents have alleged; that if the universities were all so wrong, forty years ago, they are perhaps not quite infallible at the present day; that, after all, the practical test of medical skill is to cure disease, and that Pfarrer Kneipp is curing from day to day, a greater number of bad cases of disease than any professional medical man in Europe.

It is not for me to pronounce an opinion on the merits of this controversy. That is a task which I leave to those who are more thoroughly conversant with the facts, and who are equipped, at the same time, with the professional knowledge necessary to give weight to their judgment. But I would venture to remark that the main question of public

interest, in the matter, is not whether Pfarrer Kneipp is scientifically correct in all the details of his theory, but whether he is successful in the treatment of disease. The sick and infirm do not generally care very much about the theories of science, but they like to be cured. And they would rather be cured by a man who is unfamiliar with bacteria, and who holds, perhaps, some heterodox opinions about the humours of the human body, than pine away and die under the most advanced scientific treatment of a university professor. If the alleged cures have been effected by the Kneipp treatment, and if, moreover, they have been effected in cases pronounced incurable by eminent representatives of the medical profession, then surely the treatment has strong claims to be regarded as successful. It is a secondary question—though, no doubt, a question of great interest and importance—by what theory the cures are to be explained and accounted for.

As far as Pfarrer Kneipp is concerned, he allows every facility for the study and investigation of his system. He invites medical men to come to Wörishofen, and judge of it for themselves. When they come, he receives them with the utmost courtesy and cordiality; he allows them to be present in his consulting room; to observe each patient as he tells his story; to hear the remedies prescribed; and to see the treatment carried out. Many doctors have taken advantage of the opportunities thus afforded them; and not a few, after having spent some months at Wörishofen, have returned to their own country, and there set up a Kneipp Institute for the benefit of their patients. In this way about a hundred such institutions have been already established in various parts of Europe. In America, a Kneipp Institute, on a scale of great magnitude, has recently been opened at Milwaukee, and is now in full operation.

Early in the present year, a meeting was held, at Wörishofen, of medical men, from different countries of Europe, who have adopted the Kneipp treatment. At this meeting, an association was formed under the name of the International Union of Kneipp Physicians. It was agreed to publish an official journal, twice a month, representing

the association, and called *Central Blatt für das Kneipp'sche Heilverfahren*. The first number of this journal appeared on the seventh of April, and it has been published regularly down to the present time.

The object of the journal, as stated in the prospectus, is threefold. First, to provide a medium for scientific discussion, and interchange of views, between members of the Union. Secondly, to furnish to the reading public an authentic account of the progress and development of the Kneipp system. And thirdly, to afford to the opponents of the system an opportunity of bringing forward their objections, and of having them discussed in a dispassionate and scientific manner.¹ Incidentally the *Central Blatt* gives reports, from time to time, of the successful use of the Kneipp system in the treatment of various diseases. These reports are written, for the most part, by professional medical men, who have had personal experience of the cases with which they deal.

VI. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Whatever may be the ultimate judgment of medical science on the efficacy of the Kneipp system, it is impossible not to feel an interest in the personality of a man of humble origin, and simple life, who has made so great an impression on his own generation. I propose, therefore, to conclude this paper with a few biographical notes on Pfarrer Kneipp's career.

He was born in the year 1821, in that district of Bavaria which is locally known by the name of Swabia, and in which by far the greater part of his life has been spent. His father was a weaver, and he himself was taught the art of weaving, in his early years. But he passed a great deal of his time in the open air, tending sheep, and working in the fields; and being inured from childhood to a frugal and laborious life, he grew up a hardy and vigorous youth.

At the age of eighteen, he conceived a great desire to be a priest. But he had not the education that was necessary

¹ See *Central Blatt*, No. 1, p. 1.

for admission to an ecclesiastical seminary, nor had he the means to pay the required pension, if he obtained admission. Nothing daunted by these impediments, he fondly clung to the idea; and after many trials and disappointments, he at length found a good priest who took him into his house and prepared him for the seminary, and then helped him to pay his pension there.

After some years of study in the seminary, his health gave way. He became so weak, that, as he tells us, he was hardly able to dress himself, in the morning, when he got up; he was unable to study, and unfit for all his duties; and two eminent physicians, who attended him, declared his case to be hopeless. This was in 1847, when he was twenty-six years of age. Just at this time, when all other remedies had failed, he chanced to come across a book on the cold water cure. He read it with avidity, and at once began to practise the system himself. For some time, there was no visible improvement; but feeling that this was his last remaining chance of life, he determined to persevere; and at the end of two years he was perfectly restored to health.

In the year 1852, he was ordained a priest. Since that time, he has led an active, laborious, life; fulfilling with zeal and energy all the duties of his sacred office, and devoting his leisure time to the development of his water cure. About thirteen years ago, he was appointed Parish Priest of Wörishofen, and he became at once, to the people of that village, in the highest sense, a parish providence; healing the sick, relieving the distressed, and administering daily to all the aids and the consolations of religion.

After a life of incessant labour, he is now, at the age of seventy-three years, a model of manly strength and power. Built on a large scale, he stands a little under six feet, with an erect figure and a commanding presence. His head is "silvered o'er with age," but shows no sign of physical or mental weakness. The general expression of his face betokens high intellectual gifts, controlled by judgment and common sense. His eyes are keen, observant, penetrating; somewhat overshadowed by large bushy eyebrows, but lighted up now and then, with gleams of playful humour

His voice is powerful and well modulated ; and it possesses that soft and winning quality which reaches not only the ear but the heart. He tells us that he has never found a church so large that he could not easily fill it ; and, within the last three years, he has more than once addressed an audience of over five thousand people, for two hours at a time, without fatigue.

The amount of work he gets through in the day, is almost incredible. He rises at four o'clock, and goes at once to the church, where he says Mass. Then, after a slight collation, consisting of Malz-Kaffee and dry bread, he devotes himself to his spiritual duties, until eight o'clock. A few minutes after eight, he appears in his consulting room, where he sits until eleven. During that time, he sees from a hundred to a hundred and fifty patients, listens to each one's tale, and gives to each one a prescription special to himself. At a quarter past eleven, he dines with a few friends, and it is wonderful to see the cheerfulness and buoyancy of his spirits, after so laborious a morning. Once or twice, indeed, I have noticed him looking a little fagged as he came in to dinner. But no sooner was he conscious of that feeling than he would say, " I must go and take a bath ; " and in about five minutes, he was back again, radiant with health and vigour.

The moment dinner is over, he is besieged by visitors who, on various pleas, beg for a special audience, outside the prescribed hours. He rails at them good-humouredly, argues with them, shows them how unreasonable they are, but in the end, so far as I could see, he always hears their story, and prescribes for their maladies. And so, rebuking, arguing, remonstrating, but, at the same time, scattering blessings as he goes, he forces his way through the crowd, and takes a walk through the town, to visit any of his parishioners who may stand in need of his aid.

At two o'clock he is again in his consulting room, and again receives a continuous stream of visitors, waiting patiently until he has cleared off the long roll of his clients, which often mounts up, as I have said, in the summer season, to the enormous total of three hundred a day. This brings him very close to the hour of his Lecture, which is

five o'clock. When the Lecture is over, he takes a light supper, and then a walk through the town, generally winding up with a visit to the Kinder-Asyl, a children's hospital with two hundred beds, which is entirely his own creation, and in which he takes a very special interest.

In consideration of his great services to religion and humanity, Pfarrer Kneipp has lately been raised, by the Holy See, to the dignity of a Roman Prelate; and his new title, Herr Prälat, is now taking the place of the more familiar and affectionate Herr Pfarrer. In the course of this paper, I have adopted the older form, under which he has been already known throughout the world. And, therefore, I feel called on now, at the close, to set forth his higher title in full, praying that Seine Hochwürden Herr Prälat Kneipp may be spared for many years, to continue his beneficent labours in the midst of his loving and devoted flock.

GERALD MOLLOY.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS: CASE OF ERROR IN "NOMEN," OR "COGNOMEN"

INFORMALITIES in matrimonial dispensations frequently cause considerable trouble and anxiety; for the issues involved are usually great, and the consequences of invalid dispensations far-reaching. It may, accordingly, be useful to some readers of the I. E. RECORD, if I give a case which has recently occurred, and if I be allowed to share with them the information I have gathered regarding it.

The case is one in which the impediment of consanguinity prevents marriage from taking place. The causes for asking a dispensation are quite sufficient, one of them being recognised as canonical. A postulation was accordingly drawn up, setting forth the names of the petitioners, their diocese, the impediment for which a dispensation was sought, and the causes. The document was authenticated by the Ordinary, and forwarded to *Propaganda*. But when the dispensation arrived from Rome, it was discovered that an error had crept into the postulation, and that the

dispensation was granted to "Joannes Smith," and not as required to "Michael Smith." It therefore became a practical question: Was the dispensation valid: How was the error to be rectified?

It may appear at first sight that after all there was no substantial error—the dispensation was clearly set forth—the causes were true; one at least was an acknowledged canonical one, and the persons to whom the dispensation was granted sufficiently identified in the circumstances: the error, inadvertently committed, of writing down "Joannes" for "Michael," was clearly accidental.

On the other hand, adverting to general principles, it may strike one that not only law and custom, but also the wish and practice of the Congregations issuing dispensations—*stylus curiae*—should be observed, and it may be that amongst the requirements for the validity of a dispensation, the correct setting down of the *nomen* and *cognomen* may be found. Besides the dispensation being one *in foro externo*, the document ought to be evidence of itself, not requiring any collateral proof that John Smith meant Michael Smith.

The question cannot, however, be settled on general principles: there must be an appeal to authorities, and these will be found to differ considerably. The first authority I take down is Gury¹:—

"Error in nomine, vel cognomine oratorum, probabilis validitati dispensationis non officit, modo constet de corpore, id est de impedimento et causa."

Bangen² adopts the opinion of Gury; and Caillaud³ has substantially the same view. Daelman,⁴ after citing Corradus for the opposite view, writes:—

"Verum haec ejus opinio est contra communem Doctorum sententiam, et contra jus commune, juxta quod, dum erratur in solo nomine, non vitiatur rescriptum quia error ille dumtaxat est accidentalis."

It is putting the matter strongly to say that the view which maintains that error in the name vitiates the dispen-

¹ Ball Ed., vol. ii., n. 875, 4.

² Tit. ii., page 202.

³ Page 164.

⁴ Obs. Vlt., page 421.

sation, is not only not upheld by law, but that it is actually opposed to law—*contra jus commune*. Both Gury and Daelman derive their doctrine from Sanchez,¹ to whom they refer. The words of Sanchez are :—

"Caeterum absque dubio dicendum est, non vitiare dispensationem, quamvis in nomine erratum sit, quia error nominis proprii, quando constat de corpore, non vitiat rescriptum."

This too, is a strong statement of opinion: *absque dubio tenendum est*. Sanchez deduces his doctrine from Lib. iv. *de test.*, where it is stated that a mistake in the *name* of the legatee does not cause the legacy to lapse, provided there be no mistake as to the person intended. Likewise, Sanchez infers, in the case of all rescripts. One misses in this reasoning any reference to what may be, or may become, the requirements of the *stylus curiae*. De Justis¹ is of the same opinion, and reasons in like manner. Avanzini,² rightly concluding from a rescript of the Congregation of the Council, 31 July, 1869, based on Lib. iv. *de test.*, that an error in the name of a legatee does not affect the legacy, provided there be no doubt about the person intended, discusses, in a note, the question under consideration, and says :—

"Ad praecavendas fraudes praxis invaluit in Apostolica Dataria, ut error nominis dicatur vitiare Rescriptum. Non auderem tamen dicere generali ratione ejusmodi errores nullum reddere Rescriptum."

Then he points out that it is one thing to apply *de novo*, as if the dispensation were invalid. It is quite a different thing to apply, because the dispensation *is* invalid. He adds that the Dataria does not undertake to decide questions of the kind; but, if a decision be required, the matter is referred to the S. C. of the Council.

The most recent author⁴ on Matrimony I have seen, says the question is a disputed one, and inclines to the same view as Avanzini, whose arguments he reproduces.

It would appear then that Gury had respectable authorities

¹ Lib. viii., *Disp.* xxi., n. 37.

² i. iv., n. 54.

³ *Acta S. Sedis*, v., page 27, note 1.

⁴ Gasparri, *Tractatus Canonici De Matrimonio*, tom. i., cap. iv. 354, note 1.

on his side ; but whether he was justified in saying his was the common and the more probable opinion, is a question one can more easily answer when the authorities on the other side have been weighed. There are several well-known handbooks of Theology and Canon Law in which this question is not discussed, such as Van-der-Velden, Kenrick, Könings, Lehmkühl, Aertyns, Santi. The names, no doubt, all say, are to be expressed when dispensation is sought from a public impediment ; but if an error in the name should creep in, as in the case under consideration, what then ? Corradus is an authority to which all refer as holding that the dispensation is invalid, *ex stylo curiae*. I cannot give his words, as I have not got the book. Reiffenstuel¹ is explicit and satisfactory :—

“Licet error in nomine vel pronomine de jure non vitiet rescriptum textu claro I. Si in nomine c. de Test. . . . ac prop-
terea Sanchez de matrim. lib. viii. D. xxi. n. 27 ; Justis, cap. iv.
n. 54, et plures alii volunt id etiam procedere quoad errorem
nominis, vel cognominis oratorum in dispensatione matrimoniali,
tamen teste Corrado lib. vii. cap. v. nn. 3 et seqq. allegante
testimonium omnium curialium (quibus utique credendum) de
hodierno stylo et praxi, contrarium servatur, et consequenter ab
executoribus observandum est, cum stylus curiae stet loco legis.”

Schmalzgrueber² reasons in similar terms. He quotes Sanchez and De Justis, arguing from Cap. iv. *de test.*, as given above ; but he adds :—

“Et hoc verum est, spectato jure commune ; verum de stylo, et praxi curiae Romanae id non procedit, sed per hujusmodi errorem nominis dispensatio vitatur.”

Those authors then admit that the common law does not annul a rescript in which an error occurs in the *nomen* or *cognomen*, but the *stylus curiae* does, as it manifestly may do. Quite a host of authors follow on the same lines.

But we have an express statement from *Propaganda*:—³

“Sed jam se convertit Instructio ad ea quae praeter causas in literis supplicibus pro dispensatione obtinenda, de jure, vel consuetudine aut stylo curiae exprimenda sunt, ita ut si etiam

¹ Tom. v., App. n. 210. ² iv., xvi. 155. ³ Instruc., 9th May, 1877.

ignoranter taceatur veritas, aut narretur falsitas, dispensatio nulla efficiatur. Haec autem sunt.

"1. Nomen et cognomen oratorum, utrumque distincte, ac nitide, ac sine ulla litterarum abbreviatione scribendum."

In this Instruction the requirements of the *stylus curiae* are treated equally with those of common law and custom, and amongst those requirements mentioned for the validity of a dispensation in *foro externo*, are enumerated expressly the *nomen* and *cognomen* of the petitioners, so that even inadvertant suppression (*subreptio*—*si ignoranter taceatur veritas*) renders the dispensation invalid.

Yet the *Nouvelle Rev. Theol.*,¹ commenting on this Instruction, does not state that where an error in either *nomen* or *cognomen* occurs the dispensation is invalid, but only puts the matter tentatively by asking: Does it not seem that the opinion of Gury and others must be abandoned? And such an eminent and cautious authority as Feije² gives both views; but regarding the one now under discussion, he says:—

"Plerique vero docent errorem vitiare etiamsi de persona constet, idque non quidem ex jure communi, sed ex stylo curiae; his faveri videntur supradicta Indulta, et certo favet cit. Instr. S.C. de P.F., a 1 77."

Some recent authors state their views unmistakably on this question. Giovine³ has no doubt that the dispensation in question is invalid, and does not hesitate to say so in clear terms: *indubitantur affirmamus*; and Zitelli⁴ says: *praxis invaluit, ut error hic dicatur rescriptum vitiare*.

It is not easy, therefore, to see how Gury's opinion may have been at any time considered the more probable and common one; and the tendency and preponderance of opinion at the present time, as well as the documents of Roman congregations, notably those of *Propaganda*, appear to point in the opposite direction.

But whatever may be said of the speculative question, the course to be adopted, in case of such an error, is clear: it is, to write *de novo*⁵ for the dispensation, putting at a corner of the fresh postulation the number of the dispensation already

¹ Tom. x., p. 37, n. 2.

² *De Imped. et Dipens. Mat.*, ed. 4^{ta}, p. 713.

³ Tom. ii., page 6.

⁴ *De Disp. Matr.*, page 71.

⁵ *Idem*.

received, v.g. Prot., n. 654, and adding at the foot that a dispensation has been received in the case, but that an error crept into the postulation by writing "Johannes Smith" for "Michael Smith." Then the dispensation, or rather a document, *Perinde valere*, will arrive in due course, giving the ordinary or his delegate power to execute the original Rescript—*ac si in eo nullus error virepserit*. Telegrams asking correction, even of one word, will not be received by the Roman Congregations.¹

The law and the custom and the requirements of the *stylus curiae* are to be observed, not only when asking a dispensation from Propaganda, but also when asking it from a bishop as delegate of the Holy See; so that, in writing to any delegated authority for a dispensation *in foro externo*, the *nomen* and *cognomen* of the petitioners are to be clearly written down; and if an error occurs in either one or the other—provided, of course, it is not an error of a letter or syllable, as Bernardus for Bernardinus—a petition must be framed *de novo*, giving the names correctly.

J. CROWE.

THE ALBIGENSES

OF the many heresies that arose in the Western Church during the Middle Ages, none was so mysterious in origin, steady in progress, widely disseminated, dangerous in effect, and tenacious of existence, as the Albigensian. Unlike all other errors of the period, this, for full two hundred years, maintained itself, despite saintly preaching, public disputation, conciliar decree, papal ban, imperial proscription, repeated crusades—in short, all known and hitherto effective means of repression: striking, now in in secret, now in the open, at the very root of Christian doctrine and Christian morality, and necessitating for final extirpation new methods of procedure that have entailed no stinted measure of unmerited obloquy on the Church. Viewed in broad outline—for in a sketch like the present

¹ *Feije*, page 691.

much detail has to be omitted¹—the data respecting the rise, operation and continuance of the sect exemplify, to restrict ourselves to two comprehensive aspects, the baleful activity of secret societies, on one hand; and, on the other, the evils that accrue to private and public life from the neglect of those entrusted with the spiritual direction of the people.

The Albigese was a territory embracing the Languedoc counties, of which Albi, on the Tarn, and Carcassonne, on the Aude, were respective chief towns: comprising the modern departments of Tarn and Aude. [The mediæval adherents of Western Manicheism were at first identified by description. In process of time, owing to various causes, divers names (some of which we shall have occasion to explain) were employed to designate them in different localities. About the middle of the twelfth century, the sectaries attained perfection in number and organization within the area just described; whence, by normal linguistic usage, the term *Albigenses* came to be applied by prolepsis as a generic appellation.

To adequately understand the doctrine and rise of the Albigenses, the fundamental tenets and some salient points of the history of the Manichees have to be premised. Manicheism chiefly turned upon the origin of evil. A being of infinite goodness, God could not have created what was bad. An evil spirit must accordingly have originated evil. These two principles, in nature opposite and mutually hostile, were authors, the one of the soul, the other of the body. Amongst the consequences of this distinction was rejection of the Old Testament (as ascribing creation of all things to God); of the Incarnation (Christ, Son of the good God, could assume nought but a phantom body); of the sacraments (especially of matrimony, which perpetuated union of soul and body); finally, of the use of flesh and whatever comes therefrom, such as milk.

Of these practices, some were sought to be justified by

¹ *E.g.*, the preaching of St. Bernard in Aquitaine and Languedoc. According to a thesis lately propounded (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, liv. 1., Jan. 1894), the Albigenian was not the heresy combated by the saint. With this I hope to deal in due time.

the example of the Church, wherein many embraced continence, and denied themselves certain articles of diet. But the difference is obvious between abstaining through motives of perfection, and abstinence because of inherent evil in the things avoided. Furthermore, to elevate continence at the expense of matrimony, is at once to arraign the Creator, and give free rein to the passions in allowing them no licit outlet. The natural sequence ensued : they who denied themselves wedlock allowed themselves everything beside. The secret impurities of the Manichees excited, perhaps, more detestation than their sacrilegious abuse of the Eucharist.

Secondly, Manicheism, in imitation of the Church, was organized as a hierarchy ; with the radical divergence, that it was constituted a secret society. A noted characteristic was their dissimulation ; one of the maxims of the sect has been preserved by St. Augustine—*Swear, forswear, but the secret betray not—jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli.* Hence, the better to win proselytes, they engaged in all Catholic devotions, even to partaking of Communion under both species, despite their professed objection to wine, and their dictum that Christ had no actual body and blood. Finally, to enhance their vaunted virtue, they held that sacraments were void of effect in the hands of sinful ministers. He who has lost the Holy Ghost, this was the reason alleged, cannot confer His grace.

Passing over the early history of the Manichees down to their suppression in the Western Roman Empire, we find them, mainly owing to remoteness from the seat of government, surviving in Armenia, under the name of Paulicians (so called either from a leader, Paul, or their known predilection for the Apostle). In 752, Constantine V. had them transported in considerable numbers to Thrace. Those left behind maintained themselves with varying fortune against the Byzantine Emperors, until 871, when their leader, Carbeas, was slain. In his time, Basil the Macedonian sent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. During his stay, the envoy, Paul the Sicilian, became acquainted with the religious system of the Paulicians. He likewise learned

that they had resolved to send preachers to corrupt the newly-converted Bulgarians. To frustrate the design, he wrote an extant account of the Paulicians, addressed to the Archbishop of Bulgaria. Whether imported directly from Armenia, or, what seems more likely, from adjacent Thrace, certain it is the heresy struck deep root, and flourished in Bulgaria to the first quarter of the twelfth century. Hence arose the titles *Bulgarians* and *Bogomoli* (*pitied by God*) to designate the local Paulicians.

We have now to outline the tenets and observances of the Albigenses. Some held an absolute dualism (two original essences and two corresponding creations); others, a relative (in which the evil principle was a spirit fallen away from God). Both schools (if the term can be applied to fanatics professing drivel of the kind) deduced the visible world not from the good God, but from the bad essence, the author of the Old Testament, the prince of this world. Proofs of dualism they affected to find in Scripture passages relative to opposition between flesh and spirit, world and God; in the words (John viii. 44) that the devil stood not in truth, and was the father of lies; lastly, in the partial perfection, and partial corruption of the natural faculties.

The prince of darkness, they continued, led a third of the heavenly spirits to their fall. Thereby they came into material bodies, and were brought to sin, which likewise arose from matter. The liberation of these imprisoned spirits being necessary, it was effected by Christ, the son of God, who came on earth in a heavenly body; passed through the ear of Mary, an angel in female shape; underwent apparent death after apparent suffering; then returned to heaven. Here again, such are the whimsical vagaries of error, some refused to admit a historical, but acknowledged an ideal Christ, who was never in the world, save spiritually, namely, in the body of St. Paul.

The Creation, Incarnation, Resurrection and personal immortality were all rejected as folly. The last end was to be reunion of the freed souls with the bodies and guardian spirits left behind in heaven, with both of which they had been created and united. With regard to the Trinity, the

Son was subordinate to the Father ; the Holy Ghost (called the Chief Spirit), to the Son. For all this, they appealed chiefly to apocryphal writings of Isaiah and St. John. In place of miracles, which were denied, reference was made to the numerous conversions to the sect.

Abstinence from the evil matter and, consequently, from possession of worldly goods ; from war and killing ; from the use of animal food ; and, in a special manner, from marriage (the perpetuation of the incarceration of souls)—such in substance was the Albigensian code. Like the Manichean, however, the morality was purely external. Moreover, the precepts bound only the *Perfect*, the highest class who had received the *Consolation*, or Spiritual Baptism. To this ceremony, in opposition to infant and water baptism, was ascribed liberation from the power of matter and Satan. It was conferred after three days' fast and penitence by imposition of hands, and recital of the Lord's Prayer. The *Perfect* wore a distinctive cincture, and were thence denominated *Clothed* (*Vestiti*). They were expected to eat nothing but fish and fruit, and to live, apart from their families, in voluntary poverty.

Of such, however, the number was by comparison very restricted : the bulk was composed of *Believers*. These lived in the world, and were free to marry, possess property and engage in war. They were bound to supply the needs of the *Perfect* ; receive the *Consolation* before death ; and meanwhile, if need be, the *Preparation* (hereinafter described). Their lives thus passed unchecked by any effective moral restraint ; all was atoned for by the *Consolation* at the end. Of the sick who recovered after this initiation, some, lest they should sin again, chose, or were forced, to starve ; others took poison ; more suffered martyrdom by revealing themselves and being put to death. Thus the sect had confessors and martyrs.

In the third place were the *Beginners* ; otherwise called *Hearers*, or *Catechumens* : the last two names being clearly taken from the Church. Naturally, the superiors were selected from the *Perfect*. They formed a hierarchy corresponding to that of the Manichees. There was a bishop,

with two vicars (the *filius major*, who regularly succeeded, and the *filius minor*) and twelve deacons. He was itinerant within an assigned district, preaching and imparting the *Preparation* and *Consolation*. A Council of *Masters*, seventy-two in number, likewise existed. We even find amongst them a pope and (as was to be expected) an anti-pope.

All rights and practices of the Church, the Sacraments in particular, were stigmatized as frauds and lies. Baptism and Penance were replaced by the *Consolation*. Meanwhile, the *Preparation* was administered monthly to believers who were public delinquents. Grievous sinners, namely, made particular; the less guilty, general, confession to the bishop. The absolution formula was preceded by placing the New Testament on the head of the penitent, and pronouncing the *Pater Noster*.

With respect to the Eucharist, the words of Institution, according to them, either referred to Christ's own body, or were used in figure (*is = signifies*); John vi. 64 ("the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life") denoted that the true body of Christ was His word. Whoever took food as a member of Christ, had it changed into the body and blood of Christ. Accordingly, at their meals, they blessed the *Bread of Holy Prayer* by reciting Our Father, and distributed it to those of their belief who were present.

Service was held in any safe place: without vestments, pictures, or crucifix. It began with a lection from the New Testament; then followed a sermon, terminated with a blessing; thereafter came benison of bread (but not of wine) by the *Pater Noster*; lastly, a second benediction. Of the bread, those present each received portion, whereof some was consumed, the rest carried home. The better to serve concealment, Sundays and holidays were observed by attendance (where absence might be noticed) at the Catholic services. Pentecost was their anniversary.

To combat the Church with her own alleged weapons, lying, dissimulation and deception were an integral item of conduct. Under outward austerity, abominations were practised in secret. With untiring zeal, and all the more

confident from being known to each other by occult signs and pass-words, they disseminated their tenets: attending fairs, joining in religious and secular festivities, and introducing themselves, often at risk of life, into Catholic families. One of the most potent methods of propaganda was to discredit the clergy by pointing to their lax lives, and thereby insinuating, with fatal effect, that the system of which they were exponents was a device of the evil one.

In addition, they were mutually hospitable; relieved their poor and tended their sick. They likewise reared gratuitously the children of reduced respectable parents, and sent promising youths to the University of Paris; a course which tends to explain how they gained over considerable part of the nobility of Southern France. In the words of Innocent III., more guileful and more dangerous than the Saracens, they became a menace to all order, all Christianity; a pest, in short, of human society.

That the tissue of errors here outlined was developed from Manicheism, we have, apart from the identity of the fundamental principles of both, conclusive internal evidence in two of the names. Greek and geography were not so diffused at the time in the West as to allow us to assign any but a traditional origin to *Cathari* (*καθαροί*, *pure*) and *Bulgarians*. Were it even otherwise, *Pipples* (gluttons) and *Tesserants* (weavers)—respectively used in Flanders and France—seem decisive respecting the popular disposition to bestow designations of distinction on the sectaries.¹ Nor is direct evidence wanting. An ancient Latin author, quoted by Bossuet,² states that when the heresy of the Bulgarians began to multiply in Lombardy, they had as bishop one Mark, who had received his Order in Bulgaria. But there came from Constantinople to Lombardy another pope, named Nicetas, who impugned the Order of Bulgaria (*i.e.*, called Mark an anti-pope). Thence, the author

¹ In an essay of a dull diffuseness rare in French periodicals (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May, 1874), an alternative hypothesis is propounded, namely, that the heresy was indigenous in France! Some of the other conclusions are equally original and valuable; for instance, the Albigensian was a higher spirituality than the Catholic; Raymond of Toulouse, a hero.

² *Hist. Var., etc.*, secc. 24-5, from Vignier's *Recueil*.

continues, it spread to the other provinces, where it was in great vogue, notably in Languedoc, Toulouse, and Gascony. Whence, in addition to Bulgarians, they were named Albigenses. Furthermore, Matthew of Paris, in his History of Henry III. of England, mentions that in 1223 the Albigensian heretics made them a pope on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, who, being invited by the bishop of the sect at Carcassonne, shortly after took up his residence near that town.

In Italy, they were called Patarenes, from Patarea, a place in the Milanese. The equivalence of Paterenes and Albigenses is attested by remarkable proof. When, to culminate his crimes against the Church, Philip the Fair of France caused Boniface VIII. to be seized (in his eighty-fourth year, Sept. 7, 1303) at Anagni—Dante's scathing denunciation¹ will recur to mind—by his agent, William of Nogaret (whose grandfather was convicted as an Albigenser), the heroic old pontiff, whose self-possession never failed him, declared that he was ready to suffer everything for the freedom of the Church, even condemnation through Patarenes.

From Italy, as we have seen, the virus was diffused into France. *Dux femina facti*. In 1017, an Italian woman settled at Orleans, and succeeded in perverting some among the more learned of the clergy.² Two of these (*heu! pro pudor*, the chronicler interjects) became the most active propagators. For five years they worked covertly. Detected at last, and questioned in a Council held at Orleans, in 1022,

¹ Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel vicario suo Christo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e'l fele,
E tra nuovi ladroni esser anciso.
Veggio 'l nuovo Pilato si crudele,
Che cio nol sazia, ma senza decreto
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.
O Signor mio, quando saro io lieto
A veder la vendetta, che nascosa
Fa dolce l'ira tua nel tuo segreto?

(*Purg. xx.*, 86–99.)

² "Qui videbantur doctiores in clericorum ordine." Glaber Radulp.
Hist. iii. 8 (Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist. des Gauls*, x, 35).

they denied the Creation, Trinity, Incarnation, Passion, Burial, and Resurrection; rejected Baptism, Eucharist and Invocation of Saints; regarded good works as superfluous, and sensuality as innocuous. They had, it was proved, initiation by imposition of hands, and held nocturnal assemblies, whereat indiscriminate sexual intercourse took place. Thereupon, thirteen of the heretics, including ten Regular Canons, proving obstinate, were, after long inquiry, condemned and burned. One priest and one nun recanted.

In 1018, Manichees arose in Aquitaine, seducing the people, denying Baptism and the power of the Cross, abstaining from meats like monks, making a show of chastity, but practising every kind of debauchery among themselves.¹ To check their progress, a synod was held at Charoux, by the reigning Duke in 1027. About 1022 they were found in Toulouse.

To come to Northern France, in 1025, the Bishop of Cambrai discovered heretics arrived from Italy at Arras. Of their errors, which were formulated under seventeen heads, it will suffice to mention rejection of Baptism, Eucharist, Penance, Orders, and Matrimony. In a synod, the bishop convinced them and got them to retract. He then wrote to the Bishop of Liège, exhorting him to check the spread of the heresy in that diocese. At Chalons, about the middle of the century, Manichees were detected going among the country-people, condemning marriage and the use of flesh meat. A peasant named Lothaire went through the outlying parts on the Marne, destroying crucifixes, and finally committed suicide to ensure salvation. A synod at Rheims, in 1049, excommunicated the sectaries and all who should employ or protect them.

In West Germany, Cathari made their appearance in Swabia, in 1052. Many of them were consigned to the gallows by the Emperor, Henry III. Owing, doubtless, to these vigorous measures, the sect is lost sight of during the remainder of the century. With what ceaseless activity they worked in that interval, the sequel will show. During the

¹ "Castitatem simulantes, sed inter seipsos luxuriam omnem exercentes." Ademan. Caban., Chron. (Bouquet, *ut sup.* x. 154).

first half of the twelfth century they suddenly reappeared, organized in alarming numbers, in the east and south of France, especially Aquitaine, Gascony, and Languedoc. Henceforth the Albigeſe became the focus. Accordingly a ſynod at Rheims (1148) forbade maintenance and protection of the numerous heretics through Gascony and Provence. Another, at Tours (1163), directed the clergy of the provinces infested by Albigenses to inhibit intercourse with them, and invoked Catholic rulers to viſit them with imprisonment and conſiſcation. Soon after (1165), Cathari were unmaſked at Lombers, a town near Toulouse, and condemned in a council held at the ſame place (of which more anon).¹

Whether owing to remiſſneſs or oppoſition, theſe meaſures utterly failed of effect. As if to emphasize the fact, two years later, the Albigensian Pope, Nicetas (a Greek, judging from the name), held a council at St. Felix, in the laſt-named neighbourhood, where he conſecrated biſhops (by the *Conſolation*), and appointed perſons to define the limits of their dioceses. Thenceforward the Albigenses acted as a public body. The third Lateran Council (1179) anathematized (can. 27) the heretics named Cathari, Publicans, Patarenes, or otherwiſe, who ſpread their error publicly in Gascony, the Albigeſe, and elſewhere. Thoſe defending, receiving, keeping them in houſe or land, or trading with them, were included in the ſentence. Meanwhile the localities named were the theatre of extreme diſorders. Robber-bands marched in military array, plundering the country, burning churches, violating females, trampling the Hoſt, and murdering the inhabitants. The nobility who were gained over enrolled the marauders under their banners, and threatened the Catholics with fire and ſword. Events having proved that the menace was not likely to remain idle, the Papal Legate, Henry, formerly Abbot of Clairvaux, created cardinal in the laſt Council, led a crusade (1180) againſt Roger II., Viſcount of Carcaſſonne

¹ For the manner in which they were dealt with on their firſt (and laſt) appearance in England (1166), ſee Lingard, *H. E.*, ii, 113-114. For diſproof of the ignorant or malicious ſtatement of Milman (*Hiſt. Lat. Chris.*, v. 390), in reference to their puniſhment, that “fires were kindled, and heretics burned in Oxford,” ſee Hoveden, *Rolls* ed. lvi.

and Beziers, by whom the Bishop of Albi had been captured and retained prisoner. Many, in consequence, made outward submission; but, with the duplicity of the sect, relapsed after departure of the expedition; nay more, they penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, where seven thousand of them were slain by the royal forces at Bourges (1183).

The spread of the evil during the ensuing decade appears in the severity of the enactments¹ made by Lucius III., with assent of Frederick I. of Germany (1184), against Cathari, Patarenes, and others named. A clergyman or religious notoriously convicted was, failing public abjuration and due satisfaction, to be degraded and handed up to the secular power—a decree of sinister import, as denoting the extent of the gangrene; a layman, in the same circumstances, was to be punished by the secular judge, according to his offence. Suspects were to clear themselves at the bishop's command, under the same penalty; the relapsed to be given over to the secular authorities without further hearing, and their goods confiscated to Church uses. The excommunication was to be published on the chief festivals; archbishops and bishops failing or dilatory therein were to be suspended for three years. The archbishop or bishop was once or twice a year to visit, in person, or by the archdeacon or other fit persons, the parish in which heretics were reported to dwell, and cause two or three of good credit, or, if need be, the whole neighbourhood, to swear to reveal heretics, those who frequented secret meetings, or differed in life from the common. Such were to be cited before the visitors; and if they did not clear themselves, or if they had relapsed after purgation, to be punished at the bishop's discretion; their refusal to swear to be tantamount to conviction of heresy. All earls, barons, governors, and prefects of cities were to make oath, on pain of deprivation, anathema, and confiscation, to aid the Church authorities.

Administered with normal diligence, the foregoing could scarce fail to prove an effective barrier; but the ever-increasing number of nobles and towns that fell away in Southern France amply demonstrate that the enactments

¹ Decretal V., *Ad abolendam*, 7, vii. *de hereticis*.

were in great part suffered to remain a dead letter. With the advent of a new Pope (1198), the prospect changed. Deeply versed in theology and canon law, virtuous, zealous, prudent, intimately acquainted with prevalent abuses, Innocent III. laboured with conspicuous success to reform. In addition, what was almost of equal necessity, his training and experience in the Curia made him a match for the tortuous diplomacy of the time. Such was the Pontiff that arose to initiate and direct the measures that resulted in extirpating the heresy. A mind less observant might have discerned that the struggle was become one of life and death; to have turned the contest to the triumph of the Church remains the enduring encomium of Innocent. Immediately after his accession he directed his energies to that end. The local clergy, both bishops and priests, had fallen into disrepute, and were consequently useless in the present circumstances. Accordingly, two Papal Legates were sent into the disturbed districts. They were instructed to win back the heretics, first, by reasoning; failing this, by excommunication; in cases of contumacy, to call on the secular power to inflict confiscation and banishment. The following year Innocent had to contend with the same foes on Italian soil, where they suddenly appeared, and murdered the Papal Governor at Viterbo.

Again, in 1200, he sent a fresh delegation—a cardinal and two Cistercians. They remained until 1208. But all their conferences, disputations, sermons, even the zeal of Bishop Diego of Osma and his companion, St. Dominic (both joined the delegates in 1208), and the austere manner of life of the five workers effected no appreciable result. The reigning Count of Toulouse, Raymond VI., deceived them by frequent interviews, thereby gaining time, during which he levelled churches and cloisters, and persecuted the Catholics. His treachery culminated in the assassination of one of the legates, Peter of Castelnau, in 1208. Thereupon Innocent placed him under anathema, and called on the suzerain, the French King, to make war on him. But the Tolosan, with characteristic craft, extricated himself from the peril. He made oath to make plenary satisfaction,

and was accordingly absolved by the new Legate, in June, 1209. Delaying, however, to fulfil the conditions, and reminded in vain by the Pope of his obligation, he was once more excommunicated and his territory laid under interdict, in a synod convened at Avignon, by Papal order, in the September of that year. Again the Count appealed to the Pontiff, and again was successful. The time was extended and negotiations were protracted for two years, when, at length, having secured the aid of his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon, Raymond threw off the mask, and set Innocent at defiance (1211).

But astuteness had overreached itself. Whilst the Count, was procrastinating, the Pope sent a crusade, under the famous Simon de Montfort (who had returned from the Holy Land), and humbled the heretics of Carcassonne and Beziers (1209). The rupture consequently found him fully prepared. The Papal ban was finally fulminated, and another crusade, under the same great captain, poured into Tolosan territory. Raymond was defeated; his Aragonese ally slain; Toulouse captured. Unfortunately, the bulk of the force were Brabanters. These banditti, suffice it to say, were, with their patrons, condemned by the third Council of Lateran, in the same canon (27) as the Cathari. Their goods were to be confiscated; their persons enslaved; their extirpators to rank as Crusaders. They spared not, the canon says, either churches or monasteries, widows or orphans, age or sex. True to their character, in the present campaign they inflicted atrocities alike on friends and foes. *Tros Tyriusve* was their principle. Innocent, as was to be expected, did not fail to reprobate their excesses in severe terms. He did more: with a generosity that was lost upon Raymond, when the Synod of Montpellier granted part of the conquered fief to the victor (1215), the Pontiff refused his sanction, referring the matter to the approaching Council of Lateran; adjudged her goods to his wife; the remaining patrimony to his son.

The fourth Council of Lateran¹ (1215) renewed² the enact-

¹ For the Irish bishops present, see *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1216.

² V. c. *Excommunicamus*, 13, vii. *de hereticis*.

ments of Lucius III. against the Albigenses. After the death of Innocent (1216), the war was renewed by Raymond. But the issue, though it might be delayed, had been placed beyond jeopardy by the far-reaching foresight of the pontiff in committing the French kings to the struggle. De Montfort lost, retook, and again lost Toulouse. In the third siege, he fell heroically before the walls of the city (1217). Raymond died of apoplexy (1222) and was succeeded by his son, the seventh of the name, who received back part of the patrimony, including the capital.

On his accession (1223), Louis VIII. was called on by Honorius III. to prosecute the war. Terrified thereat, Raymond submitted to the Pope in a synod at Montpellier (1224). But, failing to execute the terms, he was excommunicated by the legate in a synod at Paris (1226), and Louis led the crusade with success until his death the same year. At request of Gregory IX., operations were continued under the minority of St. Louis; and finally, Raymond, through mediation of the legate, made his submission (1228). Amongst the conditions were to banish the heretics and restore ruined churches. But the most noteworthy was to establish a foundation for Theology, Decretals, Arts, and Grammar in his capital. Thus arose the university of Toulouse, which was incorporated by Gregory in 1233. The Albigenese was ceded to Louis, who, to regulate its church affairs, immediately issued an edict¹ whereof four of the ten clauses (II.-V.) relate to the suppression of the heresy. In 1229, a Toulouse synod formulated the Inquisition. The Count (who attended with the papal legate) promulgated the decree within his territory, in 1233. Herewith the Albigenses disappear from general history, to figure in the records of the Inquisition.

In 1178, Henry II. of England and Louis VII. of France sent a cardinal, two archbishops, two bishops, and an abbot to Toulouse, with a commission to convert or convict the

¹ Well known as making first mention (Art. I.) of the Gallican Liberties. But from the purport of the edict, the privileges in question emanated, it is clear, from the civil, not the spiritual, power. The Albigenian Church was granted the secular immunities accorded to the Church within the royal dominions.

heretics. The proceedings¹ revealed fresh facts of startling import. Brought in presence under safe-conduct and questioned on various heads (including two creative essences, validity of sinful sacramental administration, and lawfulness of marriage) on which they were reported to have held erroneously, the sectaries not alone made a Catholic profession, but denied they had ever taught otherwise. The disclaimer was too much for the Count of Toulouse and other persons, cleric and lay, present, who straightaway deposed to the truth of all the charges. Thus ignominiously detected, the heretics refused to retract and were excommunicated.

Here then was an evil without precedent—secret, treacherous, contumacious: obviously not to be overcome by perfunctory discharge of the episcopal duty of repressing heresy. To oppose it with success in detail, the *Ad abolendam* was promulgated, and became the basis of the Inquisition. The Toulouse Synod of 1229, owing probably to their remissness, tacitly exempted bishops, and directed them to put measures substantially the same as those of Lucius III. into effect. In 1233, Gregory IX. delegated the exclusive execution to the newly-founded Order of St. Dominic. With regard to the Inquisition, suffice it that, passing over enactments of kindred nature, had the celebrated Decretal, *Qualiter et quando*,² of Innocent III. relative to *Accusations* been loyally carried out, the guilty had been eliminated without the innocent being involved. How the measure passed from control of the Curia, the limit does not permit to set forth. The result has been a *damnosa hereditas* of misrepresentation and odium.

With respect to the extraordinary vitality of Manicheism through so many ages, it will be sufficient to direct attention to the nine concluding sections (201-9) of Bossuet's *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, where the Patristic application of 1 Tim. iv. 1-5 to the sect is set forth and prosecuted to the time of the Reformers. Of

¹ Hoveden, ii. 156, *sq.*

² V. c. 24, i. *De accusationibus, inquis. et denunt.*

more importance is it to indicate the chief causes assignable to the proportions attained by the Albigenses. These were evil example and neglect of preaching on the part of the clergy.

That the two first adherents in France were of some repute for learning, and that the canons burned at Orleans in 1022, laughed amidst the flames,¹ could scarce fail to be handed down and appealed to in support of the contention that the priesthood was a fraud. Furthermore, of the coercive legislation relative to clerical life, many enactments² were passed during the time the Albigenses were in their zenith. That the data necessitating these decrees were in great part supplied from the area most infected with the heresy, appears from a contemporary relation. When Diego and Dominic met them at Montpellier (1206), the papal legates were determined to resign, having had little or no success in preaching. For, as often as they proposed to preach, the heretics objected to them the evil lives of the clergy; and, thus, unless they were willing to reform the lives of the clergy, they should desist from preaching.³

It is, no doubt, a truism that, although the person executes the office, the official and function are separable in notion; and, thus, the unworthiness of the agent cannot invalidate the commission. But reasoning of the kind is not readily realized by the popular mind. Ignorance prompted by malice usually passes the censure from the man to the mandate. *Facilis decensus*: the lapse is easy and well-nigh inevitable to a seared conscience, and the consequent excesses.

To some extent, as the Albigenses were wont to attend Catholic services, these evils might have been counteracted,

¹ Ademar. Bouquet, *ubi sup.* 164.

² Decretal. III. tit. ii. (*de cohab. clericor. et mulier.*), iv. (*de cler. non resid.*); V. iii. (*de simonia*), xiv., xxvii., xxx.

³ "Injunctae sibi legationi prae tudio renuntiare volentes, eo quod nihil aut parum hereticis praedicando proficere potuissent. Quotiescunque enim vellent ipsis hereticis praedicare, objiciebant eis heretici conversationem pessimam clericorum et ita, nisi vellent clericorum vitam corrigere, oporteret eos a praedicatione desistere." Petri Val. Sar. c. iii. (Bouquet, *ubi sup.* 7.)

if not obviated, by public instruction. But to what extent preaching was superseded, appears in two typical instances. In the Council of Lombers (1165), the Bishop of Albi presided, and delegated the Bishop of Lodeve to confute the heretics out of the New Testament, which alone they admitted. This he did, quoting respectively 11, 8, 11, 23, 10, 17, and 6 texts to prove—(a) reception of the Old Testament; (b) necessity of professing faith; (c) baptism; (d) validity of unworthy sacramental administration; (e) marriage; (f) heresy in disobeying the Church; and (g) lawfulness of making oath.¹ The enunciation of these six and eighty testimonies with the connecting commentary must have been a tedious, not to say soporific, process. Passing over this, the instruction, it has to be noted, is as moonshine unto sunshine by comparison, for instance, with that of Bishop Hay. The conclusion will, doubtless, have been anticipated: the articles in question are so demonstrable to the rudest capacity, that, had proof been seasonably brought within vulgar ken, they had never been publicly impugned.

Things, notwithstanding, were suffered to drift in the same dreary direction. Before the Toulouse Commission (1178), the heretics refused to swear on principle, in crass ignorance that they had already sworn in the attesting clause of their profession: "In the truth, which is God, we thus believe, and say this is our faith."²

Would, in fine, that the lessons of the Albigensian heresy had been duly taken to heart! How far it was otherwise, stands out with painful vividness in the convulsions that rent the Church two centuries later.

S'io dico ver, l'effetto nol nasconde.

B. MACCARTHY.

¹ Hoveden, ii. 108, *sq.*

² Hoveden, ii. 159.

THE IRISH MONASTERIES OF RATISBON

THE corporation of Irish monasteries in Germany that owed its origin to the blessed Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon, is well worthy of attention, not only on account of the great influence it exercised on the religious and artistic history of Germany, but also on account of the rapidity of its development and the extensive proportions which it attained. From the great foundation of St. James at Ratisbon (1090), branches were established in 1136 at Würzburg, in 1142 at Vienna, in 1160 at Memmingen, in 1166 at Constance, in 1172 at Nüremburg, in 1194 at Eichstatt, and at some intermediate or approximate periods at Erfurt in Saxony, at Oels in Silesia, and at Kehlheim in Bavaria. Other smaller foundations were also made; so that when the Abbot of St. James's attended the Council of Lateran, in 1213, and obtained from Pope Innocent III. the acknowledgment of his brotherhood as a religious union or congregation exempt from episcopal control and directly subject to the Holy See, he could count at least fifteen well-established, and flourishing houses, all acknowledging him as their ruler and head. The founder of the original house at Ratisbon, from which all these establishments emanated and grew was Marianus Scotus, an Irish monk, who should be carefully distinguished from his illustrious namesake "Marianus the Chronicler," who died at Mayence in 1082. Both were, we believe, natives of Tyrconnell in Ulster. They were practically contemporaries, and had both emigrated to Germany, each on a mission of his own. The Irish name of Marianus of Ratisbon, was Muiredach MacRobertagh,¹ a name which still flourishes in a modern disguise in the county Donegal. We are indebted to a manuscript composed by an Irish monk of Ratisbon, and happily preserved in the Carthusian monastery of Gaming, in Lower Austria, for the most detailed account of the life of Marianus. In this and other less complete biographies we find the

¹ See paper by the late Bishop Reeves, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., pp. 292, 293.

substance of the following facts relating to the saint.¹ Marianus Scotus, who is described by the chronicler as having been very handsome in appearance and most attractive in his manners,² was carefully instructed whilst still young, in sacred and secular literature. In due course he assumed the monastic habit, and prepared for the expedition which was evidently the ambition of his life. In the year 1067 he left Ireland for ever, accompanied, according to some, by two companions, Joannes and Candidus; and according to others, by seven, viz., Johannes, Candidus, Donatus, Dominus, Mordacus, Isaac, and Magnaldus.³

Their chief object on setting out was to make a pilgrimage to Rome, breaking their journey, as was the custom, at the hospitable monasteries on the way. On this errand, they reached Ratisbon, where they were first received by Otto, the Bishop, who had been formerly a Canon of Bamberg,⁴ and who received them into the Benedictine Order, and gave them the clerical habit of that great brotherhood. After a short sojourn at the monastery of St. Michelsberg, they were allowed by their superiors to proceed on their way. Arriving at Ratisbon for the second time, they met with a friendly reception from Emma, the Abbess of the Convent of Obermünster, who employed Marianus in the transcription of some books. A cell was arranged for him at the Niedermünster, in which he diligently carried on his writing, his companions preparing the parchment for his

¹ See *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., tom. ii., "Vita S. Mariani."

² "Deinde post dicessum tantorum virorum, parum ante tempora pii Imperatoris Henrici, de finibus Hiberniae supradictae venit quidam vir Sanctus et simplex Marianus nomine, decore vultu, crine nitenti, et ultra communem valentiam hominum; forma erat speciosus, divinis et humanis literis erat præditus et eloquentia ita ut Spiritum Sanctum per inhabitantem gratiam in eo esse nemo etiam videns dubitaret."

³ Aventinus, in his great work, *Annalium Boiorum*, lib. viii., says:—"Divus Marianus Scotus, poeta et theologa insignis nullique sui sæculi secundus, cum conphilosophis suis Joanne et Candido, Clementa, Donato, Murcheridacho, Magnaldo atque Stacio, qui centum vixit annis, in Germanium venit, &c." The names of all these are also found in the *Necrologium* of St. James, and they are inscribed, each in turn, as "socius" or "ex sociis" Sancti Mariani.

⁴ He is called by some, Bishop of Bamberg. See Lanigan's note in his *Eccl. History*, vol. iv., p. 3.

use. Before resuming his journey southwards, he resolved to pay a visit to an Irish recluse named Murchertach, who lived the life of a hermit in the immediate neighbourhood. Murchertach¹ had left Ireland long before Marianus, and had now spent many years in the practice of the most austere penances.

On this account, Marianus was deeply impressed when the hermit urged him to submit to the guidance of Heaven as to whether he should continue his journey to Rome, or settle at once and for ever in Germany. He passed the night in considerable anxiety in Murchertach's cell, and in the hours of darkness it was intimated to him that where on the next day he should behold the rising sun, there he should remain and fix his abode. Starting early on the following morning, he entered the Church of St. Peter outside the walls of the city, to implore the blessing of heaven on his journey. On coming forth, he beheld the sun stealing above the distant horizon. "Here, then," he said, "I shall rest, and here shall be my resurrection." His resolution was hailed with joy by the people. Emma,² the

¹ *St. Mercherdach und St. Marian und die Anfänge der Schottenklöster zu Regensburg*, von Hugo Graf von Walderdorff. Verhandlungen des Historisches Vereins zu Regensburg. Band 34, an. 1879. In after years a chapel was built in memory of this holy man, the demensions and the remains of which are thus described by a learned native archæologist, Count Hugo von Walderdorff: "Die Mercherdach's Capelle welche eine eigene absis hat scheint im Grundbaue im 13. Jahrhundert angelegt worden zu sein, während sie im 14. Jahrhundert ein Gothisches Gewölbe erhielt, von welchem jedoch nur mehr vor Säulen in den vier Ecken Zeugniss geben. . . . Hier nun in der Nördlichen Mauer ist der Grabstein St. Mercherdach's, dessen Abbildung hieneben steht eingemauert. Derselbe dürfte wohl früh aus dem 13. Jahrhundert stammen. Er ist 6' hoch und 2' breit und zeigt das bild des Heiligen nur in derb eingemeisselten Contouren, die mit schwartzer Masse eingelassen sind. Derselbe erscheint als bärtiger Pilger mit einer Pilgerstabe (cambutta) in der hand und einer Wasserflasche oder Pilgertasche an der Seite, ganz wie uns die alten Irischen Pilger geschildert werden. Seinen Kopf umgibt ein Heiligen-Schein. Ober ist in uncialen engraben.

S. MERCHERTACH."

² She is spoken of in the *Necrologium* of St. James as:—"Domina Emma, Abbatissa monasterii superioris Ord. Sancti Benedicti, quae S. Marianum cum sociis hospitio excepit atque ad Divi Petri consecratum extra muros urbis considerare jussit;" and her successor, "Willa Abbatisa Religiosa in superiori monasterio quae post Hemmam S. Mariano et sociis multa beneficia praestitit."

Abdess of Obermunster, granted him the Church of St. Peter, for the use of himself and his brethren; and a wealthy citizen of Ratisbon, named Bezelin, built for them, at his own expense, a small monastery, which the Emperor Henry IV. soon after took under his protection, at the solicitation of the Abbess Hazecha.

The fame of Marianus and the news of his prosperity soon reached Ireland, and numbers of his countrymen hastened to join him.¹ They were chiefly from the province of Ulster like Marianus himself. They became so numerous that it was found necessary, in 1090, to build another monastery to receive them. This was called the monastery of St. James, and it became in the course of years one of the richest establishments of the kind in Europe. Of Marianus the founder, little further is recorded except his great skill and industry as a scribe:—

“Such [says his biographer] was the grace of writing which Providence bestowed on the blessed Marianus, that he wrote many lengthy volumes both in the upper and lower monasteries. For, to tell the truth, without any colouring of language, among all the acts which divine Providence deigned to perform through this wonderful man, I deem this most worthy of praise and admiration, that the holy man wrote from beginning to end with his own hand the Old and New Testament with explanatory comments on the books; and *that* not once or twice, but over and over again, with a view to an eternal reward, all the while clad in sorry garb and living on slender diet. Besides, he also wrote many smaller books and manual psalters for distressed widows and poor clerics of the city, towards the health of his soul, without any prospect of earthly gain. Furthermore, through the mercy of God, many congregations of the monastic order which in faith and charity and imitation of the blessed Marianus, have come from the aforesaid Ireland, and inhabit Bavaria and Franconia, are sustained by the writings of the blessed Marianus.”²

¹ “Sed dum claustrum idem fuerat initiatum sic fama volans ejusdem loci per ora hinc inde peregrinorum limina diversissima requirementum, primo ad aquilonates partes Hyberniae unde vir Sanctus oriundus erat parlata fuisset multi ex concivibus suis qui pueritiam juventutemque ejusdem Deo per omnia dicatam noverant, derelictis rebus carisque propinquis, caduca prae aeternis hilari mente abjicientes; perque tot maria perque tot invia regna Christum virumque Dei Marianum sunt secuti.”

² Paper by Bishop Reeves in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., page 293; also *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., vol. ii., page 367.

In his glosses and commentaries on the sacred text he made use of the writings¹ of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, Arnobius, St. Gregory, Fulgentius, Cassius, Leo, and Alcuin. His death is recorded on the 9th of February, 1038.

There are several manuscripts written by Marianus still extant: but the most important is the Codex in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which, as Dr. Reeves remarks, interests us not only on account of the beauty of his execution, but also as supplying the Irish name of the writer. The existence of this manuscript was revealed to the public only in 1679, when Lambecius published his famous catalogue of the Library of Vienna. It was from this catalogue that Cave, Harris, Lanigan, Oudin, and Zeuss obtained their information.

A more detailed account of the manuscript was given later on by the learned and laborious Father Denis, whom Dr. Reeves describes as "one of those highly cultivated and gifted men whom the dispersion of the old society of the Jesuits threw upon the world, and who in these circumstances was made chief librarian in Vienna in the latter part of the last century." The Codex contains all the epistles of St. Paul, according to the text of the Vulgate, and in the same order in which they are found in our Bibles, except that between the Epistle to the Colossians and those addressed to the Thessalonians, the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodicæans is introduced; not, however, without the marginal observation, "*Laodicensium epistola ab alio, sub nomine Pauli, putatur edita.*" The last folio of the

¹ "Extant Reginoburgii inferiori monasterio, Divini Davidis Hymni, cum commentariis in membranis scriptis, opus Mariani, Ejus prae factionem ut fides fiat, subtexto de verbo ad verbum. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MLXXIV., Henrico juvene Imp., Machtylda Abbatissa S. Mariae, et S. Erhardi Abbateam regente, decem novalis Cycli XI. Anno Indict XII. Marianus Scotus septimo peregrinationis suae anno collegit modicas istas undas de profundo Sanctorum Patrum pelago, scilicet Hieronymi, Augustini, Cassiodori, Arnobii et de opusculis S. Gregorii: et pro suae animae salute, in honorem salvatoris Domini Nostri Jesu Christi et ejus genitricis, semperque Virginis Mariae et S. Herhardi Confessores scripsit et in unum, librum perstrinxit." (*Annales Boiorum*, page 554).

work concludes with the words which are all written in vermilion:—

IN HONORE INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS
 MARIANUS SCOTTUS SCRIPSIT HUNC
 LIBRUM SUIS FRATRIBUS PEREGRINIS.
 ANIMA EIUS REQUIESCAT IN PACE.
 PROPTER DEUM DEVOTE DICITE. AMEN.

and between the two first lines, over “Marianus Scottus,” in the same hand, is written the Irish name of the scribe, *maireadac troy mac iobairtuis*.

But to return to the monastic foundations of Marianus, we have already seen that the first house established in connection with the Church of Weich St. Peter soon became too small to hold the numbers of Irishmen who flocked to join him in his pious retreat.¹ They accordingly purchased from the Count of Frontenhausen, for the sum of thirty pounds, a piece of ground which was situated at the opposite town gate, now called the Stadt-am-Hof. The ancient chronicle,² which was kept by an Irish monk of St. James's, gives an interesting account of the progress of the new foundation. It tells us that two Irishmen of noble birth, named Isaac and Gervase, were sent, with several other companions, by Domnus, abbot of St. Peter's, to collect funds in Ireland for the building of the new monastery. They were well received by Conchobhar O'Brien, King of Munster, and returned to Ratisbon loaded with rich presents. With the money thus brought from Ireland the site was purchased, and a good part of the new monastery erected. “Now, be it known,” writes the chronicler, “that neither before nor since was there a monastery equal to this in the beauty of its towers, columns, and vaultings, erected and completed in so short a time, because the plenteousness of riches and of money bestowed by the king and princes of Ireland was almost unbounded.”

¹ See *Historische Nachricht von dem im Jahre 1552 demolirten Schottenkloster Weyh St. Peter's zu Regensburg*, von Thomas Ried. Regensburg, 1813.

² This chronicle is published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., tom. ii., pp. 365-370. Although it is called the Life of Marianus, it is, in reality, a chronicle of the monastery.

Yet, notwithstanding their copiousness, the treasures sent from Ireland were soon exhausted, and Christian, abbot of St. James, a descendant of the great family of the MacCarthys, at the request of his brethren, undertook a journey to Ireland to seek the aid of Donnchadh O'Brien, the brother of Conchobhar, who was now dead. He was most successful in his mission, and was preparing to return with a large supply of gold and valuables when he fell sick and died, and was buried before St. Patrick's altar in the Cathedral of Cashel. His successor, Abbot Gregory,¹ was consecrated in Rome by Pope Adrian IV., and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where he received the money that had been collected by Christianus, with considerable additions. With this he repaired the church, roofed it with lead, renewed its floor, and added cloisters around it,² devoting the greater portion, however, to investments, which were necessary in order to ensure the future.

Wattenbach reminds us how enterprising and successful the monks were in providing funds to carry out their building projects :³—

“Whilst the building of the monastery of St. James was in progress, one of the monks pursued his journey, accompanied only by a boy, till he reached Kiev, then the residence of the King of Russia. Here the King and his nobles made him rich presents, so that he loaded several waggons with valuable furs, to the amount of a hundred silver marks ; and arrived at home

¹ On the occasion of his interview with Pope Adrian, Gregory was asked about a certain learned Irishman, also named Marianus, who had taught the seven Liberal and other Arts in Paris, and had been the preceptor of Adrian himself. “Marianus is well,” replied Gregory, “and is now living a monk among us at Ratisbon.” “God be praised,” exclaimed the Pope ; “I know not in the Catholic Church an abbot who has under him a man as excellent in wisdom, discretion, genius, eloquence, good morals, benevolence, judgment, and other divine gifts as my master, Marianus.”—(*Ratisbon Chronicle*. Translated by Dr. Reeves. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., page 245.)

² “Hic itaque rebus gestis, claustrisque libero facta ac stabilito, felix pater Christianus abbas paternos Hiberniae fines revisens ita digno honore apud reges et principes terrae ejusdem et intantum erat acceptus quod collatis sibi argentis ducentis marcis laetus ad propria repedarit.”—(*Acta Sanctorum*, loc. cit., page 369.)

³ *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*. in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856, pp. 21-4 9; translated by Reeves, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., page 244.

in safety, accompanied by some merchants of Regensburg. For at that time Russia was not so isolated as she is now; and Regensburg in particular kept up a very lively commercial intercourse with Kiev, a city whose splendour Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, described, in the beginning of the eleventh century, in vivid colours."

It was with such treasures, aided by the privileges and exemptions conferred upon the monastery by emperors and popes, that the foundations were laid of the princely estate with which the famous "Monasterium Scottorum" of Ratisbon was ever afterwards endowed. It soon became the parent house of many flourishing colonies, always retaining authority over them, and exercising it when the occasion required. Paritius, in a work¹ from which both Wattenbach and Reeves have chiefly drawn their information, gives the fullest account which we possess to-day of its history and progress. We give below the list of abbots who ruled it, according to him, from 1070 to 1720.² The most important events of its history were the foundations of new monasteries, which took place from time to time. Before we proceed to deal with these *seriatim*, it may be as well to state briefly the vicissitudes through which St. James's passed.

¹ *Kurtzgefasste Nachricht von allen in denen Ring-Mauern der Stadt Regensburg gelegenen Reichs-Stiftlern Haupt-Kirchen und Clöstern Catholischer Religion*, von G. H. Paritius, Regensburg, 1723, page 71.

² Marianus Scotus, the founder, 1070-1098; Dominicus, discipulus Marianus, 1098-1121; Dermotius, 1121-1133; Christian, 1133-1164; Dominus, 1164-1172; Georgius, 1172-1204; Johannes, 1205-1212; Matthaeus, 1212-1214; Georgius II., 1214-1223; Jacobus, 1223-1266; Paulinus, 1266-1279; Macrobis, 1279-1290; Matthaeus II., 1290-1293; Mauritius, 1293-1295; Marianus, 1295-1301; Donatus, 1301-1310; Johannes, 1310-1326; Nicholas, 1326-1333; Johannes, 1333-1341; Gilbert, 1341-1348; Nicholas, 1348-1354; Eugene, 1355-1370; Matthaeus, 1370-1382; Gelatius, 1382-1383; Matthaeus, 1383-1396; Philip I., 1396-1402; Philip II., 1402-1421; Donatus, 1431-1436; Cormac, 1436-1442; Benedict, 1442-1444; Charles, 1444-1446; Maurice, 1447-1452; Thaddeus, 1452-1457; Otto, 1457-1465; Andrew Ruthven, 1523; David Cuning, 1525-1543; Hyeronimus Scotus, 1543-1548; Alexander Bog, 1548-1555; Balthazar Dixon, 1555-1567; Thomas Anderson, 1557-1576; Ninian Winzet, 1576-1592; Alexander Bailie, Maurus Dixon, Placidus Fleming, 1672-1720; Maurus Stuart, and Bernard Baillie. Abbot Placidus Fleming completely renovated the church in 1678.

During the course of its history it received many proofs of paternal solicitude from the Roman Pontiffs. In the year 1120 it received a letter of protection from Pope Callixtus II. Innocent II., Eugene III., and Adrian IV. issued Bulls to its abbots, commending and encouraging their work. Innocent III., on the occasion of the Fourth Council of Lateran, 1213, at the request of the abbot, George II., took the establishment, with all its branches, under the direct protection of the Holy See, and confirmed the Abbot of St. James of Ratisbon as general or president of the whole congregation or union of Irish monasteries.¹ Nor was civil patronage less generous in its assistance to these exiled monks. Cut away from the strife and contention of political life, devoted wholly to the service of God, preaching His word and inculcating His precepts by lives of perfect sanctity, these strangers became universally popular. The fame of their simplicity and zeal reached the courts of the great, as well as the homes of the poor. For all they had the same welcome, the same remedies, the same helpful sympathy. Their charity was unbounded. Their presence was regarded as a blessing to the whole country. Hence donations and legacies came to them fast and abundantly. We get an idea of the extent to which their possessions had accumulated, from a charter of the Emperor Sigismund, granted in 1422, renewing and confirming a previous charter of Frederick II., dated 1212. This latter document mentions, as Bishop Reeves has computed them,¹ "seventy denominations of land, seven mills, ten vineyards, three fisheries, four chapels, eight manses, besides woods, pasturages, and gardens, all belonging to St. James's monastery. The deed is attested by one archbishop, six

¹ Paritius, speaking of the Abbot George II., who ruled from 1213 to 1223, says: "Diesen Prälaten und sein Closter hat Papst Innocentius III., auf dem Concilium Laternanense 1215, in schutz und schirm des Romischen Stuhl's aufgenommen und immediate unterworfen. Auch ein congregation von allen denen Schottencloestern in Deutchland, derer damals 15 gewesen, befohlen aufzurichten davon der hiesige Praelat allezeit Praeses und Generalis Visitator sein solle. Diese Congregation oder union hat gedauert bis ins 16 Seculum da die Religion's—veränderung viel von diesen Clöster mitgenommen."—(Paritius, *op. cit.*)

² See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., page 246.

bishops, one king, one landgrave, two dukes, one marquis, and two earls.”¹ The record of these various donations was carefully kept in the monastery, as we gather from the

¹ In nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis Fredericus Secundus divina favente Clementia Romanorum Rex, et semper Augustus et rex Siciliae. Si viris Religiosis favoris et munificentiae gratiam impenderimus, temporalium et aeternorum bonorum retributionem indubitantes consecuturos esse speramus. Quapropter notum sit omnibus Christi fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus qualiter Monasterium Scotorum Ratisbon, ante portam occidentalem constructum, nec non et ecclesiam in Weißen Sti Petri vulgo dictum in orientali ejusdem civitatis suburbio, ad idem Monasterium Sancti Jacobi Scotorum attinentem, secundum tenorem firmæ libertatis Privilegiorum Antecessorum nostrorum Romanorum Imperatorum et Regum Henrici III. Henrici IV. et Clotarii et Frederici, ob honorem et venerationem Beatorum Apostolorum Petri ac Jacobi, rogatu Matthæi abbatis et fratrum ejusdem monasterii atque fratrum Ecclesiae S. Petri supplicatione quæ Scotis monasterii Sancti Jacobi subdita esse probatur cum omnibus bonis et possessionibus quas modo habent rationabiliter et quas in posterum specialibus nominibus designabimur aut in futurum justis modis sunt habituri in Muntiburdium defensionis nostræ suscepimus, eo scilicet tenore ut sicut constitutum est ab supradictis imperatoribus, idem monasterium S. Jacobi et ecclesia S. Petri necnon ea bona sibi attinentia, ac ibidem solummodo Scoti inhabitantes et nulli alii, perpetuam habeant libertatem nec ab aliqua persona magna vel parva graventur, nec quidquam servitii nisi soli Deo et Sanctis ejus reddere cogantur, neque aliqua persona major vel minor in eos aut in bona eorum qualemcumque dominationem habeant, præter nos et successores nostros Reges vel Imperatores, sed securi maneant absque omni ejectione vel perturbatione, orantes pro se et pro statu Imperii ac totius Ecclesiæ salute. Nomina autem possessionum hæc sunt. Manspach, Calenberg, Tegernhem, Gundolfingen, cum piscatoriis Rewt, Kindinhaus, Gebelschoun, Wernsing, Kneuting cum vineis suis et capella sua, Bochesbruck cum capella sua et decimis, Trewling, Tietelndorff superius et inferius cum silvis et piscatoriis, cæterisque appendiciis circumquaque sibi adjacentibus, Markstett, Machtenfeldt, Tessenkual, Oberkof, Molendinum apud Sinsingen, Griestett cum capella, silvis, piscatoriis, molendinis, Ansiedel, Diefurt, Halthaus, Bogelthal, Gundobshausen, Britz cum capella, Lienberch, Graffenberch, Obergundelting, Lachenhausen, Mueldorff, Fingenthal, Westenholtz, Molendinum apud Brunn, duo molindinia apud Laber Essenberch, Perckstett, Hundhaben, Helmbuebel, cum appendiciis suis Hart, Kembnat, Huenberch, Riet, pascualis Stettanhoven, Surchausen, Gierhausen, Kaerrin, Frankhausen, Warrnadsdorff, suo vinea ad pedem pontis Ratisponeus, Menslo, Lewrendorff, Huetenkof, Muenchfref, Caustein, Puelhoven, Calbesing, Schiltorn, Krapenhof, Sneitharz, Trukenhoven, Pondorf, Stock, Altauna, Curta apud Pfater, Hagenbuch, Kager, Hertzkonen, Riedling, Coellenbach, Hochdorff, Eyck, Heide, Schur, Frielbaum, duo vinea juxta Kinckenperg, Wintzer cum molendino, duo vinea apud Upspurek, et area una apud Pernsenberg et duos mansos in Saze, et sex mansos apud Scotting, Snebbhart. Præterea decernimus ut nulli liceat advocatim eorum concedere, habere, aut dare nisi per nos et nostros successores. Si quis autem, &c. See Hugh Ward, *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, p. 296.

fragments that have remained to us. Thus Bertha,¹ "the gentle and artless dove" (*simplex sine felle columba*), daughter of the pious Margrave Leopold, and wife of the Burgrave Henry of Ratisbon, makes over on the monastery two vineyards and seven acres of land in Austria, in return for which she is buried in the chapter-house and never forgotten in the prayers of the monks. Another pious lady, named Linchardis, is equally generous, and is buried near Bertha "in *Capitulo nostro*." Noblemen like Werner von Laaber, Berthold von Schwartzenburg, Otto von Riedenburg, are especially commemorated in the *Necrologium* for their large donations. Nor should Count Albert de Mitterzil be forgotten, for he was amongst their earliest benefactors, giving them the ground alongside their church on which their monastery was almost entirely constructed. His name² is recorded in the *Necrologium* on the 17th January. Other names equally generous abound on the register.

And yet the vastness of that great estate did not prevent the institution that possessed it from one day falling into decay, and, what is worse, into disrepute. It even possibly helped its downfall, and made its days of decline more unfortunate than they might otherwise have been. We do not refer here to the frequent fires that consumed the material buildings, and compelled the monks to start from the foundations and begin their work anew.³ The final overthrow of the monastery was due to influences not less destructive than fire, but more fatal and far-reaching in their effects. Chief amongst these, as Wattenbach observes,⁴ was the

¹ "Deinde Bertha beatissima, simplex sine felle Columba, rutilans caritatis sidus imperii, beatae memoriae Henrici Ratisbonensis Burgravii uxor sepulturam propriam, vineas duas ac septem aratra in Austria Deo ac Beato Jacobo neonon et peregrinis loci illius fratribus pie destinavit."

² "Albertus de Mitterzil qui primis Scotis agrum suum suburbanum, Ruselint dictum, libere concessit, in quo hoc nostrum monasterium constructum est." Cf. *Verhandlungen des Historisches Vereins für Regensburg* Band 34, Anno 1879, page 227.

³ *Historische Nachricht von dem im Jahre 1552 demolirten Schottenkloster Weigh St. Peter zu Regensburg*, von Thomas Ried, Regensburg, 1813, pages 16-18.

⁴ *Congregation der Schottenkloster in Deutschland*, translated by Reeves in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., page 304.

subjugation of Ireland by the English. The incessant troubles that overwhelmed the mother country ever since the Anglo-Normans landed on our shores, made themselves felt in the Irish religious establishments on the Continent. The firmer and more extensive English domination became in Ireland, the more baneful were its results abroad as well as at home. Few monks went out from Ireland from the fourteenth century onwards. Those that did go were chiefly such as their superiors wanted to get rid of, or who were discontented with the strict rules and severe discipline that prevailed at home. It was not the zeal of the missionary that urged them forward. They sought rather a life of luxury and ease. Hence the duties of religious life are gradually neglected. The new monks are not able to fulfil their task. They fail to become acquainted with the language of the people around them. They cannot preach nor hear confessions. Their conduct leaves much to be desired. The good people whose forefathers lavished riches and wealth on the monks of St. James in the early times, shake their heads in sorrow and almost in shame. The property of the establishment is frittered away and squandered. The buildings fall into ruin. Manuscripts that had been laboriously written out were burnt or cast away. Books were sold or pawned or neglected. Church ornaments and vestments were allowed to become squalid and unfit for use. The monks themselves dwindled in number till they were threatened with extinction. Then it was that the monastery and what remained of the property fell an easy prey to the Scotchmen or "Scoti" of Scotland. They asserted "that these foundations originally belonged to their nation; that the Irish had unjustly thrust themselves in, and for that very reason had brought about the decline of the colonies."¹

¹ Wattenbach, *op. cit.* In reference to the assertion of the Scotchmen, that the Irish had "thrust themselves in," Bishop Reeves observes: "The monstrosity of this assertion is hardly credible. But what can be too bad when Camerarius gravely asserts, and tries to prove, that his Scotland was occasionally called Ireland." (*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., page 310.)

On the 31st of July, 1515, Pope Leo IV. did actually make over the monastery of St. James on the Scotch, and appointed John Thomson superior. Thomson had just then paid a visit to Rome, where he had been a daily guest of the Pope at his dinner-table. This abbot drove out the remnant of Irish monks who still remained, and introduced countrymen of his own from the Abbey of Dunfermline. He was warmly supported by King James of Scotland. In 1653 an Irish Benedictine monk made vigouros efforts to recover possession of the monastery for his countrymen. Several Austrian cardinals supported his claims; but Pope Innocent X. decided against him. The newcomers were, all the same, not much superior to the degenerate Irishmen whom they replaced. They squandered what remained of the property till, under Abbot Alexander Bog, from 1548 to 1556, there was not a single monk remaining at St. James's. In his time also the old parent monastery of Weyh-St.-Peter was lost, having been burned to the ground on the evening of the 25th of May, 1552, during the progress of the Smalcaldic war. An old Ratisbon chronicler, Leonhard Wildman,¹ thus relates the occurrence:—

“On Wednesday, in the week of the Holy Cross, they began to destroy the church of Weyh-St.-Peter. In the evening they set it on fire, and burned it to the ground. On the 28th of July I went out, for the first time, by the gate of Weyh-St.-Peter, to see how the dear little monastery had been broken to pieces; and the scene which this ancient house of God presented made me full sore at heart. Verily, if our forefathers had not built so many chapels, there would not now have been stones enough for the bastions of Prebrunn, and for the Ostengate.”

St. James's had a short return of prosperity under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., who appointed as its abbot Ninian Winzet, a zealous opponent of the movement towards Protestantism. He had been driven out of Scotland on account of his orthodoxy and firmness, and now gathered around him at Ratisbon all the Catholic fugitives from his own country. He immediately set about seizing on the other Scotie monasteries that had been

¹ Ried, *op. cit.*, page 37.

subject to St. James, and was successful in the cases of Erfzfurt and Würzburg. In the others he failed. He was assisted in his intrigues by a remarkable man, named John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and formerly plenipotentiary of Queen Mary Stuart in London. This ecclesiastic was high in the favour of the Roman Court. He was the author of a work entitled, *De Origine Scotorum*. He was appointed Assistant Bishop and Vicar-General of Rouen, in 1579; and in 1593 he was nominated to the see of Constance. He was, therefore, in a favourable position to press the claims of his countrymen to the scattered monasteries of the "Scoti." He made particularly adroit attempts in reference to the old monasteries of Nuremburg and Vienna, but failed in both. Under the Abbot Placidus Fleming (1672-1720), St. James's again enjoyed comparative prosperity. In 1718 he established there a college for young men of the Scottish nobility. When Paritius wrote his account of it, in 1723, the Scottish monks then at the monastery were—Joseph Falconer, Augustus Morrison, Marian Brochie, Boniface Leslie, Kilian Grant, Placidus Hamilton, Erhard, and Columban Grant. According, however, as religious persecution became less oppressive at home, the necessity for a foreign secular college gradually ceased. A few monks lingered on till 1862, when the old monastery was secularized, or rather when, by an understanding between the Holy See and the Bavarian Government, it was handed over to the Bishop of Ratisbon as partial endowment of the ecclesiastical seminary of the diocese.¹

In that part of the city of Ratisbon now called the "Stadt-am-Hof," on the western bank of the Danube, the old "Schottenkirche," or Church of St. James, still stands. Notwithstanding the number of times it was burnt and restored, there are still many traces around it of its Irish

¹ "Da seit Jahren der Stand der Ordensleute nicht hoher als auf zivei gebracht werden kounte, so wurde das Kloster 1862 durch den Heiligen Stuhl säcularesirt und in Einverständnesse mit diseim und der K. Bayerischen Staats-regierung an das Bisthum Regensburg als theilweise Dotation des Klerikalseminars übergeben."—(*Verhandlungen des Historisches Vereins für Regensburg*, Band 34, page 221. Article by Hugo Graf von Walderdorff.)

origin. One of its doorways in particular exhibits the genuine characteristics of Celtic art, the interlaced ornamentation and serpentine shapes of crocodiles and monsters which represent the triumph of Christianity over heathenism; the mermaid that symbolizes the distant sea crossed by the missionaries, and the peculiar shape and features, as far as they can still be distinguished, of three monks, whose origin could never be mistaken by anyone acquainted with the ancient carved stonework of Ireland, and their prototypes in the illuminated manuscripts of a still earlier period.

Such was the great monastery of St. James. We have been able to give but a brief sketch of its rise, its decline, and its extinction. Something must still be heard of it, however, as we follow the history of its numerous branches.

J. F. HOGAN.

Liturgical Notes

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY¹—*continued*

IN his reply the General of the Dominicans, in authorizing the erection of the Confraternity, will grant to the Director of the Confraternity the necessary faculties to enable him to enrol members and to bless beads. But as it must often happen, from one cause or another, that the Director himself cannot be always present when persons wish to get

¹ We have great pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to an association recently founded in connection with the Confraternity of the Rosary, and known as the "Rosary Crusade for the Souls in Purgatory." The following extracts from a leaflet issued by this association sufficiently explain its objects, and the conditions of membership, and give all the information necessary for those who may wish to become members:—

"To be a member of the "Rosary Crusade for the Souls in Purgatory," it is necessary—1st, to be a registered member of the Rosary Confraternity; 2nd, to use a chaplet, to which the Dominican and Bridgettine Indulgences have been attached; 3rd, to say the fifteen Mysteries each week, for the deceased members of the Rosary Confraternity, their deceased friends and relations, and for priests and religious, not forgetting the holy souls in

enrolled, or cannot by himself, on particular occasions, discharge all the duties of Director, it will be advisable to request the Father General to grant to the Director powers to appoint another priest as substitute or assistant, who will *eo ipso* have for that occasion all the faculties which the Director himself possesses. This request will be readily granted.

In this petition to the Father General it will be well to inform him who has been designated Director of the Confraternity by the bishop; whether, namely, it be the parish priest or rector of the church, himself or one of the curates attached to the church. And if it be inconvenient to have a member of the Dominican Order present on the day on which the confraternity is to be solemnly erected, it will be necessary also to request the Father General to grant faculties to the petitioner himself or to some other priest whom he will mention to solemnly erect the confraternity. This precaution is necessary, as it is generally to a member of the Dominican Order, selected by the Provincial, that the duty of erecting the confraternity is entrusted by the Father General. A form which may be used in addressing the Father General will also be found further on.

Generally speaking two confraternities having the same name and object cannot be erected in two neighbouring churches which are not separated by a distance of at least three miles, although the two churches may be in distinct parishes. For good reasons a dispensation in this condition can be obtained from the Holy See, and in point of fact a general dispensation in it has been granted in the case of

general. The association has been blessed and approved by his Holiness Pope Leo XIII.

"At present hundreds of Masses are said each year for the members.

"Deceased persons can be registered for the prayers and Masses of our association. Subscription, 1s. yearly.

"For the convenience of members, rosary beads, blessed and indulgenced, are given on the day of enrolment, and when renewing subscription if required; but inasmuch as the association cannot undertake to pay postage, a few extra stamps should be added towards the postal expenses. Members are earnestly invited to become Zelators for this great work for the relief of the holy souls.

"Names and subscriptions to be sent to Superioress, Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, Devon."

several confraternities which the Holy See specially wishes to have widely extended among the faithful. Up to the year 1863, no such dispensation had been granted in favour of the Confraternity of the Rosary; hence previous to that year the condition regarding distance had to be strictly observed when erecting this confraternity. But according to a declaration published on March 5, in the above-mentioned year, by the Very Rev. Father Spada, Procurator-General of the Order of St. Dominic, Pius IX. on the preceding 28th January, gave a verbal or *viva voce* dispensation in this condition. Acting on this dispensation the Father General is in the habit of sanctioning the erection of confraternities of the Rosary in churches separated by a distance of less than three miles from another church in which the confraternity already exists. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention in the petition to the Father General, that the church in which the confraternity is to be erected is not dependant on any other church, and that it is the church of an independent community, and to state how far the church in question is from the nearest church in which a confraternity of the Rosary exists.

3. The next step is to forward to the bishop of the diocese the diploma of erection received from the General of the Dominicans, together with the summary of the indulgences of the confraternity which usually accompanies the diploma. This summary of indulgences must be submitted to the bishop before the indulgences can be promulgated; hence the necessity for this second approval by the bishop of the erection of the confraternity.

4. For the actual erection of the confraternity, the only ceremony prescribed *de rigore*, is the inscription of the names of those who wish to become members in a book or register provided for this purpose. From the nature of the case, however, it is necessary that those who wish to be received into the confraternity should manifest their desire by some external act, and that the person having power to receive them should also, in some way, manifest his consent to their reception. These two conditions are sufficiently fulfilled by those desiring to be received requesting the director, or other

person having power to receive them, to inscribe their names in the register, and by his consenting to do this. Nevertheless, it is not absolutely necessary, in the case of receptions into the Confraternity of the Rosary, that the Director himself, or other priest possessing the same powers as the Director, should actually write the names. In the year 1877 (July 7) the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences, at the request of the Procurator-General of the Order of St. Dominic, declared that Directors of Rosary confraternities might employ one or more persons to write the names of the members, provided the Director himself (or other priest having the same faculties) put his signature to the foot of each page.

5. But though this is all that is necessary for the valid erection of the confraternity, and for valid membership of it, it would be desirable, in order to impress the people, and to excite their desire to share in the advantages of the confraternity, to surround the simple act of inscribing the names by as great religious solemnity as circumstances will permit. Hence, it is usual to solemnly erect the confraternity on a Sunday or feast of obligation, and at such an hour as will render it convenient for the people to assemble in the church. The day and hour selected should be announced to the people sometime beforehand, and all who wish to become members should be exhorted to prepare themselves by a good confession and communion, received, if possible, on the day itself on which the confraternity is to be erected; because, as will be seen,* a plenary indulgence may be gained on the day of reception on the usual conditions of having confessed and communicated. It is also usual for the Dominican Father, or other priest empowered to erect the confraternity, to deliver an instruction to the people before the ceremony of reception begins; and it is hardly necessary to point out that the most suitable subject for this instruction is the confraternity, of which the people are to be exhorted to become members. Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, and such other ceremonies as the resources of the church may admit, or the piety of the Director suggest, should follow the reception of the members.

6. The Director of the confraternity must be appointed by the bishop of the place. If there is only one priest attached to the church in which a confraternity of the Rosary is about to be erected ; and if the bishop, at the request of this priest, grant the necessary permission for the erection of the confraternity without making any mention of a Director, it would seem to follow that he implicitly appoints him¹ Director. But if more than one priest be attached to the church, the rector or priest who communicates with the bishop cannot take it for granted that he is appointed Director, unless the bishop expressly names him for the office. Hence, practically speaking, the bishop should *name* the Director.

As late as 1842,² the Congregation of Indulgences declared that bishops could appoint the Director of a confraternity or sodality only from year to year, so that at the end of each year, either the former Director should be reappointed, or a new one appointed in his place. But this declaration has been considerably modified by more recent legislation.³ A bishop may now appoint a priest Director of a confraternity for the whole period during which he remains attached to the church in which the confraternity is erected. Moreover, he may appoint as Director the parish priest *for the time being* (*parochus pro tempore*), and by this manner of appointment, he not only constitutes the parish priest Director until he is removed from the parish by death or otherwise, but also constitutes his successor in the parish his successor, also in the office of Director. Notwithstanding this concession, a bishop may still appoint as Director a priest other than the parish priest or rector of the church in which the confraternity is established, and he may appoint him for a longer or shorter period, according to his pleasure.

7. When a confraternity of the Rosary is being erected in a church, it is necessary to assign a chapel, or at least an altar, to the confraternity, which is to be styled "the

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, n. 304, ad 1.

² *Decr. Auth.*, n. 304, ad 3.

³ S. C. Indulg. Junii 25, 1887. *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. xx., page 108. Beringer, tom ii., page 20.

chapel" or "the altar of the Holy Rosary." This chapel or altar is not strictly required for the valid erection of the confraternity; but it is required in order that the members may gain all the indulgences of the confraternity. Indeed, deprived of such chapel or altar, they will be deprived of many important indulgences. If there is not a chapel in the church which can be dedicated to the Holy Rosary, and if there is no other altar in the church save the high altar, then this altar will serve the purpose; and the entire chapel will become a "chapel of the Holy Rosary." This, however, does not change the titular or patron of the church, nor in any way modify the commemorations, &c., of the titular or patron in the Mass or in the Divine Office. The selection of the chapel or altar for this purpose must be made by the bishop, or by the parish priest, with the consent of the bishop.

8. Finally, in parishes where, for any reason, it is impossible or inconvenient to establish a confraternity of the Rosary, a priest—either parish priest or curate—can obtain faculties from the General of the Order of St. Dominic, enabling him to receive the faithful into the confraternity, to bless beads, and to give to the members of the confraternity a plenary indulgence at the hour of death. Priests who have received, and who exercise these powers should, from time to time, forward the names of the members they have admitted, to be inscribed in a register of the confraternity kept in a Dominican monastery, or in some secular church in which the confraternity has been canonically erected. Application for the faculties here mentioned may be made direct to the General of the Order in Rome, or, better, through the Provincial of the Order in the country from which the application comes.

9. For valid membership of the Confraternity of the Rosary the one essential condition is, to have one's name inscribed in the register of a canonically-erected confraternity; but to entitle one to share in all the indulgences and privileges of the confraternity, it is necessary to fulfil the conditions to which such indulgences and privileges are attached. In the list of indulgences, the conditions for gaining each one are

given in detail. The members are, however, expected to have beads blessed by a Dominican Father, or other priest having faculties from the General of the Order, and to recite the fifteen decades of the Rosary once during the course of each week. To the devout performance of this exercise, and even to the carrying of properly-indulgenced beads about one, are attached numerous indulgences; but beads blessed by a priest having the ordinary faculties granted by Propaganda do not, it must be borne in mind, entitle the person using them, or carrying them, though he be a member of the confraternity, to these special indulgences. The beads *must* be blessed by a priest having faculties from the General of the Dominican Order. For persons not members of the Confraternity of the Rosary it is necessary, in order to gain the indulgence attached to the recital of the Rosary, to say a third part of the Rosary, that is, five decades, without interruption; but members of this confraternity gain all the numerous indulgences attached to the weekly recital of the fifteen decades, though they interrupt the recital at the end of each decade.¹ A convenient method, therefore, of performing this weekly devotion would be to say two decades each day, and add a third on Sundays, or some other convenient day during the week. But again we beg to remind our readers, that the recital of these fifteen decades each week is not an essential condition of membership of the confraternity; consequently, members neglecting or omitting this exercise deprive themselves merely of the indulgences attached to it—a sufficiently great privation, however—while retaining a full right to all the other indulgences of the confraternity, provided they fulfil the conditions for gaining each.

(To be continued.)

REVALIDATION OF INVALID RECEPTIONS INTO THE CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

We have more than once stated in these pages, that for valid membership of any recognised confraternity, it is essential that the names of the members be entered in a

¹ Decr., Pius IX., Jan. 22, 1858.

register kept for this purpose, either in the church in which the confraternity has been canonically erected, or in a house of the Religious Order to which the confraternity pertains. We have also stated that to gain the indulgences attached to the wearing of the brown scapular it is necessary to become a member of the Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel ; and, consequently, that all who wear the brown scapular should have their names inscribed in the register of a confraternity of this name, or in a register kept in a Carmelite monastery. We have reason to know, however, that this condition of entering the names of those who receive the brown scapular, though essential for gaining the indulgence, is not always fulfilled, and that, as a consequence, many who wear this scapular are deprived of the indulgences. The reason of this neglect is not far to seek, and it is a reason that palliates, though it cannot altogether excuse, the negligence of the older priests ; for the negligence of the younger generation of priests it offers neither excuse nor palliation. The reason is this: from the year 1838 (April 30th), until the year 1887 (March 26th), the inscription in a confraternity register of the names of those who received the brown scapular was not necessary. In the former of these years Gregory XVI. dispensed in this condition, and this dispensation was in force until the latter year, when it was formally withdrawn by Leo XIII. Hence priests who were accustomed to invest their people with the brown scapular previous to the year 1887, and who had never, up to that time, heard of the necessity of inscribing their names, may be somewhat excused for refusing to accept, unless on the clearest evidence, this innovation. But whatever palliation may exist for past neglect of this condition, there can be none for any future neglect of it; and we would, therefore, strongly impress on our readers that the fulfilment of the condition of having the names of those who received the brown scapular inscribed in a regularly kept register of a Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, or forwarded to a Carmelite monastery is absolutely essential for gaining the indulgences attached to the wearing of this scapular. For past negligence of this condition, and for every other

informality of whatsoever kind that may have occurred in investing persons with the brown scapular provision has been recently made by our Holy Father in the following document.¹ The document is dated June 20th, 1894; consequently all invalid receptions into the Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, made before that date, no matter from what causes the invalidity arose, are now valid; and—if this has not been already stated with sufficient clearness—consequently, it is no longer necessary to have inscribed in the register of a confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, or forwarded to a Carmelite monastery, the names of those who received the brown scapular *before* the 20th of last June, and in whose case this condition had not been complied with. The following is the document:—

BEATISSIME PATER,

P. Vicarius Generalis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum ad Sacrorum pedum osculum provolutus exponit non raro contingere ut Christifideles, qui ad Confraternitatem B. M. Virginis de Monte Carmelo admitti postulant, invalide recipiantur sive ob omisam nominum inscriptionem, sive ob aliam causam.

Ne itaque praefati Christifideles gratiis et privilegiis memoratae Confraternitatis concessis priventur, Orator S. V. humiliter supplicat quatenus receptiones ad eandem Confraternitatem, quacunque ex causa, usque ad hanc diem, invalide peractas, benigne sanare dignetur.

Vigore specialium facultatum a Ssmo. Dno. Nostro Leone, P.P., XIII., tributarum S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita petitam sanationem benigne concessit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congreg. die 20 Junii, 1894.

FR. IGNATIUS CARD. PERSICO, *Praefectus.*

✠ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOL, *Secretarius.*

FR. BERNARDINUS A S. VERENA, *Procurator Generalis, C.D.*

¹ For a copy of this document we are indebted to the Very Rev. P. T. Burke, O.D.C., St. Mary's, Morehampton-road, Dublin.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS**QUESTIONS REGARDING INDULGENCES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel very grateful if you kindly enlighten me on the following questions:—

1st. Can the faithful gain the indulgence granted for saying the prayer of St. Joseph during this month by joining mentally with the priest in saying the words?

2nd. Can a weekly penitent who goes to confession on the first day of the week and the last day of the following week gain the indulgences that occur between these two confessions; or should there be only seven days between the confessions in order to gain the indulgences?

3rd. When confession, communion, a visit to a church, and prayers according to the Pope's intention are prescribed for gaining an indulgence on a certain day, say the first Sunday of the month, can a person who goes to confession, and receives communion the day before, fulfil the condition of a visit, and gain this indulgence by going to the church and praying for the Pope's intention on the day the indulgence can be gained—to hear Mass of obligation? Delicate people sometimes go to confession and receive communion on Saturday morning and on vigils, who cannot fast till the community Mass on the following day. Although a person who goes to a church to hear Mass of obligation, and receives Holy Communion at that Mass, and prays for the Pope's intention, fulfils the obligation of communion, a visit, and the prayers, the above case seems to be somewhat different.

4th. When or on what occasion was the plenary indulgence granted on the first Sunday of the month to the faithful of Ireland? It seems to be a special privilege granted to this country.

PAROCHUS.

1. We are of opinion that the reply to our correspondent's first question should be in the affirmative. For when the Holy Father orders an indulgenced prayer to be recited publicly, it would seem to be his intention that all who assist at this public recitation should gain the indulgence; but he never, we think, intends or expects that while the priest reads the prayer aloud all present should also read it or repeat it from memory. All that is intended is that

those present should join with the priest in offering the prayer ; and they can join with the priest either by repeating along with him the words of the prayer, or by raising their hearts to God and offering the prayer mentally with him.

2. For gaining plenary indulgences, for which confession and communion are prescribed, weekly confession is required and is sufficient—*qui assolent confiteri semel saltem in hebdomada*, are the words of the Congregation of Indulgences. Our correspondent, then, wants to know what is meant by a week in this context ; whether, namely, it means a space of seven consecutive days beginning with the day of confession—whatever day of the week that may be—or, whether it means the week in the ecclesiastical sense which always begins with Sunday and ends with the following Saturday. We think the latter is the true meaning ; and from this we infer that, if a person goes to confession on any day of one week, and on any day of the following, he fulfils the condition of weekly confession. Hence in the case proposed by our correspondent, this condition would be fulfilled. This is not our own opinion merely, but the opinion of many eminent authors, among whom may be mentioned Lehmkühl,¹ and Melata.²

3. To fulfil the condition of confession and communion scribed for gaining a plenary indulgence on a given day, both sacraments may be received on the previous day ; or, when there is question of persons who confess every week, communion alone may be received on the previous day, the weekly confession, as we have just seen, being sufficient for the fulfilment of the other part of the condition. It should, however, be borne in mind, that all the other conditions, such as visiting a church, praying for the Pope's intentions, &c., must be fulfilled on the day itself for which the indulgence has been granted.

That communion received on the day preceding that for which the indulgence has been granted suffices for gaining

¹ Vol. ii., n. 539, and note.

² *Manuale de Indulgentiis*, Romae, 1892, pp. 56, 57.

the indulgence, is clear from the following decree of October 6, 1870:—

“SSmus D. N. Pius P.P. IX. in Audientia habita ab infra-scripta Cardinali Praefecto ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis, die 6 Octobris, 1870, ad removendam omnem dubitandi rationem et ad commodius reddendum confessionis et communionis adimplementum, benigne declarari et decerni mandavit, prout hoc decreto declaratur et decernitur, tum confessionem dumtaxat, tum confessionem et communionem peragi posse die, qui immediate praecedit sequentem pro quo concessa fuerit indulgentia quaelibet non solum ratione festivitatis occurrentis juxta allata decreta, verum etiam quaecunque alia ex causa, vel devotionis, vel pii exercitii, ut solemnitatis, uti esset pro memoratis et ceteris hujusmodi diebus, pro quibus indulgentia cum conditione confessionis et communionis concessa jam fuerit, vel in posterum concedatur.”

This concession does not extend to the indulgence of a Jubilee; to gain this indulgence all the conditions, even that of confession and communion, must be fulfilled within the time over which the Jubilee extends.

4. A plenary indulgence on the first Sunday of each month was granted on the usual conditions to the faithful of the Diocese of Dublin, by Pius VI., on January 12, 1783, at the request, probably, of Dr. Carpenter, then Archbishop of this see. The same indulgence, together with several other special indulgences, previously granted to the faithful of the diocese, as well as of the province of Dublin, was extended to the faithful of the whole country by Gregory XVI., on March 18, 1832, at the request of the archbishops and bishops of the other provinces.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence.

THE ASSOCIATION OF PRIESTS-ADORERS

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, WILTON, CORK,
October 10th, 1894.

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the July number of the I. E. RECORD the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, C.C., Mallow, wrote an eloquent article on the Association of Priests-Adorers, of which I am the humble Director-General for Ireland. I am highly pleased with the article and again publicly express my heartfelt thanks to the zealous Apostle of the Blessed Sacrament, for his article was read by many priests with great interest and many joined the Association.

Now it appears from a letter written by an English priest, the Rev. Father Smith, Mortomley, near Sheffield, and published in the September number of the I. E. RECORD, that some words of Father Sheehan's article gave rise to doubts as to the existence of a branch of Lay Adorers, connected with the Association of Priests-Adorers and endowed with indulgences. I received a letter from the Rev. Father Sheehan calling upon me as Director-General "to decide this point of controversy." I enclose Father Sheehan's letter, and I would be most thankful to you, Rev. Dear Sir, if you would kindly reproduce it in its full extent, if you have space enough.

"MALLOW, *October 4th, 1894,*

"DEAR FATHER SPIESER,—I presume you have seen in the September number of the I. E. RECORD a letter from Father Smith, impugning some statement that I made in the July RECORD, in the article "Priests-Adorers." As you are more thoroughly conversant with the rules of this world-wide Association than I am, I appeal to you for an opinion on the subject under controversy. The main object of my brief article was to bring under the notice of the Irish priesthood this admirable association of priests, banded together to form a Guard of Honour around our Blessed Lord in the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar. Quite incidentally, I mentioned that some zealous priests had formed in their parishes lay associations with a similar object, affiliated to the central confraternity in Paris, dowered with numerous indulgences, and under the obligation of making occasionally (every month) an hour's adoration before the Holy Sacrament: As far as I can understand Father Smith's letter, he contends that there is no lay-association of the kind; and that it would be quite a mistake to leave pious lay people under the

misapprehension that they could be affiliated to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, or become partakers in its privileges. Would you kindly intervene, as Director of the Association in Ireland, to decide this point of controversy? I am rather sorry that a mere passing allusion to the matter in *my* paper, should have raised an issue which may have the tendency to throw into the background the main purport of my article; namely, the vast importance and grandeur of this work of priestly adoration, which has now been taken up by the priesthood in all countries, and in which prophetic eyes are willing to discern one of those sudden Providential inspirations, which, if accepted, will eventuate in one of those grand religious upheavals that will break up the tepidity and indifference which are characteristic of our times.—I am, Dear Fr. Spieser, yours very sincerely.

“ P. A. SHEEHAN.”

I am deeply indebted to the Rev. Father Smith, and thank him for his great zeal and the interest he takes in our Association, but he evidently was not aware of the real existence of a branch of Lay Adorers, and consequently did not understand the passage of Father Sheehan's article alluding to it. Father Sheehan's intention was to speak especially of the Association of Priests-Adorers.

Now in order to prevent any further doubt or discussion on the subject, it suffices to lay before the eyes of the rev. clergy the rules of the branch, or as it is called in France, the Aggregation of Lay-Adorers. Therefore, Rev. Dear Sir, do please kindly publish the notice on the Lay Aggregation here enclosed.

Thanking you for all your kindness, and hoping that now and then you will give a place of honour to the Most Holy Sacrament in the I. E. RECORD.—I remain, yours most humbly,

CHARLES SPIESER, S.A.M.

LAY AGGREGATION TO THE CONGREGATION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT

I. ITS NATURE

This Aggregation is a spiritual affiliation to the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament, founded at Paris by the Very Rev. Père Eymard, of venerable memory, in order to permit the faithful to share in his Adorations, his zeal for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ in the divine Sacrament of the Altar, and to participate in the merits, spiritual favours, and indulgences.

II. CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION

Every Catholic, no matter of what age, can be a member of the Aggregation. For that he must (1) promise to spend each

month a continuous hour of Adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament exposed or shut up in the Tabernacle. The day, the hour, and the church are left to the choice or convenience of the members. He can change them each month if he wishes. However, in parishes where the Devotion of the Monthly Exposition is established, the members are invited to make their hour of Adoration on the day when, and in the church where the Most Holy Sacrament is exposed. (2) To have themselves inscribed, surname and christian name are required. (3) To consecrate themselves to the service of the Most Holy Sacrament by the formula indicated farther on, or any other similar formula.

III. INDULGENCES

(1) A Plenary Indulgence can be gained on the day of their admission into the Aggregation, provided they receive the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Communion, and visit during the day a Church of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament or their Parish Church, and there pray awhile for the intentions of our Holy Father the Pope. (2) Every day they can gain a Plenary Indulgence if after Confession and Communion they spend an hour of Adoration during that day before the Most Holy Sacrament exposed or shut up in the Tabernacle.¹ (3) Seven years and seven quarantines when with a contrite heart they adore during one full hour the Most Holy Sacrament exposed or shut up in the Tabernacle. (4) A Plenary Indulgence on the Feast of the Epiphany and Corpus Christi, if having been at Confession and received Holy Communion they adore devoutly (even for a few minutes) the Most Holy Sacrament in one of the Churches of the Congregation, or in their Parish Church, and pray also for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff. (5) A Plenary Indulgence at the hour of death by invoking the holy name of Jesus.

IV. REMARKS

(1) All these Indulgences are applicable to the souls in Purgatory. (2) None of these Indulgences can be gained if there is no lamp *burning* before the Blessed Sacrament. (3) Besides all the favours and Indulgences mentioned, the Aggregates share also in the merits and good works, not only of their Association, but also in those of all the Fathers and Brothers of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament, and of all the numerous members of their divers Associations.

N.B.—Persons desirous of becoming members of this Aggregation are requested to communicate with the Director-General.

Address:—Rev. CHARLES SPIESER, S.A.M., St. Joseph's Apostolic College, Wilton, Cork

¹ *Remark.*—Everyone who is in the habit of confessing every fortnight or every week, according to the rules of his diocese, can gain a Plenary Indulgence each time he makes an hour of Adoration on the Communion day.

Documents

LEO XIII. AND SACRED PREACHING

[THE following Circular Letter on Sacred Preaching has been issued by order of his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and addressed to all the Ordinaries of Italy, and to the Superiors of the Religious Orders and Congregations.]

“ His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., who has so much at heart the apostolic ministry of preaching, so necessary, especially in these days, for the right guidance of the Christian people, has learned with much pain that grave abuses, rendering modern preaching either contemptible or barren and unfruitful, have for some time back crept into the manner of announcing the divine word. He, therefore, following in the footsteps of his predecessors,¹ has ordered this holy Congregation of Bishops and Regulars to address themselves to the Ordinaries of Italy, and to the Superiors-General of the Religious Orders, in order to stimulate their vigilance and zeal, that they may, as far as in their power, remedy these disorders and effect their complete removal. In obedience, therefore, to the commands of the Holy Father this Sacred Congregation puts before the eyes of the Most Reverend Ordinaries and Heads of Regular Orders and pious Ecclesiastical Institutions the following rules, that they may with all diligence and zeal look to their observation.

1. And in the first place let them beware of ever entrusting so sacred an office to one not endowed with sincere Christian piety and great love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without which he would never be more than *aes sonans et cymbalum tinniens*;² and could never have that true zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls which should be the sole end and motive of the preaching of the Gospel. And this Christian piety, so necessary to Christian teachers, should shine also in their external conduct, which should never be in contradiction with

¹ Amongst others, Clement X., Innocent XI., Innocent XII., Benedict XIII., sometimes in Pontifical Acts, sometimes by means of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, or of that of the Bishops and Regulars, issued, according to the wants of the times, wise prescription as to sacred preaching.

² 1 Cor. xxii. 1.

their teaching, nor have any worldly or mundane character, but be always such as to show them to be truly *ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei*;¹ otherwise, as the Angelic St. Thomas observes, *si doctrina est bona et praedicator malus, ipse est occasio blasphemiae Dei*.² With piety and Christian virtue must also be combined knowledge, since it is manifest and proved by continual experience that sound, well ordered and fruitful preaching would be vainly looked for from those who, unfurnished with solid studies, principally theological, and confiding in their own natural loquacity, should rashly ascend the pulpit with little or no preparation. Such as these in general are only beating the air, and, without perceiving it, bringing the divine word into contempt and derision; hence to them it is clearly said: *Quia tu scientiam repulisti, ego repellam te ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi*.³

2. Wherefore, after, and not before the priest has provided himself with the aforesaid qualifications, the Most Rev. the Ordinaries, and Heads of the Regular Orders, may confide to him the great ministry of the divine word, watching, however, to see that he restricts himself to matter proper for sacred preaching. Such matter is indicated by the Divine Redeemer where He says: *Predicate evangelium*.⁴ *Dicentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis*.⁵ Conformably to which words the Angelic Doctor wrote: *Praedicatores debent illuminare in credendis, dirigere in operandis, vitanda manifestare, et modo comminando, modo exhortando, hominibus praedicare*.⁶ And the Holy Council of Trent: *Annunciantes eis vitia quae eos declinare et virtutes quas sectari oportet ut poenam eternam evadere et coelestem gloriam consequi valeant*.⁷ But this was still more amply explained by the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX. of holy memory in the following words: “Non semetipsos sed Christum crucifixum praedicantes, sanctissima religionis nostrae dogmata et precepta, juxta Catholicae Ecclesiae et Patrum doctrinam, gravi ac splendido orationis genere, populo clare aperteque annuncient, omnesque a flagitiis deterreant, ad pietatem inflamment, quo fideles, Dei verbo salubriter relecti, vitia omnia declinent, virtutes sectentur, atque ita aeternas poenas evadere et coelestem gloriam consequi valeant.”⁸ Hence it clearly appears that the Creed and Decalogue,

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 1.

² Comment. in Matt. v.

³ Os. iv. 6.

⁴ Mark xvi. 15.

⁵ Matt. xxxiii. 20.

⁶ *Loco cit.*

⁷ Sess. V., c. 2, *de Reform.*

⁸ Enc., Nov. 9, 1846.

the precepts of the Church and the Sacraments, virtues and vices, the duties proper to different classes of people, the Last Day and such eternal truths should form the ordinary material of sacred oratory.¹

3. But these grave themes are at the present day unworthily neglected by many preachers, who, *quaerentes quae sua sunt, non quae Jesu Christi*² and knowing well that these are not the themes best suited to gain them that popular vogue that they ambition, leave them completely on one side, especially in Lent, and on other solemn occasions: and changing the name as well as the thing described, substitute for the old-fashioned sermons an ambiguous kind of *conferences*, adapted rather to attracting the mind and fancy than to moving the will and reforming the morals. Nor do they reflect that while moral sermons were improving for all, these conferences are generally adapted only to the few; and that even those few, if they were better looked after in their morals; that is to say, if better assisted to become more chaste, more humble, more obedient to the authority of the Church, would by those means alone have had their minds cleared of endless prejudices against the faith, and more disposed to receive the light of truth; because religious errors, especially among Catholic people, generally have their root in the passions of the heart, rather than in the aberrations of the mind, according to what is written, *De corde exeunt cogitationes malae, blasphemiae, &c.*³ Hence on what was said by the Psalmist, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo; non est Deus*,⁴ St. Augustine wisely reflects, *in corde suo, non in mente sua*.

4. It is not, however, intended hereby absolutely to condemn the use of conferences, which may indeed in some cases, when well conducted, be most useful and necessary among the many errors diffused in reference to religion. But it is desired to banish utterly from the pulpit those pompous discourses that treat of arguments more speculative than practical, more civil than religious, more showy than fruitful, which are perhaps adapted to the journalistic arena, and to the academic halls, but are certainly out of place in a sacred edifice. With regard then to conferences that aim at the defence of religion from the attacks of its enemies, they are occasionally necessary; but this argument is of a weight not suited to all shoulders, but only to the most robust. Even the

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

³ Matt. xv., 19.

⁴ Ps. xiii. 1.

best orators must treat it cautiously, for such apologies should only be made in such places, such churches, and to such audiences as really require them, and amongst whom real profit may be hoped for from them, as to which it is manifest the ordinaries are the best judges; they should be so arranged that the demonstration should have its basis deep in the sacred doctrines much more than in human and natural arguments; and they should be framed with such solidity and clearness as to avoid the danger that on certain minds the error should remain more forcibly impressed than the opposite truths, and the objections carry more weight than their refutation. Above all the danger must be carefully guarded against, that the excessive use of conferences may make moral sermons fall into disesteem and disuse, as though they were matters of a secondary order and of less importance than polemics, and, therefore, to be left to vulgar preachers and their audiences; whilst the truth is, that moral preaching is the more necessary to the bulk of the faithful, and no less lofty than polemics, for which reason the most able and distinguished orators, before however select and numerous an audience, should at least occasionally treat it with lively zeal.

5. But if many abuses are noted in the choice of themes, others not less grave are to be deplored in the form of treatment. In reference to which St. Thomas Aquinas teaches truly, that in order to be really *lux mundi*, *tria debet habere praedicator verbi divini: primum est stabilitas, ut non deviet a veritate; secundum est claritas, ut non doceat cum obscuritate; tertium est utilitas ut quaerat Dei laudem et non suam.*¹ But unfortunately the form of many modern sermons is not only far removed from the clearness and evangelical simplicity that ought to characterize them, but involved in nebulous circumlocutions and obtruse matters above the comprehension of the generality of the people, calling to the lips the piteous complaint: *Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis.*² But the worst defect is the frequent want of that sacred impress, that breath of Christian piety, that unction of the Holy Spirit, in virtue of which the evangelic messenger ought always to be able to say of himself: *Sermo meus et predicatio mea non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis.*³ They, on the contrary, resting almost entirely on *persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis*, care little or nothing for the divine word of the Sacred Scripture

¹ *Loco cit.*

² Thren. iv. 4.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 4.

which should be the well-spring of sacred eloquence. "Haec propria et singularis scripturarum virtus, a divino afflatu Spiritus Sancti profecta, ea est quae oratori sacro auctoritatem aduit, apostolicam praebet dicendi libertatem, nervosam victricemque tribuit eloquentiam. Quisquis enim divini verbi spiritum et robur eloquendo refert, ille non loquitur *in sermone tantum, sed et in virtute, et Spiritu Sancto et in plenitudine multa*.¹ Quamobrem ii dicendi sunt praepostere improvideque facere, qui ita conciones de religione habent, et praecepta divina enunciant, nihil ut fere afferant nisi humanae scientiae et prudentiae verba, suis magis argumentis quam divinus innixi. Istorum scilicet orationem, quantumvis nitentem luminibus, languescere et frigere necesse est utpote quae igne careat sermonis Dei, eandemque longe abesse ab illa qua divinus sermo pollet virtute: *Vivus est enim sermo Dei et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus*.² Quamquam hoc etiam prudentioribus assentiendum est, inesse in sacris Litteris mire variam et uberem magnisque dignam rebus eloquentiam: id quod Augustinus pervidit diserteque arguit,³ atque res ipsa confirmat praestantissimorum in oratoribus sacris, qui nomen suum assiduae Bibliorum consuetudini piaequae meditationi se praecipue debere, grati Deo, affirmarunt."⁴

6. Here then is the principal fountain of sacred eloquence, the Bible. But these modernized preachers, instead of drawing their eloquence from the fountain of living water, turn, by an intolerable abuse, to the parched cisterns of human wisdom; instead of bringing forward the divinely inspired texts, or those of the holy fathers and the councils, they quote to satiety profane writers, modern and even living authors, authors and words which lend themselves very frequently to most equivocal and dangerous interpretations. It is also a great abuse of sacred eloquence to treat religious subjects solely from the point of view of the interests of this life, and not to speak of the future one; to enumerate the advantages conferred on society by the Christian religion, while passing over the duties enjoined by it; to depict the Divine Redeemer as all charity, and to be silent as to His justice. Hence the little fruit of such preaching, from which the man of the world comes away persuaded that without change of

¹ Thess. i. 5.

² Heb. iv. 12.

³ *De Doctr. Christ.*, iv. 6, 7.

⁴ *Enc. de Studiis Script.*, November 18, 1893.

life, provided he say, "I believe in Jesus Christ," he will be a good Christian.¹

But what matter the fruits to such as these? That is not what they principally seek, but to attract their auditors *prurientes auribus*,² and provided they see the churches full they do not care if souls are left empty. Hence they never speak of sin, never of the Day of Judgment, never of other grave truths which might cause saving sorrow, but they only speak *verba placentia*,³ and this with an eloquence more suited to the tribune than the apostle, more profane than sacred, which earns for them hand-clapping and applause long ago condemned by St. Jerome when he wrote: *docente in ecclesia te, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur; auditorum lacrimae laudes tue sint*.⁴ Hence it is that all their preaching seems surrounded, whether in the Church or elsewhere, by a certain theatrical atmosphere, which deprives it of all sacred character and all superhuman efficacy. Hence again in the people, and we may say in a portion of the clergy, the decline of taste for the divine word, the scandal of the good and the little or no profit to evil-livers or unbelievers; who, though they sometimes throng in crowds to listen to such *verba placentia*, especially if attracted to it by the sonorous words *progress, country, and modern science*, leave the church the same as they entered it, after having loudly applauded the orator *who knows the right way of preaching*; *mirabantur, sed non convertebantur*.⁵

7. Desirous, then, in conformity with the venerated commands of his Holiness, of applying a remedy to so many and such destestable abuses, this Sacred Congregation addresses itself to all the Most Reverend Bishops and Superiors-General of the Regular Orders, and pious Ecclesiastical Institutions, in order that they may with apostolic firmness oppose themselves to them, and direct all their efforts to their extirpation. Mindful, then, that according to the prescription of the most holy Tridentine Council, *viros idoneos ad huiusmodi prædicationis officium assumere tenentur*,⁶ let them use in this business the greatest diligence and caution. In the case of priests in their dioceses, let them

¹ Card. Bausa, Archbishop of Florence, to his young clergy, 1893.

² 2 Tim. i. 3.

³ Is. xxx. 10.

⁴ *Ad Nepotian*.

⁵ *Ex Aug. in Matt. xix. 25*.

⁶ Sess. V., cap. 2, *De Reform*.

be firm in not entrusting to them so august a ministry without having first tried them, either by examination or in some other suitable manner ; *nisi prius de vita et scientia et moribus probati fuerint*.¹ If it is a question of priests from other dioceses, let them accept none to preach in theirs, especially on the more solemn occasions, unless they present letters from their own Bishops or their own Regular Superiors, vouching for their good conduct and fitness for the office. Let no Superior of Religious of whatsoever Order, Society, or Congregation, permit any of his subjects to preach, still less present him to Ordinaries with their own letters of recommendation, unless they have first thoroughly satisfied themselves both of his moral conduct and of his befitting manner of announcing the divine message. And should Ordinaries, after having accepted some preacher on the faith of recommendations presented by him, see him in the practical exercise of his ministry deviate from the rules and admonitions conveyed in this letter, let them by means of opportune correction recall him promptly to his duty ; but if this do not suffice, let them straightway remove him from such office, applying even the canonical penalties, should the nature of the case require it.

In conclusion, as this Sacred Congregation knows it can count with certainty on the zeal of the Most Reverend Ordinaries and Heads of Religious Orders, it trusts that principally through their instrumentality, this modern fashion of announcing, or rather adulterating the divine word, will be quickly reformed, and that all worldly allurements being finally removed from sacred preaching, it will regain its native and venerable majesty, and its superhuman efficacy, to the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the universal advantage of the Church and of the world.

Rome, from the Segreteria of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, July 31, 1894."

ISIDORE CARD. VERGA, *Prefect*.

LUIGI TROMBETTA, *Pro-Secretary*.

¹ *Loco cit.*

Notices of Books

PRAELECTIONES DOGMATICAE. Quas in Collegio Ditton-Hall habebat Christianus Pesch. Tomus I.

NOT many months have passed since we had the pleasure of notifying to our readers the appearance of a new "Cursus Completus" of Dogmatic Theology, by Father Tepe, S.J. We have now before us the first volume of still another "Cursus Completus" on the same subject by yet another Jesuit theologian, Father Pesch. This exuberance of publication argues a wholesome activity at present prevailing in our schools of theology; and reminds us once again of the marvellous fertility of theological science, which, notwithstanding the world of literature of which it has been already the theme, can still furnish matter for new and important publications. Indeed theology, like the ocean, would seem to be infinite. From Petrus Lombardus to the present day the ablest minds of each succeeding age have drawn upon it; yet that noble science, "ancient but ever new," not only retains undiminished its interest for the human mind, but continues to supply new ground for the exercise of the genius and industry of the latest explorer.

Father Pesch's book will when complete cover the whole course of Dogmatic Theology. The author's design is to give us a text-book which will be sufficiently exhaustive, and at the same time of such proportions as can be compassed by students within a four years' course of two hours' lecture each day.

The first volume, now in our hands, treats of *de Christo Legato Divino, de Ecclesia, de Locis Theologicis*. We do not say that the book contains anything strikingly new, or makes any substantial addition to the information already obtainable on these subjects in current hand-books. Still we can congratulate the author on having given us a good book, and one which argues well for the character of the volumes that are to follow. It is plainly the production of a vigorous and scientific mind well versed in theology. It is enriched with valuable quotations from the fathers, and has the advantage of being written well up to date, including even a quotation from the Papal Encyclical of last year on Sacred Scripture. Every question of importance is raised somewhere, and comes in for at least some discussion. We observe that the author falls in with Franzelin's theory as to the

provisional teaching of the Pope, and is prepared to admit its application in certain cases to Papal Encyclicals of a doctrinal character. The author, too, keeps his eye on the infidel lines across the border, and the latest movements in their ranks are recorded and criticised.

Thus has this book many excellent features; it has also to our minds many serious drawbacks. In the first place it is a serious want in any text-book to be weak and deficient in exposition. A precise and well-defined exposition of Catholic doctrine, its meaning, significance, and the errors opposed to it, ought invariably to precede the formal proof of the doctrine—otherwise our notions must remain jejune or hazy, and our arguments, too often mere beating the air. This volume, too, generally eschews exposition. The author enunciates his proposition, and straight-way, without any exposition at all, or with a very paltry one, we are plunged in cold blood into an argument which very often like the doctrine itself is insufficiently developed. Certainly the Magisterium of the Church is amongst the most important questions of the Church Tract. But it is a question which has a history, and which requires to be explained, as against the Protestant doctrine of private judgment. In this book we meet it the first proposition in the treatise *de Ecclesia*, and it is set down there without one word of comment or explanation beyond the mere enunciation of the proposition. So also for the great question of Infallibility; and, indeed, throughout the book we are again and again set to prove doctrines without being clearly informed as to what the nature and significance of these doctrines may be.

Again, this volume has too great an aversion to objections from Scripture. A vast number of these objections are raised by Protestants in this department of theology, and a formal solution of at least the principal of them cannot well be dispensed with. A student of theology must be able to defend Catholic doctrine as well as to prove it. It is certainly an original feature in this volume that, as a rule, it either omits these difficulties, or gives them at most only a cursory consideration. The author may have had peculiar reasons for this mode of procedure, but omissions so substantial as these must largely detract from the suitability of his treatise as a general hand-book.

The section *de Vera Religione*, will, we fear, be considered too jejune by many. The great question of miracles, questions

concerning the nature, possibility, and necessity of revelation, are left to be largely supplied from the philosophical course, and the alleged contradictions in the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection are despatched in a few lines of general observations, in which, with one exception, we are not even told what these alleged contradictions are.

The Church Tract, it is true, lends itself to great variety as to the order of treatment and arrangement of questions. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find any order free from all objections. But we certainly do not approve of the order adopted in this volume. It has the effect of breaking up that unity of treatment which is so desirable in great questions like the Magisterium, the Infallibility, Primacy, &c. For instance, in this volume we find the Primacy of St. Peter at one end, the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff at the other end, of the treatise *de Ecclesia*; and thus we have two questions, which naturally are linked together, violently torn asunder with the great body of the treatise thrust in between them. Even on logical grounds it does seem anomalous to formally and in detail discuss, as is done here, the nature and extent of the Church's authority before the existence of the Church as a society had been directly established.

There are some particular questions the author's treatment of which we had intended to animadvert upon, *e.g.*, his countenancing of—for he does seem to countenance—the opinion that the Apostles were in doubt as to whether the end of the world was not imminent in their own day; but the author does not stand alone in the position he has taken upon this and other questions; and any further fault-finding on our part might have the appearance of unduly detracting from the merits of a book, which, when all is said, we acknowledge to be a good one. If it is faulty, it is faulty more in what it has not, than what it has.

THE POEMS OF RICHARD D'ALTON WILLIAMS. Edited with an Introduction, by the author of the *Life and Letters of John Martin; Life of John Mitchel*. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

THE author of this work has collected and arranged, in a handsome little volume, the scattered poems of Richard D'Alton Williams, and in a short introduction, of twenty-four small pages, he gives us a sketch of the life of the poet. The signature at the

end of this introduction, P. A. S., will be readily recognised. All lovers of genuine Irish literature will thank the compiler for his labour, and for the little banquet with which he thus conveniently supplies them. The poems of D'Alton Williams are not wonders of artistic excellence nor of poetic feeling. With the exception of one or two, they are not likely to secure a lasting place in the literary temple of fame which a nation so gratefully accords to the songs of her sweetest singers and most faithful interpreters. Though rigidly correct in metre, and faultless in their purity of language, though they possess the tuneful cadence, the deep note of pathos, and the rich fulness of harmony, they are not distinguished by anything very original in thought or unusually striking in expression. They have no very particular characteristic, as far as form or feature is concerned. They are, moreover, very uneven. At one time reserved and graceful, they are often at the next moment perfervid and common-place; nevertheless they deserve to be rescued from the oblivion to which they would undoubtedly have been consigned, were it not for the interest taken in their fortunes by the man who has given us this volume. For they breathe the genuine spirit of patriotism, and are highly characteristic of the period in which they were written, and of the turn of mind and quality of emotion that swayed the party of Irishmen to which their author belonged.

Whatever may be said of the fundamental ethical principles that guided the footsteps and actuated the conduct of these men, no doubt can be entertained as to the intensity, the sincerity, and the generosity of their patriotism, nor as to the depth and purity of the religious sentiments and convictions by which they were moved, and which stood many of them in good stead in the dark days of trouble and misfortune. It is in the poetry of the '48 movement that the religious feature chiefly manifested itself. It was the religious element in the history of the past that chiefly inspired one of the truest poets of the period—D'Arcy M'Gee. It was the same religious inspiration that gave strength and vitality to the poems of John O'Hagan. It was to it that Duffy, M'Carthy, and even Davis yielded in their happiest moments. Poor Clarence Mangan is at his best in rendering the "*Regina Misericordiæ*," of Karl Simrock; so is M. J. Barry in his imitation of Körner's "*Address to his Sword*," or of Immerman's "*Hymn of Freedom*," or of Ludwig Uhland's "*Forward March*." D'Alton Williams also frequently strikes the religious note, even in his professedly

secular songs, and his rendering, as we find it in this volume, of the "Adoro Te Devote," of the "Dies Iræ," of the "Stabat Mater," besides his poems entitled "Before the Blessed Sacrament," "To our Lady of Victory," "A Thought on Calvary," "A Hymn to St. Bridget," "In praise of St. Michael," prove him to have been, not only a gifted master of verse, but a highly accomplished and religious Catholic layman, such as we fear are all too rare in the public life of later times. We are sorry that a fuller and more adequate picture of the life of the poet has not been supplied us here. But we suppose it did not enter into the scope of the project which the author proposed to himself, and we have only to be thankful for all we have got, and to wish the handsome little volume the widest circulation.

J. F. H.

LATIN VERSE TRANSLATIONS FROM BYRON'S "CHILDE HAROLD." By the Rev. N. J. Brennan, C.S. Sp. B.A. Dublin: Gill & Son.

FATHER BRENNAN'S *brochure* is as learned and interesting, as it is unique. "Good wine needs no bush;" Blackrock College needs no advertisement; if its long and well-sustained efficiency were questioned, it might well point to any and every part of the English-speaking world, quoting the hackneyed challenge; *Si monumentum quaeris circumspice*. True—and on these well-recognised grounds—it has ceased, wisely and considerately, for some years past, to pursue the natural and too common practice of trying to capture an abnormally large number of the highest distinctions, under the Intermediate Board, very properly preferring the all-round splendid record it invariably attains. While its many departments have been always manned and equipped, as hardly any other college can afford, two names are specially conspicuous, both for brilliancy and usefulness, on the roll of its classical professors. These are Father Reffè, who has passed over to the majority, to the intense and unfeigned regret of all his pupils and friends, and the author of the marvellously clever and neat translations under review.

To render any portion of *Childe Harold* into Latin verse, might occur to a dozen, at the very utmost, of the best prepared and most highly gifted of Intermediate candidates, should any examiner think it right to set so difficult and intricate selections; and with what

result? Rhythm, caesura—nothing, but a feeble attempt at securing the requisite number of feet.

“In clouded majesty here Dulness shone ;
Four guardian virtues, surround, support her throne.
Fierce champion Fortitude, that knows no fears
Of hisses, blows, or want, or loss of ears :
Calm Temperance whose blessings those partake
Who hunger and who thirst for scribbling sake :
Prudence, whose glass presents th’ approaching jail :
Poetic Justice with her lifted scale.”

No want of such crude training, as is practicable in so few years, nor want of mental ability, is the cause ; the time for preparation is quite incommensurate with the extravagant claims made upon it, the time allowed at examination short, and the marks fortunately not high.

But the master-hand, the genuine poetic vein, the varied pauses, and the pleasing cadences, so manifest themselves in almost every line of this most creditable little work, that one’s uppermost regret in closing it is, that more pressing demands on its author’s time and energies did not permit him to expand it far beyond its present modest dimensions. “Fresh fields and pastures new” are now opening up before him ; and it is to be hoped that the present most attractive booklet is but a first and small instalment of his valuable contributions to classical literature.

A few verses, chosen at random, may not be without interest to many readers of the *I. E. RECORD* :—

“Far other scene is Thrasimene now ;
Her lake a sheet of silver, and her plain
Rent by no ravage save the gentle plough ;
Her aged trees rise thick as once the slain
Lay where their roots are.”

And Father Brennan’s lively reproduction runs :—

“Nunc alia longe radias, Trasimene, figura,
Argenti stagnum patuli nunc more renides,
Nulla strage lacer campus nisi mitis aratri,
Surgit et annosis arbor densissima truncis
Ut caesi quondam, radix ubi plexa, jacebant.”

E. M.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

DECEMBER, 1894

THE CIVIL MARRIAGE LAWS IN HUNGARY

THE events that have taken place in the kingdom of Hungary during the past twelve months, disastrous though they may seem to the interests of religion, are, nevertheless, not without their features of comfort and encouragement. In the land of the Magyars the Catholics had been for a long time dormant. They never dreamt that things would come to their present pass, or that there was any urgent need for a distinctive Catholic organization. They belong to a patriotic race, and had entered fully into the political and social life around them, exercising their influence in public and in private for the national welfare in its widest sense, but now and again allowing certain measures of an anti-Catholic nature to pass unnoticed, or to go by default, convinced that the peace and prosperity of their country outweighed many concessions, that Hungary was still Catholic to the core, and that all the power and machinations of their enemies could not make her otherwise. Their confidence has now received a rude shock and they seem thoroughly aroused. The eyes of the world are upon them, and will watch their doings with interest. They have learned a wholesome lesson from the intrigues and manœuvres of their enemies. They have been deceived and betrayed by the bland assurances of statesmen and the schemes of designing politicians. Their patriotism in not creating division, or complicating existing difficulties in

times of trial and political anxiety for their country, has been rewarded by the basest ingratitude, and by the worst form of tyranny and insult. The effect of the whole campaign will be, in all probability, a strong reaction against the anti-Christian laws which have now passed through both houses of Parliament, and only await the sanction of the King. There is always a certain analogy between the various modes of procedure adopted by the enemies of the Church in different countries; and we imagine that the history of the Hungarian "Kulturkampf" cannot but prove highly instructive to those who look on from a distance, and study the problems in dispute, the character of the combatants, and the methods employed by the parties engaged in the struggle.

In reality the "Civil Marriage Bill" is but one item in the whole programme of the so-called Liberal party in Hungary. A regular "Kulturkampf" has been organized and pursued against the old Christian organization of the kingdom. The object of this movement has been well described by an eminent Hungarian Protestant, Baron Ivor Kaas, in a recent number of the *Pesthi Naplo*, one of the principal Hungarian journals:—

"Obligatory civil marriage [he says] is but an instrument in the hands of the Government to crush the Churches. In the eyes of our ministers it is a matter of small importance to withdraw the individual from some particular influence of religion. What they desire is to suppress the influence of Christianity altogether. The state dreamt of by them is neither the denominational state, nor the Christian state; it is the pagan and atheistic state, the state of the Roman Cæsars and of the French Revolution. If the Minister, Szilagyi, triumphed, the victory would be gained against Christianity itself. The liberal state can be founded only on the ruins of Christian civilization. Hence the religious policy proclaimed by the Hungarian Government is a declaration of war on Christianity—a Kulturkampf which is directed not alone against the Catholic Church, but against all Christian Churches."

From this it will be seen that the Catholics are not the only opponents of the civil marriage code. They have faithful allies in the Saxon Protestants of Transylvania, and in the Roumanian and Servian schismatics. Indeed, the

most ardent supporters of the Catholic bishops in the debates in the Chamber of Magnates were the Servian Patriarch, the Roumanian Metropolitan, and Count Albert Zay, the representative of the Lutheran section of the population. When Weckerle, the Prime Minister, finally declared his policy, in 1892, he was abandoned by about twenty Liberal supporters of the Ministry, foremost amongst whom was a former president of the Chamber, M. De Pechy, a zealous Protestant, and curator of the Evangelical Church in Hungary.

On the other hand, the promoters of the anti-Christian movement belong either to the Freemasons, or the Jews, or the Calvinists. The Freemasons have their lodges well established in all the cities and towns of Hungary, and their ravages extend even into the remotest country districts. The Jews, who are scarcely five per cent. of the whole population, are said to possess at least half the soil of Hungary. They exercise an influence altogether out of proportion with their numbers on the Press, the universities, finance, commerce, industry, and government.¹ Like their kinsmen in France, they are actuated by the most intolerant hostility to Catholicism, and never miss an opportunity of dealing a blow at the Church.

But the ablest, and, at the same time, the most ardent of all the foes of Catholicism in Hungary, are undoubtedly the Calvinists. Faithful to their origin, these adventurers are bold and uncompromising. Unless they are kept rigidly under

¹ "Les Juifs qui forment à peine 5 pour 100 de la population totale de la Hongrie possèdent au moins la moitié du sol hongrois. Sur 3192 grand propriétaires terriens que révèle la statistique, il y a 1035 Juifs. L'Etat hongrois possède d'immenses biens qu'il afferme à des particuliers : 67 pour 100 de ces fermiers sont des Juifs. La plupart des petites propriétés appartiennent également au Juifs sous une forme ou sous une autre. La haute finance, le commerce, l'industrie sont entre les mains des Juifs ; de même la presse. La Hongrie est la terre promise d'Israël. En peu d'années le nombre des Juifs a plus que triplé. Dans le diocèse d'Erlau de 1842 à 1888 les Juifs se sont multipliés dans la proportion de 147 pour 100. Ils arrivent de toutes les régions du globe. Avec leur nombre s'est accru leur puissance et leur insolence. Un rescrit du ministre Czaky défend de les appeler par leur nom. In faut, de par la loi, les appeler *Israelites*."—(See article in the *Correspondant* of June 25th, by M. Kannengieser.)

check, they stop at no limits. They have acquired considerable prestige, because some of the most prominent of the Hungarian patriots belonged to their body; but their number is wretchedly small. The whole population of Hungary is about thirteen millions. Of these, over ten millions are Catholics in name, if not in reality. The Jews, Protestants, and Greeks make up the remaining three millions; and of the Protestant section, the Calvinists, or militant party, are only a fraction. If the Catholics could once be got to shake off the trammels of the lodges and the yoke of the synagogues, they might live in peace, as far as religion is concerned. Meanwhile everything seems to be going against them.

The marriage question in Hungary is as old as the Reformation. At an early period in the great revolt a small but determined band of Calvinists endeavoured to reverse the laws of the Church in cases of mixed marriages, and to exact that all the children of such marriages should be brought up as Protestants. In other words, they claimed what was called the right of "reversalia," the popular term employed to designate the solemn compact or promise entered into by the non-Catholic party, on condition of obtaining a dispensation from the Holy See, in virtue of which all the children should be brought up as Catholics. Calvinist bridegrooms often exacted a similar promise from their brides in favour of their own Church, and the abuse had reached such proportions in the days of Maria Theresa, that this illustrious queen had to institute a special commission to inquire into the truth of the complaints made against them. Finding that these Protestant "reversalia" were of frequent occurrence, and that they were absolutely contrary to the laws of the Holy Catholic Church, she decreed that in future mixed marriages should be authorized only on condition that the Protestant party should enter without equivocation or reserve into the engagements required, and thus solemnly bind themselves to bring up their children as Catholics.

Notwithstanding the protests and intrigues of the Calvinists, this ordinance remained in force until Joseph II. ascended the throne. The Sacristan-Emperor, as he is

appropriately called, set to work at once to undo all ecclesiastical legislation, and to substitute his own whims for the time-honoured regulations of the Canon Law. He abolished the "reversalia" as a civil obligation, and decreed, moreover, that, in the case of mixed marriages, where the Catholic party was the wife, only the daughters should be brought up as Catholics. But soon finding that this concession was outrageously abused, that its terms were extended to cases it was never meant to include, and that Protestant fathers made a vigorous attempt to bring up their daughters in hatred of Catholicism, he fulminated two other proclamations, in which he reproached the Protestants with their perfidious conduct, and threatened to withdraw the "Edict of Toleration" he had issued a few years before. This threat he partially carried out a short time afterwards.

The Church, in the meantime, took no notice of the Imperial regulations, as far as its own procedure was concerned. It continued to insist on the rights of the "reversalia." The blessing of the marriage and solemnities of the sacrament were consistently refused, unless the usual undertaking was given. When the notorious Louis Kossuth was getting married, in 1841, the principle was insisted upon. He was a Protestant, and his bride a Catholic. The priest refused to officiate unless Kossuth would bind himself in writing to bring up all his children as Catholics. This he declined to do, and the Church had no more to say to him.

In connection with the marriage of Kossuth a great agitation was raised in the country. Hitherto the law acknowledged as valid only those mixed marriages that were contracted before a Catholic priest; but now, through the intervention of Canon Lonovitch, afterwards Bishop of Czanad, who was sent to Rome for the purpose by Prince Metternich, Pope Gregory XVI. published his celebrated Decree, *Quas Vestro*, by which he acknowledged the *validity* of all mixed marriages in Hungary, even of those contracted in Protestant Churches; and, of course, the civil law was modified in the same sense.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the revolution of 1848

confirmed and extended all the conquests of the non-Catholic sections of the population. They distinguish in Hungary the denominations *received* or recognised by the State, and those that are *not received*, but are simply tolerated. Up to 1848 there were three Churches *received*: the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Greek Church, and the Protestant Church. At that time the United Greek Church and the Church of the Roumanian schismatics were added to the number, so that all the great Christian denominations were then *received*. Each denomination was allowed to make its own regulations and follow its own practices on the marriage question, the State holding aloof, merely acknowledging and giving civil effect to the arrangements agreed upon by individuals and sanctioned by their Church. Although the Catholics suffered somewhat by these civil regulations, still, for the sake of peace, and in order not to increase the difficulties of the Government at critical times, the clergy consented to let things be, and watched as best they could the interests of their flocks. Thus, for twenty years, the different denominations lived in perfect concord, and would have continued in that happy state, if the Freemasons had not intervened for their own nefarious purposes. The word accordingly went forth from the lodges in 1867 that a campaign should be started to revive the ancient quarrels regarding the baptism of the children of mixed marriages.

The result of this agitation was an act of the legislature passed in the following year to the effect:—"That in future, in order to regulate the religion of the children of mixed marriages, sex should follow sex, the male children to be brought up in the religious faith of their fathers, and the females to be educated in the Church of which their mother was a member." It was furthermore enacted: "That if a priest should, in the absence of a non-Catholic clergyman, baptize a child who, by the terms of the law, belongs to a Church other than the Catholic Church, and if he should make an entry in the registry, as he was bound to do, he should likewise send an extract from that registry to the clergyman to whose communion the child by law belonged, in order that he might superintend its religious education."

This the Catholic clergy absolutely refused to do, rightly contending that once they baptized a child they received it into the communion of the Catholic Church ; and that if they were to take any step calculated to remove the child from that communion, directly or indirectly, they would be betraying its interests, and playing the part not of shepherds but of wolves. Their "non possumus" was as firm as that of Pius IX. in the case of the little Jew Mortara. It was in order to punish them for this adhesion to principle, that the Calvinists then put forward for the first time their project of obligatory civil marriage.

Opinion was not yet ripe, however, for so radical an innovation. The lodges and the synagogues took upon themselves to ripen it. The unholy cause was pushed forward with such energy that it soon became a burning question. The most cautious and the ablest of the Liberal statesmen who took the matter in hands endeavoured to represent that there was nothing hostile or offensive to the Catholic Church in this new proposal. The "Sage of the Nation," as the people were accustomed to call Francis Deak, in the last speech of his life, delivered in the Chamber in 1870, declared :—"In my opinion, civil marriage is not at all a religious question. It is a purely civil question. Of the two methods proposed in reference to this matter, viz., voluntary civil marriage and obligatory civil marriage, the first, as it seems to me, is not only illogical and inadmissible, but far more offensive to the Church than obligatory civil marriage. For by it the State says to its citizens: 'If you wish to be joined in wedlock, have recourse to your priests; but if they will not join you, come to me, and I will join you in their stead.' Obligatory civil marriage is altogether different. By it the State proclaims that matrimony is not alone a religious contract, but also a social obligation of the highest importance, since it is the basis of legitimacy and succession. And that is the reason why it should be contracted before the State. Then, as to the religious part, that belongs to the priest. Let him see to that as he wishes. It does not concern us directly as citizens. There is nothing in this either offensive or absurd."

Notwithstanding the support of so distinguished a champion, the promoters of the new project were compelled to bide their time. There was no use in passing anti-Christian laws unless there were magistrates and judges to apply them, an executive to give them administrative effect, and a semblance of public opinion to back them up. The Jews accordingly subsidized the Press and fomented the strife as far as they could, whilst the Government took upon itself to rig the courts and indoctrinate the schools. The prophet of this new movement was Count Koloman Tisza, a man who will long be remembered in the land of the Magyars as the most cunning and relentless foe of Catholicity that had appeared upon the scene since the Reformation.

For fifteen years Tisza held the reins of power, as Prime Minister of Hungary, and beyond all doubt this was one of the darkest periods, from a religious point of view, that the kingdom ever passed through. Tisza's first proposal to the Chambers was a bill to legitimize the marriages of Jews and Christians. The bill passed the lower chamber without much difficulty, the franchise having been previously allotted and the constituencies mapped out with a view to this result, but it was rejected by the Magnates. The old Christian aristocracy of Hungary were indignant at the idea of Jewish blood being introduced into their families, and all the pressure of the Government and the devices resorted to in order to ensure a majority were of no avail.

The result was hailed as a great relief by all classes of Catholics in the country. Their chief experience of Jews was one of grinding exaction and financial oppression, and now that there was question of family alliances with this hardened race, they felt the greatest anxiety for the future of their children and their country. They were willing that Jews should be allowed to live in their midst without let or hindrance, and enjoy all the civil liberties of citizens. But they drew the line at intermarriage with them. The Magyars were well versed in the history of the redemption; and the memory of the terrible cry, "*sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros*," had a vivid and disturbing echo in their hearts and consciences.

Tisza's cry now became either the *reformation* or the *abolition* of the upper house. It was intolerable that a body of irresponsible legislators should stand between the people and their will. Second chambers that refused to register the voice of the sovereign people, whether it be for good or ill, should be swept away. They were an anachronism and an absurdity. A proposal for the reform of the upper house was in due course submitted to Parliament. It was of a sweeping and alarming character. The number of Catholic bishops sitting amongst the Magnates was to be reduced from fifty-three to thirty. The number of representatives of the other Churches was to be considerably increased, and the Obergespaenn, or immovable prefects, were to be withdrawn and replaced by removables who should be willing to take their orders from the ministry. The consent of the Magnates themselves was required, however, for their self-destruction, and, as might be expected, they refused it. Tisza succeeded all the same in persuading them to accept a compromise, and thus attained the principal object he had in view. Having now practically a free hand, as far as the two chambers were concerned, he proceeded at once to his work of secularization. He secularized the Catholic university of Buda Pesth, and nominated free-thinkers to almost every chair in its halls. He passed a law which gave into the hands of the Freemasons the administration of ecclesiastical property. He filled public offices of every description with creatures of his propaganda; and now, when the time was ripe, he returned to the vexed question of the civil marriage.

The plan that he conceived for carrying his views into effect was so to harrass the Catholic clergy by petty persecution, that they would ultimately cry out for the civil code themselves and welcome it as a relief. The clergy were bound according to the law of 1868 when they baptized such a child of a mixed marriage as did not belong to the Catholic Church in the eyes of the law, which declared that sex should follow sex, to send an extract of the registry to the clergyman to whose denomination the child was by law apportioned. The clergy refused to carry out this law, and there was hitherto no means of compelling them to carry it

out. Tisza now had a supplementary bill passed through parliament which decreed that: "Whoever should receive into another communion or denomination a minor of less than eighteen years, contrary to the dispositions of the law of 1868, should be liable to a fine of three hundred florins and to two months' imprisonment." By this threat he thought he could crush the Catholic clergy and reduce them to absolute submission. He counted, however, without his host. The Catholic clergy would not allow themselves to be intimidated. They held meetings and conferences all over the country, and everywhere protested that they were willing to face poverty and prison rather than shirk their duty. They continued, as in the past, to follow the regulations of the Church and not those of the State in the matter in dispute. But now the Calvinist pastors, the lodges, and the Jews, were on the alert; and the spectacle was witnessed in a Catholic country of priests being dragged before civil tribunals, and accused of doing what their duty and their conscience alike directed them to do.

At this period the magistracy of Hungary and the Courts of justice had not been "purified," as they call it in France. Tisza, no doubt, had made a beginning; but these things take time, and a transformation cannot be effected as in the scenes of a drama. To their honour, therefore, be it said, both judges and magistrates declined to make themselves the tools of this vile campaign. After all, they belonged to the people, and had the old faith of the people in their hearts. Why should they lend themselves to an onslaught on their clergy and their faith? They regularly acquitted the Catholic priests, declaring that in the terms of the law of 1879 the case of baptism was not mentioned at all; that that law spoke of receiving a minor from one denomination into another; and that, in the case of baptism this did not take place, as before the baptism the child did not belong to any denomination.

After this check there was a lull in the storm for a short time. But Tisza was not to be outwitted. It was dangerous to have recourse to a new law; for the people were beginning to be tired of these interminable squabbles, and did not want to be paraded before the world as persecutors of the Church.

There was, however, another means of compassing his ends, if only he could get a man with sufficient energy of character, and sufficient hatred of the Church, to employ them. Such a man he found, in the year 1888, in the person of Count Albin Czaky, a worthy associate for such a task. Czaky was himself the fruit of a mixed marriage, and, although a Catholic in name, had imbibed from his Protestant mother a most extravagant hatred of the Church and its inflexible dogmas. On the 15th of September, 1889, he wrote to the illustrious Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary, to say that as the magistrates refused to apply the law voted by Parliament in 1879, he was going to settle the matter by a ministerial rescript. The Cardinal replied that any such step would raise a great storm in the country, excite hatred and war between people who were satisfied, if allowed, to live in peace, and have as an undoubted effect that in future the bishops would refuse to grant any dispensations whatsoever in the case of mixed marriages. The minister replied in an offensive letter, full of dry cynicism and sarcasm; and on the 22nd of February, 1890, his famous rescript was issued to all the prefects of the kingdom and to all inspectors of police. A copy of it was also despatched to each of the bishops.

By this rescript the minister decreed: "That any priest who should refuse to give over to the Protestant pastor a copy of the baptismal register of a child of a mixed marriage baptized by him should be liable to a fine of three hundred florins, and that any contravention of this order should be tried and punished, not by the ordinary judges and magistrates, but by the removable stipendiaries of the Government, and by the inspectors and prefects of police." The latter were authorized to have recourse to distress in order to recover the fines, and any priest who refused to comply with their orders was to be liable to two months' imprisonment. To realize the full import of this decree, it must be borne in mind that the child thus handed over became officially a Protestant, and was obliged by law, no matter what the wish of the parents might be, to go to the Protestant school and receive Protestant religious instruction.

During all this agitation the bishops of Hungary played

a moderate and conciliating part ; indeed, far too moderate and far too conciliatory in the opinion of many. They, however, were the best judges ; and although some of them were denounced on public platforms by the more ardent spirits among the clergy, who did not hesitate to accuse individuals amongst them of lukewarmness, avarice, and simony, and of truckling to Jews, and courts, and free-thinking ministers, with selfish aims and greedy purposes, still they held on the even tenor of their way, always counselling moderation and forbearance in spite of all provocation.

But now things were beginning to assume an alarming aspect. The law of 1868 which decreed that sex should follow sex, was opposed to the natural law, for it took away from the parents their natural God-given right to direct as they wished the education of their children. Owing to the resistance of the clergy and the common sense of officials, it had hitherto practically remained a dead letter. But now Czaky was determined to go to all extremes, and the bishops could hesitate no longer. Cardinal Simor accordingly summoned his colleagues to deliberate on a common plan of resistance, and a conference of all the bishops of Hungary took place in his primatial palace at Ofen on the 12th of April, 1890.

It has since transpired that the Cardinal Primate was in favour, at this meeting, of issuing a joint letter or manifesto to the Catholic people of Hungary, telling them that some of their most cherished rights and liberties were being menaced by the Government, and asking them to rally round their clergy at this grave crisis, and strike a blow for the faith of their forefathers and the ancient Church of St. Stephen. It is said that the people would have responded with alacrity to such a call. They only wanted the word of command, or even of permission. Until orders came from above their hands were tied. Notwithstanding this, other councils prevailed. An archbishop in the confidence of the Government recommended that an appeal should be made to the Holy See to sanction the laws and regulations of the Government, and that until an answer should be obtained ministers would undertake not to enforce the directions of the rescript. Cardinal Simor was willing to exhaust all the means of

securing peace on conditions of honour and respect for the usages of the Church, but he declined to petition the Holy See for a decision contrary to its teaching and well-known practice. He agreed, however, to put a question to the Holy Father in the ordinary form, knowing well that the answer could only be a confirmation of the usual practice, and hoping this might have some effect upon the Government.

The question was therefore forwarded to the Holy Father, on the 20th of May, 1890, by Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary, in the name of all the bishops, asking—1. Whether parish priests could comply with the orders of the Government to transfer an extract of the register to Protestant clergymen, under the conditions mentioned above? 2. In case the answer were in the affirmative, whether the Hungarian bishops could avail themselves of the faculties hitherto conferred on them by the Holy See to grant dispensations in the impediment “*mixta religionis*?” A special commission of cardinals was appointed by the Pope to examine these two questions, and all the circumstances pertaining to them. The reply of this commission was confirmed by the Pope, and despatched to Cardinal Simor, on the 7th of July of the same year. As might be expected, the answer to the first question is in the negative. With regard to the second, the answer is, that the bishops may continue to dispense in the case of mixed marriages, but under condition that the parties would bind themselves solemnly to bring up their children as Catholics. Cardinal Simor, foreseeing the possibility that these requirements might be regarded as mere formalities by contracting parties, asked for some further elucidations regarding the second answer. The whole question was examined anew at Rome, and the formal decision, given below,¹ was forwarded to the

¹ “In re tam gravi Summus Pontifex mandavit ut praedicta dubia iudicio subicerentur peculiaris Congregationis Emorum Cardinalium qui, considerate perpensa utraque quaestione, ad primum *negative* responderunt: quod ad alterum pertinet, item *negative* dederunt responsum nisi hae duae simul conditiones existant. Prima in eo est ut tam pars Catholica quam acatholica formaliter omnes praestat cautiones quae a naturali et divino jure in mixtis matrimoniiis exiguntur. Altera est ut moraliter certi sint Episcopi de sponsonum sinceritate earumque implemento, non obstantibus litteris circularibus a gubernio datis. Has Patrum Emorum responsiones Summis Pontifex probavit et ratas habuit.”

Cardinal Primate. This decision, as will be seen, insists not only that the bishops should require the solemn declaration, as heretofore, that the children be brought up as Catholics, but that they should also have some guarantee that this declaration was a *bona fide* one, and that the promise would be carried into effect, in spite of the Government circular.

Czaky got word at an early date of the Roman decision, and his action regarding it cannot but be considered both mean and treacherous. He had special reasons, at that particular time, for endeavouring to secure the favour of the Emperor-King; and, knowing that the clergy would take action against him, he feared the bishops might use all their power and influence with his Majesty to ensure his disfavour. But a short time before the astute old Tisza, with all his wiles and schemes, was hurled from power, owing to economic and administrative complications; and Czaky became the Freemason candidate for the premiership. The appointment, however, depended on the Emperor, who had his choice between several individuals. Czaky, to ingratiate himself with the bishops and the Emperor, sent word to his Majesty that he understood a decision adverse to the Government on the marriage question had reached the Cardinal Primate from Rome, and that, in the interests of a settlement of the whole affair, he hoped it would not be published. Meantime he himself would see what could be done. This looked as if the Minister were about to climb down; but it only looked so. In reality it was only one of the misleading devices to which he was so well accustomed. Cardinal Simor was summoned to Vienna, and asked to delay the publication of the Roman decision. The Cardinal was devotedly attached to the Crown, and to the Emperor personally, on account of his piety, his excellent example to all his court and people. He had the deepest sympathy with him in the midst of his many cares and difficulties. On his account he consented, although much against his will, to postpone the publication.

Czaky, however, did not succeed in his plan of self-advancement. The Emperor sent for Count Joseph Szapary

to form a cabinet, after the fall of Tisza. Szapary was personally a good man, a gentleman of pure Hungarian blood; in his private life a fervent Catholic, but in politics a Liberal of the Liberals. He accepted office only in the hope of being able to stem the tide of anti-clerical prejudice and hatred; but the real result was, that he was carried away by the current, till he scarcely recognised his principles or his surroundings. He was obliged, for the purposes of concentration, and in order to satisfy a large group of Liberals, to retain the services of Czaky in the Ministry of Worship. It is unnecessary to say that Czaky returned to the charge with a fresh supply of venom. To the Clericals he attributed the failure of his project to attain the premiership, and on the Clericals he determined to have his revenge. He had now, after the reconstruction of the Cabinet, a stronger majority than ever at his back. Szapary, if he were to remain in power at all, was obliged to leave him a free hand. One of his first acts was to get his majority to adopt a motion declaring that the law of 1868 should be firmly maintained, and that the rescript of February should be strictly enforced.

The Cardinal now called another meeting of the bishops, and was fully determined to publish the Papal decision and to exhort the people to stand by it and defend it. But before the bishops assembled, the influence of the Emperor and the court was again brought to bear upon him. This, however, was too much for the brave-hearted Cardinal. He had been devoted to the empire all his life. He had received almost innumerable marks of regard and affection from the Emperor and from almost every member of his family. Was he now to discard imperial advice in this matter? Would it be his duty to ignore it, and act as if it had never come? The Emperor had many enemies already: was he to side with them and strengthen their position? We live in democratic days, when the misdeeds of rulers are often magnified, and when a cry can be easily got up not only against their authority, but against their crowns. Francis Joseph was one of the only survivors of the old race of kings and emperors who had weathered all the storms of heresy and revolution,

and remained, personally at all events, still devoted to the See of Peter. After all, he deserved some consideration. On the other hand, there was the white banner of St. Stephen, that had been handed down to him without rent or stain: was he to bequeath it to his successors tarnished and dishonoured? There were behind him nine centuries of unbroken allegiance to the Catholic creed of St. Stephen and to the mother and mistress of all the Churches in the world: was it ever to be said that he had faltered for a moment regarding the slightest injunction from the one or from the other? Nobody who knew the Cardinal's past record could doubt for a moment what course he would take. It would be moderate, dignified, patient; but it would be firm, and it would be on the side of faith and of Rome. The necessity for such alternatives preyed, however, on the mind and on the health of the illustrious prince of the Church. Such unexpected troubles embittered his last days and hastened his death.

"On the 23rd of January, 1891," writes a distinguished Continental priest,¹ "the Primate breathed his last in his palace at Gran, and carried with him to the tomb the heartfelt affection and unspeakable regret of the whole Catholic nation. For the Church of Hungary his loss was irreparable. Simor had all through been the soul of Catholic resistance. In him were personified all the religious characteristics of the strong Magyar race. In the midst of many desertions he was always at his post, vigilant and firm. Whilst other guardians of the temple faltered or slept, Simor watched and struggled, and grouped around him men of good will. From the frail appearance of this prelate no one would mark him out as a leader of the people. There was nothing particularly striking in his presence, but his eyes were full of light and intelligence. He was deeply versed in every ecclesiastical branch of learning, and it was on account of his talents and his varied gifts, that he, the son of a poor shoemaker of Stuhlweisenburg, had reached the highest position that a man can occupy in Hungary. Starting from the lowest

¹ A. Kannengieser, in the *Corraspondant*, June 10, 1894.

rungs of the social ladder, he had become Archbishop of Gran, Primate of Hungary, Legate of the Holy See, and Prince of the Church. Such splendour and so many honours did not change in the least the character of the humble prelate. He was as modest, as affable, as genial, under the purple or the scarlet as he had been in the simple cassock of the student. In a country in which nepotism is not unknown he was beyond the breath of suspicion. Although he had immense revenues, he did not use them to enrich his relatives. He often returned to visit his humble parents; but, whilst seeing that they never wanted for anything, he required that they should not change in any respect their way of life. He consecrated his great wealth to works of charity and to undertakings of general public utility. "Ecclesiastical benefices," he used to say, "belong to God and the poor." Simor was a Maecenas, in the fullest and best acceptation of the word. He completed and decorated at his own expense the Cathedral of Gran, spending two million florins on the work. He built a primatial palace, and established in it a vast library and picture gallery. He erected schools and colleges all over his diocese. The number of orphanages that he established gained for him the title which he valued most, "The father of Hungarian orphans." It was in the midst of cares and works like these that he became involved in the troubles of public life, and that death came upon him. Catholic Hungary wept over his grave, and prayed for a successor worthy to take up the crozier he had laid aside for ever."

It is one of the anomalies to which the Church is obliged to submit in those days in certain countries of Europe, that Freemasons, Calvinists, atheistic cabinets and ministers should have a voice in choosing her own rulers; and in Hungary this anomaly prevails with every circumstance that can add to its unpleasantness. Cardinal Simor was scarcely laid in his final resting-place when the minister Czaky appointed a friend and favourite of his own, Monsignor Samassa, Archbishop of Erlau, to administer the diocese of Gran until a primate should be appointed. Great anxiety was felt in Hungary about the succession to Simor.

The names of many prominent bishops were canvassed by public rumour and the newspapers. But the Holy See and its advisers had their own counsels, and no small astonishment was created when it was one day authentically announced that the new Prince-Bishop of Gran and Primate of Hungary bore the unknown name of Nicholas Vasary. Monsignor Vasary, who had been prior of a Benedictine monastery, was duly installed in the primatial see, and took the word "Pax" as his motto. This was a programme in itself. He recommended moderation to all concerned, and told his followers that strength of character is manifested as much in patience as in action. In every movement, religious or otherwise, there are sure to be extremists, and amongst the Hungarian clergy the class was pretty largely represented. Carried away by their ardour in a good cause, they sometimes allowed themselves to be betrayed into ill-considered and fiery language, which, in the opinion of people of sounder judgment and greater experience, did not serve the interests they intended to promote. It was these alone that Monsignor Vasary wished to restrain. He was otherwise convinced of the necessity for firm as well as moderate action.

By this time the ministerial rescript of Czaky was in full force. Several members of the clergy had been tried and condemned. The people were beginning to realize that clerical persecution was no mockery, and that something should be done. They got their first opportunity of doing it at the general elections of 1892.

These elections were held under circumstances never known before in Hungary. Hitherto the bishops and clergy had never taken up an open attitude of hostility at the elections to the Government candidates. But now all was changed. Several bishops wrote pastoral letters warning their people of the danger they incurred in voting for the supporters of the Government. The priests headed the campaign in nearly every electoral division in the country. They confined themselves, however, to the organization of societies and clubs, leaving for the most part to the Catholic laity, who were, if anything, more ardent than themselves, the task of platform speaking, canvassing, and bringing voters to the poll. In more than eighty districts the candidates were

required to sign a declaration that they would defend the interests of the Catholic Church, and vote against the anti-Christian laws suggested by the programme of Tisza, Czaky, and their friends. Through want of proper organization, and the people being unaccustomed to anything of the kind, not much impression was made on the strength of the ministerialists. There was a slight falling off, however, and the comparative success of the Catholics was attributed to Szapary, who declined to apply repressive measures, and insisted on the freedom of election. This was enough to settle Szapary's future. On the return of the Liberals to office they were determined that he should adopt the whole programme of anti-Christian legislation, or take the consequence. They issued to him the ultimatum of Gambetta, "*se soumettre ou se démettre*;" and, like MacMahon, he withdrew from the band, and left them to carry on their miserable freemason war against his Church and faith. With the new Prime Minister, Weckerle, the eternal question of obligatory civil marriage was brought to the front once more, and now entered the acute stage, where we must, unfortunately, leave it for the present.

We had hoped to condense into a single paper a full account of this whole question, but we were drawn along by the sequence, and what to us, at all events, appeared the absorbing interest of the events. Even as it is, we could only trace the outlines of the struggle. The picture could be filled in by innumerable details of minor importance, of local petty tyrants imitating the tactics of their chiefs, of aspiring politicians earning promotion by their anti-clerical zeal, of spirited action and patient endurance manifested by individual priests. But all that would fill a volume, and is not necessary for our purposes. In a future number we shall give a brief account of the last stages of the fight and of the hated provisions and details of the Civil Marriage Bill, such as it passed the Houses of Parliament. We are happy to say that it has not, so far, become the law of Hungary, as the Emperor, Francis Joseph, has not given it his sanction. It is supposed, however, that this will be only a matter of time.

J. F. HOGAN,

Editor I. E. R.

ADAM AND EVE BEFORE THE FALL

IN a previous paper,¹ treating of the question of the salvation of children who die without Baptism, it was laid down that a state of pure nature was possible ; and that, therefore, the original elevation of our first parents to a supernatural state, together with the glorious attributes with which they were equipped, was due entirely to an act of the Divine generosity to which as human beings they could never establish a title. Such a state was not only possible, but it was the very state in which, apart from the teaching of revelation, we should expect man to have been created. “*Nemo novit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius et cui vult Filius revelare,*” and deprived of the light of faith, man could never conceive that he was to be elevated to the dignity of sonship of God, and made a participator in the immediate vision of the Deity. God, indeed, when He decreed to create man, was bound, so far as it is lawful to speak of an obligation in connection with the Supreme Being, to satisfy the requirements of his nature, and to sustain him in a position in keeping with his dignity. Having given him an immortal soul capable of eliciting acts of intelligence and volition, He was called on to make such provision for him in a future state as would satisfy the various lawful desires implanted in his soul. All, however, would have been in the natural order. There would be no such thing as grace to elevate the powers of the soul and enable it to elicit acts worthy of a supernatural reward. There would be no such thing as the “*lumen gloriæ,*” whereby seeing God, the souls of the just become like unto Him. Man himself would have been a purely natural being struggling with the temptations which from time to time would assail him, guided as to what would be right and wrong by the “*lex scripta in corde suo,*” and aided, as, no doubt, he would be in its observance, by the liberal helps with which, as occasion required, the Creator would enrich his soul.

¹ I. E. RECORD, July, 1894.

These helps would have been all of the natural order, and just as man, by using them according to the designs of the Creator, would have been recompensed after death with a perpetual happiness in accordance with his state, so by abusing them, and standing out in opposition to God, he would be punished with suffering in proportion to his guilt. Since there would be no grace in this life, there would be no immediate vision of God in the next; and however ennobling the faculties with which the creature would have been endowed, however rich and varied the special helps he would receive, as long as the supernaturalizing influence of the "donum Dei" was absent, he could never aspire even to the lowest grade of a supernatural reward. "Nihil potest," writes St. Thomas, "ad altiore operationem elevari, nisi per hoc quod ejus virtus fortificatur . . . Virtus autem intellectus creatus non sufficit ad divinam substantiam videndam . . . operet igitur quod fiat augmentum virtutis intellectivæ per alicujus novæ dispositionis adaptionem."¹

While such a state of pure nature was possible, it is the teaching of Catholic theology that our first parents were raised to a supernatural state; that they received, body as well as soul, certain privileges which entirely transformed their natural faculties, and placed them on a pinnacle far above the possible state in which they might have been created. "Si quis," says the Council of Trent, "non confitetur primum hominem Adam, cum mandatum Dei in Paradiso fuerit transgressus statim *sanctitatem* et *justitiam* in qua constitutus fuerat amisisse . . . atque ideo *mortem* quam antea illi comminatus fuerat Deus et cum morte *captivitatem* sub ejus potestate, qui mortis deinde habuit imperium, hoc est, diaboli, totumque Adam per illam praevaricationis offensam, secundum corpus et animam in deterius commutatum fuisse; anathema sit."

It is, indeed, a question about which theologians are divided, whether our first parents received these various gifts as they issued from the hands of the Creator, or whether an interval of time elapsed between the fiat of

¹ *Contra Gentes*, i. 3, cap. 53.

creation and the particular moment at which they became so richly endowed. St. Bonaventure, Scotus, the *Magister Sententiarum*, &c., are quoted as holding that our first parents received indeed many privileges as they sprang into existence, but that a time elapsed before they obtained the special gift of sanctifying grace, whereby they acquired a right to a supernatural reward. "Habuerunt quidem a primo suae creationis instanti rectitudinem quamdam tum animae tum corporis . . . sed nonnisi post aliquod tempus obtinuerunt gratiam sanctificantem per quam recte disponebantur in ordine ad finem supernaturalem." St. Thomas, and theologians generally, hold the opposite opinion. According to these, the orders of nature and grace, though perfectly distinct, did, as a matter of fact, start together as the one act of creation; and until the fall there never was a moment during which the souls of our first parents were not under the supernaturalizing influence of grace. "Probabilius est," writes St. Thomas, "ut cum homo creatus fuit in naturalibus integris, quae otiosa esse non poterant, quod in primo instanti creationis ad Deum conversus gratiam consecutus sit."¹ This opinion harmonizes much better with the "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram;" and, although not formally defined by the Tridentine fathers, it is much more in keeping with the words of the definition: "Sanctitatem et justitiam in qua constitutus fuerat." It is quite certain, at all events, that at some time before the fall, if not immediately on the breathing of the breath of life, our first parents became possessed of the aggregate of gifts which go to make up the state of original justice. How long they continued in this exalted state is, for the most part, if not entirely, a matter of conjecture. There is a tradition—which, however, does not appear to have very much authority—according to which they were created on a Friday, and fell into sin on the following Friday, when forthwith they forfeited all the privileges of their state.

Now, amongst the gifts which our first parents received,

¹ 2 *Dist. No. 29, q. 1, a. 2.*

sanctifying grace must ever hold the first place. It was not merely the greatest of all the Creator's gifts, and the reason why the others were given, but it alone entirely transformed their natural faculties, and gave them a right to a supernatural reward, which only the ingress of sin to their souls could destroy. It is impossible, indeed, to fully understand the dignity they received by grace, or to realize the beauty of their souls whilst they retained possession of it. Grace is altogether a supernatural quality, to which no creature can lay claim, and which belongs only to God Himself. Nature bears a similar relation to grace to that which inanimate matter bears to life; and just as matter which is without life cannot infuse into itself the vital spark, but must receive it from another, neither can any mere rational creature, however richly endowed in the order of nature, acquire grace by his own labour and merit. It is altogether a gift of God; and even the angels do not by nature possess the dignity a soul receives by grace. So true is this, that theologians generally maintain that God cannot produce a created being that would already possess grace; and that to suppose such a thing in existence would be to suppose one differing in nothing from the Creator Himself. By sanctifying grace our first parents were not merely elevated above their own natural condition, but they were made, in a certain sense, participators in the divine nature. They assumed a position so peculiar to the divine nature, and became so similar to the Deity, that, in the language of the fathers and theologians, they might be said to be deified. Grace, while in no way destroying the natural faculties of the soul, penetrated them, and united itself so closely with them, that it communicated its own glorious prerogatives, and made them the most glorious work of the Creator. Grace raised our first parents from what would have been their natural condition of slaves to that of adopted children; and hence we find applied to souls in the state of grace those words of St. John: "Now we are sons of God, but it hath not yet appeared what we shall be;" and those other words of our Blessed Saviour: "I have said you are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High." In the possession of sanctifying

grace our first parents had the root of their future glorification in soul and body. The light of glory, by which the just see God face to face, is nothing more than the full development of grace; and had our first parents preserved faithfully the privileges of their exalted state, they would, when their term of probation had ceased, have been transferred from the terrestrial to the celestial paradise; and the "*visio per speculum*" would have been changed into the "*visio facie ad faciem*."

Besides sanctifying grace, which was by far the greatest of all their gifts, our first parents received many others. Freedom from concupiscence, or the gift of integrity, as it is called, would perhaps hold the next place. "*Quod autem ad animam pertinet*," writes the Roman Catechism, "*eam Deus ad imaginem et similitudinem suam formavit, liberumque ei arbitrium tribuit: omnes præterea motus animi atque temperationes ita in eo temperavit, ut rationis imperio nunquam non resisteret.*" "*Non voluntatem*," writes St. Augustine, "*cupiditas duxit, non præcessit voluntatem, non resistit voluntati.*" Ever since the unhappy moment when original sin destroyed the beauty of the human soul, there has been a continued struggle between the various faculties of which it is composed, and a constant effort on the part of the inferior appetites to dethrone reason from the position of authority which God and nature had assigned to it. "*Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum*" tells the story, even of those most under the influence of grace, and none perhaps better than St. Paul has given expression to the lamentable struggle for superiority that ever rages within the breast of man: "I do not the good I would, but I do the evil I would not. I see in my members another law repugnant to the law of my mind which subjects me to the law of concupiscence which is in my members."

This unhappy conflict is but one outcome of original sin. In the state of primeval justice in which our first parents were created, there was no disturbing element. No storm of passion swept across the soul to ruffle the calm that reigned within. The Creator so disposed the various faculties that each exercised its functions within its own sphere, and

manifested no tendency to dispute the authority of a superior. The senses rushed blindly to no forbidden objects, but like so many willing handmaids ministered to the superior faculties. Within the soul reason held queenly sway; it issued its commands, and they were freely obeyed. The will now so prone to anticipate, and even to thwart the intellect in its judgments, awaited its decisions and was guided by it in all its desires. These harmonious relations were, no doubt, largely due to the influence of grace and to the perfect equanimity established in the soul by the Creator; but it is reasonable to suppose that, just as in the present order of things God makes use of external objects to withdraw men from sin and its occasions, He would in the state of original justice have guarded the senses of our first parents from dangerous objects, and kept their minds free of distracting thoughts. "*Poterat Deus,*" writes Suarez, "*partim providendo ne objecta perturbantia hanc animi pacem et tranquillitatem occurrerent, partim applicando et excitando rationem et voluntatem atque etiam phantasiam, partim per alios occultos modos providentie sue hanc subordinationem illaesam conservare.*"

To the gift of integrity, or freedom from concupiscence, there was superadded the special gift of immortality. The soul of its own nature is immortal; it can never die, and even in the possible state of pure nature God would have made provision for it after its term of union with the body had come to an end. The body, on the other hand, is subject to death; it is composed of parts, and its downward tendency under the corroding influence of age must ever be to revert to the parts of which it is composed. When the Apostle, therefore, says that the wages of sin is death, and the Council of Trent defines that by sin Adam incurred death, the meaning is, that our parents, besides incurring by sin the eternal death of the soul, lost that special attribute of their exalted nature by which their bodies were to be preserved, for ever, from corruption and death.

The gift of immortality was, no doubt, a very extraordinary one, and, apparently at least, very much opposed to the nature of things. At the same time, to account for

its existence, it does not appear a necessity to assume a constantly-recurring miracle or any suspension of the laws of nature, or, indeed, to postulate the existence of any inherent life-preserving quality which, while warding off danger from without, would prevent the various members of the body from lapsing into a state of decay. "Ad praeservandum hominem," writes Mazzella, "a morte violenta, non erat necessaria in homine aliqua intrinseca qualitas, ut nonnullis placuit;" and a little further down the same author adds:—"Ad praeservandum vero primum hominem a morte naturali, uti fert communior Theologorum sententia, Patrum doctrinae conformior, nec ulla admittenda est intrinseca qualitas;¹ for, as Suarez, quoted by the same author remarks, "Illa qualitas (intrinseca) nimis esset miraculosa et nullum habet fundamentum." Death, as now, might occur in one of two ways. It might be the result of some unforeseen accident, or the gradual outcome of such a wasting away of the powers of the body as would render it unfit to be the companion of an immortal soul. God could easily—humanly speaking—have preserved our first parents from a sudden death. The forces of nature and the irrational objects of creation were perfectly under their control, and it is only reasonable to suppose that, in their blissful state, those ministering spirits would exercise special vigilance over them, and guard them "in all their ways." In the present order God oftentimes protects men from danger, and in ways unknown withdraws them from unforeseen accidents. How much more easily could He have done so in the case of our first parents, whose minds were filled with a knowledge of everything that might imperil their safety, and fortified with a prudence in all their actions to which even the most highly-gifted of their posterity cannot aspire?

"Corpus," writes St. Thomas, "hominis poterat praeservari . . . partim quidem per propriam rationem, per quam poterat nociva vitare, partim etiam per divinam providentiam quae sic ipsum tuebatur ut nihil ei occurreret ex improvise a quo laederetur."²

¹ *De Deo Creante. Disp. iv., Art. v.*

² *Mazzella, Disp. iv., Art. v.*

The peculiar nature of their being, the happy circumstances in which they were placed, together with the ordinary helps at hand, would, it is believed, have the effect of warding off death arising from natural causes, and preserving unimpaired the members of their bodies. In the state of original justice, with all its glorious prerogatives, there would not have been that tendency to decay which is now so marked a characteristic of the human body. The Garden of Eden was an abode of peace and happiness within whose hallowed precincts sickness, disease, or those other ills of life which so depress the energy of man and so quickly weaken the robustness of his frame, had no existence. "Sicut in Paradiso," writes St. Augustine, "nulla aestas aut frigus sic in ejus habitatore nulla ex cupiditate vel timore accedebat bonae voluntatis offensio, nihil omnino triste . . . non lassitudo fatigabat otiosum, non somnus premebat invitum." "Nullus intrinsecus morbus, nullus ictus metuebatur extrinsecus, summa in carne sanitas."¹ The earth spontaneously yielded fruits of the most agreeable and nutritious kind, so that our first parents were not obliged to undergo the weariness of toil and labour to secure the means of subsistence. For, as St. Augustine says, "Cibus aderat ne esuriret, potus ne sitiret." They were strangers, furthermore, to that perpetual warfare that ever goes on between the two natures of man, and which, no doubt hastens on decay and death. Within their souls there reigned a glorious calm. There were no violent passions to subdue, no useless regrets for the past, no gloomy forebodings for the future, while the natural beauties of Paradise must have been a constant subject of admiration for their newly-created minds. Besides that perfect tranquillity of mind and body, and those harmonious relations between the various appetites—all of which must have contributed largely to prolong the lives of our first parents—there was placed in the midst of the garden the tree of life, the fruit of which was specially designed to secure the immortality of their bodies. "Quamdiu," writes St. Augustine, "in Creatoris

¹ *De Civ. Dei.*, i. 14, c. 20.

lege duravit, dignus fuit edere de arbore vitæ ut mori non posset.”¹ This fruit possessed a wondrous efficacy. It not merely supported our first parents in the ordinary way by satisfying the claims of nature, and becoming assimilated to their substance, but by special inherent properties of its own it had the effect of warding off the natural debility of old age and counteracting every tendency to decay. How long its efficacy would have lasted, whether for a time or “in perpetuum;” whether it would be necessary to partake of it only once or several times during the probationary period, these are questions which are open to controversy and about which there exists a diversity of opinion. This much, at all events, is certain, that had our first parents preserved faithfully the privileges of their state, they would never have been subjected to the violent pangs of death. They would have passed their days pleasantly in the garden of delights; their souls, under the influence of grace, would live in constant communion with God; their bodies, nurtured with the fruit of the tree of life, would preserve their pristine vigour to the last, and, when the term of probation had expired, they would have been transferred, body and soul, from earth to heaven.

Reference has been already made to the absence of the “*aerumnae vitæ*,” or the ills of life from the garden of delights. Our first parents were not subject to sickness or disease; they suffered neither from excessive heat nor intense cold; and, while as human beings they possessed animal natures, whose claims they should satisfy by the use of food and drink, they experienced none of the inconveniences arising from hunger and thirst. “*Cibus*,” writes St. Thomas, quoted by Mazzella,² “*sumebatur ad restaurationem deperditi et ad augmentum corporis in quantitate perfecta;*” and Suarez, quoted by the same author, adds:—“*Imo futura etiam erat in statu innocentiae fames et sitis non quidem quatenus important aliquam molestiam, sed prout important nudum appetitum edendi et bibendi.*” God placed Adam in a garden of pleasure, telling him that he was

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Disp. iv., Art. 6.*

to dress and guard it (Gen. ii. 15). The labour imposed must have been of the mildest kind. It was labour unaccompanied with languor or fatigue, which, while affording gentle and pleasing exercise to the body, and dispelling every tendency to idleness, brought joy to his active mind.

As lord of creation, Adam possessed authority over all things created. The various inferior living organisms were called into existence to minister to his wants, and all gladly acknowledged his gentle sway. The beautiful harmony existing within himself—the result of the willing subjection of the inferior appetites to the superior—had its counterpart in the world outside, when the entire brute creation submitted without question to his rightful authority. “God created man of the earth, and made him after His own image. . . . He put the fear of him upon all flesh, and he had dominion over beasts and fowl” (Ecc. cxvii. 1-5). We can have no better idea of the complete authority possessed by Adam over all living things than that supplied by the facts narrated in the book of Genesis :—God called all the beasts of the earth and all the fowls of the air to Adam, that he might give them a name. All willingly obeyed the summons ; they crouched around the king of creation, who called all by their names, and “whatsoever Adam called any living thing the same is its name” (Gen. ii. 19, 20).

Not the least remarkable amongst the gifts bestowed on our first parents, was that of knowledge. As father and preceptor of the human family, it was fitting that the Creator should endow Adam with a perfect science, both of natural and supernatural things ; and such, there is reason to believe, he possessed. “*Primus homo*,” writes St. Thomas, quoted by Mazzella, “*ita etiam institutus est in statu perfecto quantum ad animam ut statim posset alios instruere et gubernare. . . . Et ideo primus homo sic institutus est a Deo ut haberet omnium scientiam in quibus homo natus est instrui.*”¹ The very duty assigned to him of naming the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and the fidelity

¹ *Disp.* iv., Art 6.

with which it was discharged, show how thoroughly he must have understood the various species of living organisms that go to make up the animal creation. "Quod magna sapientia," says St. John Chrysostom, "praeditus fuerit, disce ex-iis quae nunc fiunt." "Et adduxit illa."¹ The knowledge possessed by Adam was, no doubt, infused from the very beginning, and therefore the result of no mental exertion on his part; but even as a mere human inquirer his mind was peculiarly fitted to grapple with the intellectual problems that lay around him. No distracting thoughts arose within his mind to thwart it in its pursuit of knowledge. There were no rebellious appetites to subdue, no lassitude of spirit to combat; and hence, even as a natural philosopher viewing the wonders of creation from its very threshold, he was better fitted than any other mere human being ever created to solve the problems it presented, and to understand the laws that regulate matter in its varied forms.

His knowledge of supernatural truths was no less profound. "He created in them the science of the spirit, he filled their hearts with wisdom, and he showed them both good and evil" (Ecc. xvii. 6). There can be no doubt but from the beginning Adam understood the privileges of his exalted state, and the glorious end for which he was created. That he was conversant with the mysteries of faith, and had an extensive knowledge of the divine truths—such as was befitting one whose duty it would be to instruct those who came after him—is equally certain. As yet, indeed, he was not privileged to see God face to face, and to read in the Divine Essence itself the "*species omnium veritatum*;" nevertheless, his constant communing with God, together with the preternatural enlightenment of his soul, must have led him into a knowledge of God, and of his relations with man, to which even the most profound theologian could not aspire.

To knowledge of the intellect there was superadded rectitude of the will, and not only was the father of the human race free from every trace of sin, but his soul was,

¹ Mazzella, *Disp.* iv., Art. 6.

furthermore, fortified with all the moral virtues appropriate to his state. That he could sin, and cast aside the glorious prerogatives he received, subsequent events only too clearly proved. It is, however, a question about which theologians are divided, whether venial sin is consistent with the state of original justice. Some are inclined to think that there is nothing in it to exclude the possibility of venial sin; and that, therefore, our first parents might lapse into one of those venial faults without in any way forfeiting the attributes of their exalted state. Theologians generally hold the opposite opinion. "*Communiter ponitur,*" writes St. Thomas, "*quod homo in statu innocentiae non potuit venialiter peccare.*"¹ "*In anima,*" writes St. Augustine, "*tota tranquillitas;*" and nothing can give us a better idea of the bliss of our first parents, and of the perfect reign of concord in their souls, than that they enjoyed a perfect immunity from every, even venial, fault. So completely were their wills under the control of reason, and so intimate was their intercourse with God, that the slightest venial fault would not be permitted to mar their happiness, or to disturb the peaceful reign of the Holy Spirit within their souls.

As a fitting climax to all their happiness, our first parents were destined to a supernatural reward which was nothing less than the immediate vision of God in heaven. In the meantime there was assigned to them for an abode an earthly Paradise carefully embellished by the hands of the Creator, and supplying in its varied beauties and striking harmonies manifest proofs of His power and love. The days of the sojourn of our first parents in the earthly Paradise might have been few or many; but few or many, they would have been days of joy unmixed with sorrow, days spent in marvelling at the wonders of creation, and worshipping and praising the God who made them. Living under the influence of sanctifying grace, breathing the very air of sanctity, all their works would have been stamped with a supernatural character, and all the aspirations of their souls directed towards the supernatural end for which they were

¹ Mazzella, *Disp.* iv., Art. vi.

destined. The glories of the Beatific Vision have been made the subject of the most sublime discussions by our Catholic theologians. They tell us it is so far above the natural powers of man or anything of which he could be conceived capable, that it would exceed even the limits of Divine omnipotence to create a creature to whom it would be a natural reward. They tell us that seeing God face to face, all the longings of the human soul and all the yearnings of the human heart are fully satisfied. They raise, furthermore, many profound questions regarding the *lumen gloriæ*, that mysterious medium which deifies the soul and brings it into closest union with God. And when they have exhausted the riches of theological literature, and gone as far as, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the teaching of revelation can lead them, they must admit that they have but reached the brink of an abyss the depths of which can only be sounded by the saints in heaven. "Oculus," writes St. Paul, "non vidit, nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparavit Deus iis, qui diligunt illum" (1 Cor. ii. 9).

D. FLYNN, C.C.

PALESTRINA AND ORLANDO DI LASSO

THE year which is drawing to a close has witnessed the celebration, in a large part, at least, of the civilised world, of the tercentenary of the death of two of the greatest musicians that ever lived. Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso were called *Principes Musicae* during their lifetime; and, though it cannot be said that their names are familiar to every musician of the present day, still they are considered as musical stars of the first rank by those in a position to judge. But their principal importance lies not in this, that they, in their time, advanced musical art a considerable step, and that their works continue to be a worthy object of study and imitation for the earnest student of music, but in the

fact that, as *Church* musicians, they have created works which have never been surpassed, and which must still be regarded as the ideal and model of all Church music written in parts.

It needs no apology, then, that we should devote to them a few pages of the I. E. RECORD. It rather requires an explanation why we have withheld this paper until this last month of the tercentenary year. The reason is, that we had hoped to be able to avail ourselves, for this study, of Dr. Haberl's *Biography of Palestrina*, which was promised for this year. It now appears that we shall have to wait a little longer for this long-expected biography. The learned Ratisbon priest, we understand, is going once more to Rome, to try and clear up, by a last examination of the archives, some points that are still obscure in the life of Palestrina. In the meantime, the principal sources of information on the Roman composer, besides what, from Baini's famous biography, has found its way into all the ordinary text books, are those articles which Dr. Haberl has published, from time to time, in his *Cæcilienkalender* and *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*.¹ To these we have to refer the student on all those points where our conclusions will diverge from the generally accepted opinions.

About Orlando di Lasso, the tercentenary year has produced three books, by Sandberger, Destouches, and Declève, of which the first named is the most important.²

¹ Both published by Pustet in Ratisbon. The principal articles referring to our subject are :—*Nach Palestrina wegen Palestrina*, Cæcilien-Kalender, 1879 ; *Notizen über Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*. C. K., 1882 ; *Das Archiv der Gonzaga in Mantua*, Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, 1886 ; *Die Cardinalscommission von 1564, und Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli*, Jahrbuch, 1892 ; *Synchronistische Tabelle über den Lebensgang und die Werke von Giov. Pierluigi da Palestrina und Orlando di Lasso*, Jahrbuch, 1894.

² The titles are :—1. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayer. Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*. In 3 Büchern. 1. Buch mit drei Abbildungen. Von Dr. Adolf Sandberger. Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1894, 119 pp. Price 3m. 2. *Orlando di Lasso. Ein Lebensbild von Ernst von Destouches*. Mit 5 Abbildungen. München, Lentner'sche Buchhandlung, 1894. 76 pp. Price 1.50 m. 3. *Roland de Lassus. Sa vie et ses œuvres par Jules Declève*. Illustration de Louis Greuse. Mous, Typographie de Leop. Loret. 1894. 244 pp. Price 10 fr.

In addition to these, some articles in Haberl's *Jahrbuch* are of importance.¹

Short biographical sketches of the two composers have been given in abundance in various periodicals. One of unusual merit, by Th. Schmid, S.J., appeared in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Nos. 7 and 8.

The great Roman composer, best known by the name of Palestrina, was born in 1526.² His father was called Sante Pierluigi, Sante being the Christian name, Pierluigi the family name. The distinguished composer received in baptism the name of Giovanni. From his native place, Palestrina, a little town at the foot of the Sabine mountains, the see of a Roman cardinal, he received the name by which he is generally known. Palestrina being identical with the old Preneste, the latinised form of his full name, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, is Joannes Petraloysius Prenestinus. But as people of that time were not over particular about names, the most fanciful combinations and alterations are to be found both in his own signatures and in printed books giving his name. Pierluigi's father was a well-to-do citizen, possessing houses and landed property both in Palestrina and in Rome. Hence the tales of the extreme poverty of young Giovanni must be received with a good amount of doubt, though it is possible, of course, that the cares of life may have made themselves felt, at some period of his early life, in Giovanni's family.

His early musical training Giovanni probably received in Rome, and, according to an account of Antino Liberati (1685), he had a Netherlander, called Gaudio Mell, as his teacher. The Netherlands, at this time, held supremacy in musical matters. Not only the best composers, but also the best singers, came from that country. Netherlanders held the posts of choirmasters at nearly all the courts of art-loving princes. Their compositions adorned the services of the Church, as well as gave splendour and grace to banquets and feasts. During the fifteenth and for the first half of

¹ "Aus der Correspondenz von Orlando di Lasso mit Wilhelm V., von Bayern," 1891; "Archival-Excerpte über Orlando de Lasso und seine Nachkommen," 1892; and the *Synchronistische Tabelle*, 1894, mentioned above.

² See *K. M. Jahrbuch*, 1886, pp. 42-44.

the sixteenth century, the Netherlands principally had developed musical art to a high degree of perfection. They had raised the technique of contrapuntal and imitative writing to such a degree that it excites the astonishment of our present-day musicians. That architectonic character which attaches to the fugal and canonical treatment of parts, that mastery in the combinations of melodies which enabled the mediæval composer to reduce his musical ideas to the strictest law and order, had been brought about mainly by the endeavours of the Netherlands. But it was not only mastery over the technique of musical composition, not only a perfect control over the forms of music that they possessed. Their works were not mere mathematical calculations that might be interesting to the reason, but leave the heart cold. Their compositions possessed also great æsthetic value, and were full of emotional life. How could we otherwise explain the fact, for instance, that the Italians of that period, who certainly were more fond of the enjoyments of life than of abstract speculations, preferred Netherlandish music and Netherlandish musicians to the music and the musicians of their own country? Nor is there wanting contemporary evidence that this æsthetic aspect of the compositions was appreciated at that time. Thus Glareanus, in his *Dodecachordon*, 1547, gives special praise to Josquin de Près, who died in 1521, because "no other one knew in the same measure to express the emotions;" and Johannes Otto, in the preface to his *Secundus tomus novi operis musici*, 1538, referring to a motet of the same master, asks: "Has ever a painter expressed so graphically the face of the suffering Saviour, as Josquin has done in tones?" That Palestrina received instructions from a master of this Netherlandish school, even apart from the quoted statement of Liberati, can be inferred from his earliest compositions, which show clearly the influence of that school.¹

¹ Bains, the famous choirmaster of the Sistine Chapel, and biographer of Palestrina, was the first to identify the above-named Gaudio Mell with the French composer Goudimel, who died in 1572, a victim of St. Bartholemew's Night. For this supposition there is no evidence, while there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. See *Jahrbuch*, 1891, page 89.

In the year 1544, at the age of eighteen, Palestrina was appointed organist of the cathedral of his native town. The interesting document of his appointment is preserved to us.¹ It shows the zeal of the canons of Palestrina for Church music. They not only gave their organist a salary equal to the income of one of themselves, but they were prepared to receive lessons in singing from him. Palestrina's duties were to play the organ on feast days; to assist daily at Mass, Vespers, and Compline; and to teach the canons or a corresponding number of boys, as the chapter might decide.

In 1547 he married Lucretia de Goris, who, on the 5th November of that year, received as her patrimony a house with a tannery, as well as several fields, meadows, and vineyards.²

During this time--from 1543 to 1550--the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina was Giovanni Maria del Monte, who, in 1550, ascended the Papal throne as Julius III. It was undoubtedly through his influence that Palestrina was called to Rome, in 1551, as Choirmaster of St. Peter's and teacher of the so-called *Capella Julia*.³ This *Capella Julia* was founded in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV., who ordered the chapter of St. Peter's to pay ten singers as the choir of that basilica. Julius II., in 1513, gave larger revenues to the institution, and, in consequence, it was called after him. He arranged that it should contain twelve singers and twelve boys, in order that from it singers for the Papal choir might be taken, for which at that time singers from France and Spain had to be procured, because in Rome hardly any were educated so as to be fit for that institution. Under Paul III., in 1547, a special house, the *Gymnasium Capellæ Juliae*, was erected, in which the boys and their teachers, one for music and one for grammar, were to live. Although intended for twelve boys, this *Capella Julia*, at the time Palestrina was appointed to it, had only three boys, the revenues being insufficient. These boys sang the soprano part of the compositions, the alto being taken by men, just

¹ *Caecilienkalender*, 1879, page 11.

² *Caecilienkalender*, 1879, page 11-12.

³ *Caecilienkalender*, 1882, page 84-86.

as is done, even at the present day, in the English Protestant cathedrals. In the month of October, 1551, he got a fourth boy under his tuition, and in 1584 he had as many as six, against four altos, four tenors, and four basses. This number appears very small, according to modern ideas of a choir. But when we learn that these sixteen or eighteen singers sometimes performed twelve-part compositions, we must infer that they were extremely well trained.

In 1554 Palestrina published his first work, a volume of Masses, which he dedicated to Pope Julius III., stating in the preface that he composed these Masses with "more exquisite rhythms." Palestrina, therefore, was twenty-eight years of age before he published any of his compositions. He did not bring before the world his first attempts at writing music, but those works which he considered of a higher standard. But when he appeared, he produced something of great value, and his "opus 1," which contains four Masses for four parts, two for five, and one for six parts, is such as any composer might be proud of.

Living in Rome at this period must have been of the greatest and most beneficial influence on a gifted musician who had devoted his life to the service of the Church. The work of reformation which was being carried on so successfully at the Council of Trent, occupied the minds of the best men, and in Rome a man like Palestrina had ample opportunity to come in contact with the most eminent promoters of the reform movement. Amongst the subjects that required reformation, Church music, too, was mentioned. There has hardly been any period in the Church's history when there were not complaints about the deplorable state of Church music. But in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century these complaints were particularly numerous. Looking at the compositions which have been transmitted to us from that period, we must say that they by no means deserve the strictures passed on them, and we are compelled to believe that these complaints were due partly either to the ignorance of the writers, who were incapable of appreciating polyphonic music, or to the rigorism of some who, on principle, were opposed to any music except Plain

Chant, partly to the incompetency or levity of the performers, who were not able, or did not care, to sing the compositions properly. Still we must admit that there was some room for improvement in Church music; and we may take it for granted that Palestrina was most anxious to listen to the advice of able men, and to try and carry out their ideas.

Amongst those who were practically engaged in the work of restoration, one of the most prominent was Cardinal Marcello Cervino. He was a friend of scholars and artists, and it is more than likely that he was a special friend of Palestrina. Probably on the suggestion of this cardinal, Palestrina, while choirmaster of St. Peter's, wrote that Mass which is so famous under the name of *Missa Papae Marcelli*,¹ and which appears to have evoked the approval of the Cardinal.

In 1555, Palestrina, by special order of Julius III., was appointed singer of the Papal Choir. This institution, in its first beginnings, dates back to the time before Gregory the Great. Of this Pope we know that he re-organized the *Scola Cantorum*, and ever since nearly all the Popes have shown their interest in this, their own private choir. Since the Popes returned from Avignon this choir is also called *capella pontificia*, or *palatina*, and when Sixtus IV., in 1473, had erected the chapel in the Vatican, called after him, the Papal Choir, too, received the name of *Capella Sixtina*. Before the *Capella Julia* was founded, the Papal Choir used to sing whenever the Pope was pontificating. Afterwards, however, whenever the Pope went to St. Peter's, the Papal Choir used to sing during the Mass only, while the chants during his solemn entrance were executed by the *capella Julia*. Since 1870 the Papal Choir has ceased singing altogether, and its few remaining members, as Dr. Haberl strongly expresses it, are barely vegetating. Originally the members of the Papal Choir were all clerics, or even priests. But under Paul III. this rule had been broken. So there

¹ The oldest MS. of this Mass is in S. Maria Maggiore, and was written about 1562. The title was given to the Mass first in the printed edition of 1567. See Jahrbuch, 1892, p. 82, *seqq.*

was no objection to Palestrina being appointed a Papal singer, although he was married. But, unfortunately for him, Julius III. died early in 1555, and Marcello Cervino, who succeeded him under the name of Marcellus II., reigned only a few days. Paul IV., then, reinstituting the former discipline, dismissed Palestrina and two other married singers, granting them, however, a good pension. Palestrina was so much grieved by this blow, that he fell sick. But in October of the same year he accepted the post of choirmaster in the Church of St. John Lateran, which he occupied till 1561. During this time he composed his celebrated *Improperia*, which, on account of their extreme simplicity of structure, create such a great impression on listeners of every class, and a book of *Lamentations*. In the year mentioned he left his post at St. John's, on account of the small salary, and became choirmaster of St. Mary Major, where he remained till 1571. This is the most interesting period of Palestrina's life, because during it occurred the closing of the Council of Trent, in 1563, and the appointment of the famous Commission of Cardinals of 1564.

At the Council of Trent, Church music received a fair share of attention. The most important law of the Council on this matter is probably that in which it commands that the boys in clerical seminaries should be taught music. Unfortunately this decree is not observed in many of our *seminaria parva* or the schools that occupy their place. As to the kind of music to be performed in the churches, there were not wanting some who advocated that all music should be excluded, except Gregorian Chant. But others objected to this; and Emperor Ferdinand I. deserved well of musical art, when he requested, through his legates, that no such decree should be passed. The Council, then, in its twenty-third session, merely decreed in general terms that the bishops should exclude from the churches all music which is in any way lascivious or impure.

After the conclusion of the Council of Trent, in August, 1564, Pius IV. appointed a commission of eight cardinals for the execution and observance of the Decrees of the Council in the various ecclesiastical bodies of the City of Rome, such

as the *Poenitentiaria*, *Camera Apostolica*, *Curia Capitolina*, &c. This commission appointed a sub-commission, consisting of the Cardinals Charles Borromeo and Vitellozzi Vitellio; not, indeed, to reform Church music in general, but to reform the discipline of the Papal Choir. The two Cardinals accomplished their task by excluding, in August, 1565, fourteen singers from the Papal Choir. But during that time also the question of Church music generally seems to have turned up; for we know that, on the 28th April, 1565, the Papal singers were assembled, by order of Cardinal Vitellozzi, in his house, to sing a few Masses in order that it might be seen whether the words could be understood as the cardinals desired it. What Masses were sung on this day we do not know.¹ But it may be taken for granted that Palestrina was among the masters from whose works selections were performed. Very likely his *Missa Pupae Marcelli*, which already had won the approval of competent judges, was chosen for this trial. What the judgment of the cardinals was, has not been transmitted to us; but perhaps we may infer that it was favourable, from another fact which occurred shortly afterwards. On the 6th June, 1565, by order of His Holiness, the monthly pension which Palestrina drew from the Sistine Chapel was raised by 3 sc. 13 baj., so as to amount to 9 scudi, which was the salary of the real Papal singers. The reason given for the increase is: "On account of various compositions which he had edited and was to edit for the benefit of the chapel." The compositions that Palestrina had edited by that time were the first book of Masses, mentioned above, and the first book of four-part motets, published in 1563. A book of four-part madrigals, published in 1555, does not belong, of course, to the category of works alluded to. The expression, "Compositions that he was to edit," may have referred, in the first instance, to those works that were sung on the 28th April. It is remarkable that in the preface to his second book of Masses, which appeared in 1567, and which contains the

¹ Baini's assertion, that Palestrina composed three Masses for the occasion, is void of all foundation and untenable. See Jahrbuch, 1892, l. c.

Missa Papae Marcelli, Palestrina says that, "following the advice of eminent and religious men, he had tried to adorn the holy Sacrifice of Mass with a new kind of music." What this "new kind of music" was, we may, perhaps, infer from the preface of *Animuccia* to a volume of Masses which was brought out the same year by the same publisher. He says that "influenced by the judgment of the Canons of St. Peter (to whom the work was dedicated), he had sought to adorn the praises of God with such music as would not disturb the hearing of the words." *Animuccia* adds, however, that in doing so he tried also to satisfy the requirements of art and to give pleasure to the ears of the listeners.

In the year 1571, Giovanni *Animuccia*, who had occupied the post of choirmaster of St. Peter's since Palestrina resigned, died, and Palestrina was appointed a second time to this position, which he held till his death. I may remark here that Palestrina was not organist at St. Peter's, as he had been in his native town. But there were special organists, who, having nothing to do but to play before and after the singing, got only a miserable salary. In 1580, Palestrina's wife, *Lucretia*, died, and in the following year he married a rich widow, *Virginia Dormuli*, who owned a flourishing fur business. Afterwards his compositions appeared in quick succession, this marriage having enabled him to defray the expenses of publishing, which composers of that time had themselves to bear. Still, in the preface to the first book of four-part *Lamentations*, which appeared in 1588, he complains of the bitterness of poverty. The various references which I have made to his pecuniary circumstances, and which might easily be multiplied, sufficiently indicate that he was by no means a poor man. The key, then, to his complaint must be found in the fact that the enormous expenses of publication prevented him from editing all the compositions he had written. Thus he says, in the preface referred to: "Much have I composed and edited; much more have I with me; and from editing it I am constrained by my poverty." Probably, too, he was envying his Spanish contemporary, *Vittoria*, whose compositions were published, at the expense of the Spanish Government, in splendid folio

editions; while Palestrina had to be content with small notes and unpretentious-looking volumes.

About the year 1576, Palestrina got a commission of a very honourable character. The zeal of the Popes, after the Council of Trent, for a reform of all branches of ecclesiastical life, extended itself also to a matter which always had been of great concern to the Church, namely, to Gregorian Chant. It is a disputed question whether Gregorian Chant had really degenerated during the course of the Middle Ages, or whether the complaints about this principal form of Church music were due mainly to the fact that the proper method of rendering it had been lost. However this may be, a reform of the Plain Chant melodies, especially of the Gradual, was thought necessary in the sixteenth century; and it was Gregory XIII. who first set about getting this task accomplished. It was a very high tribute to the eminence of Palestrina as a musician, that he was selected by the Pope to perform a work of such importance. Palestrina undertook the work with great eagerness; but it appears that at the time of his death he had not finished the revision of the whole Gradual, but only the first part of it—the *Proprium de Tempore*. About his manuscript a dispute afterwards arose between his son, Hyginus, and the publisher to whom Hyginus had tried to sell it. Only about the year 1611 the manuscript was taken up again, and got a final revision from two pupils of Palestrina, Felice Anerio and Franc. Suriano. Finally, in 1614 and 1615, the work was published by the *stamperia medicea*. It is known that this *Editio Medicea* is the foundation of the present authentic edition of the *Roman Gradual*. How far the changes introduced in this edition are to be attributed to Palestrina, and how far to his disciples, it is impossible to determine.¹

Another branch of Palestrina's activity we have to mention yet, namely, his connection with the Confraternity of St. Cecilia, and the music school founded by Giovanni Maria Nanino. It appears that in 1583 a society of

¹ "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina und das officiële Graduale Romanum der editio Medicea von 1614."—(Supplement to No. 2 of *Musica Sacra*, 1894. Ratisbon, Pustet.)

musicians was founded in Rome, in order to carry out the decisions of the Council of Trent on Church music, to establish a school for the proper teaching of young musicians, and to see that nobody be appointed choirmaster or singer at any of the Roman churches unless he had proved his fitness by an examination before a commission appointed for the purpose. Gregory XIII. approved of the Society, and gave it a cardinal as protector. The Papal Choir first were opposed to this Society, and forbade their members to join it. But in 1589 we find Palestrina and Nanino, and two other members of the Papal Choir, as members of this Society. In connection with this Society, Nanino established a school, at which, we are told, Palestrina frequently visited; and, being recognised as a superior master, often had to decide differences of opinion that arose between the numerous professors and students of the establishment.¹

In 1594, on the 2nd February, Palestrina died in the arms of St. Philip Neri, his friend and spiritual adviser. He was buried in the old Basilica of St. Peter's, at the altar of SS. Simon and Jude, and on his tombstone the words were engraved, "*Princeps Musicae.*"

"Prince of music": these words expressed the general feeling of the sixteenth century. As a musician of the highest merits, he was honoured by Popes and princes; as a superior master, he was revered by his younger colleagues. The Spaniards had their Vittoria; the Germans, their Orlando di Lasso; but in Italy there was nobody to contest his full supremacy. A prince of music we have to call him now, in the nineteenth century, when we look at the number and excellence of his compositions. Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel's splendid edition of his works, which is now complete, comprises thirty-two folio volumes. The number of those that contain Masses, namely, fifteen, at once shows in what direction Palestrina's predilection lay. The number of his Masses is ninety-five—forty for four parts, twenty-nine for five, twenty-two for six, and four for eight parts—certainly a great proof of his inventive power, that could

¹ *Jahrbuch*, 1891, page 86 and foll.

clothe the same words in ever-new and interesting harmonies.

Palestrina is generally known only by his *Improperia*, his *Missa Papae Marcelli*, and his eight-part *Stabat Mater*. These are very fine compositions, no doubt; but it would be very wrong to form one's opinion of Palestrina on these alone. The *Improperia* and the *Stabat Mater* cannot even give an idea of his proper style, because in them the life elements of the music of the sixteenth century—polyphony and imitation—are almost totally absent. The *Missa Papae Marcelli* can be regarded as a fair specimen of the general type of Palestrina's composition. But it must not be forgotten that there are several other five or six-part compositions of equal, if not higher value. Neither must we overlook that the majority of his Masses are in four parts. The beauty and elegance of his melodies, the freedom and natural flow of all the parts, the facility and variety of the combinations of voices, the ease and ingenious simplicity with which the finest gradations are brought about—all these characteristics of Palestrina's style can best be studied and enjoyed in such Masses as *Missa Brevis*, *Iste Confessor*, *Aeterna Christi munera*. Then we have his motets, filling seven volumes, and representing a different side of his style, in as far as in them each phrase of the text is clothed in a different melody, and consequently the expression of the varying moods receives great attention; while in the Mass the varying expressions of the different sentences of the text are rather like light undulations on the surface of the general sentiment. Space forbids us to go into details, and we must content ourselves with barely mentioning his five-part Offertories, and his four books of *Lamentations*, as some of the sublimest productions that musical art ever has achieved.

Palestrina's secular compositions are very few in number, though by no means contemptible in quality. We have mentioned one book of Madrigals. He edited another one in 1586, which he justly describes as "matured fruits;" and Dr. Haberl has gathered a third book from various collections to which Palestrina contributed. All three are

in the twenty-eighth volume of the complete edition. The next volume contains two books of *Spiritual Madrigals*, a sort of religious songs in the Italian language, composed probably on the suggestion of St. Philip Neri and for his oratory ; therefore the germ of the modern musical form of oratorio.

Viewing Palestrina's moral character, we cannot help noticing the piety of the man. This we can infer even from his compositions. It is quite possible, indeed, that a man of little piety, in a fit of religious ardour, provided he be a good musician, might produce a real piece of good Church music. But to spend a whole life composing works expressive of profound piety without possessing this virtue, is a thing we find it impossible to imagine. But we have ample evidence besides that Palestrina was a practical Christian. A proof of his tenderness of conscience is to be found in the preface to the fourth book of his five-part motets, where he says that he is ashamed and pained at having composed, at some earlier period of his life, poems that are foreign to the Christian profession and name. In reality there is nothing really bad in his Madrigals. They are sentimental, indeed, but not obscene, as, unfortunately, many of the madrigals of the sixteenth century are. We may take it for granted that Palestrina was quite justified when, in the preface to the first book of five-part motets, he assures us that even as a youth he had abhorred the custom of setting to music words which could incite people to lust and wickedness, and had taken great care that nothing should proceed from him, by which anyone could become worse and more impious. We have to consider, therefore, the self-accusation, quoted above, as the outcome of a great piety to which even a slight levity appeared as a serious fault.

Palestrina was also a sober and prudent man. In documents preserved for us, we see him managing his pecuniary affairs and providing for his children, selling farms and houses when a favourable opportunity arose, but soon investing his money again, like a good business man, in that security which is safest at all times, in landed property. From the esteem in which he was held by his

contemporaries, we may also infer that he was a humble, unpretending man; and thus the whole picture we get of him is of a very sympathetic character, and we may easily overlook the slight stain which the bitter complaint of poverty in the first book of four-part *Lamentations* throws on him.

Palestrina's whole life was confined to his native town and the City of Rome. The quiet, contemplative character of his compositions is well in accordance with this outward quietness and peacefulness of his life. Quite different is the aspect of the life and the works of his great contemporary, Orlando di Lasso. In accordance with the multiformity of the events of his life, his mind was lively and mobile, and his works bold in expression and cosmopolitan in character. Proske writes of him, in his preface to the *Musica Divina*: "Lassus had received into himself the national in all European music of his time in such a manner that it was expressed in him as a characteristic whole, and that the specially Italian, Flemish, German, or French, could not any longer be pointed out."

Orlando was born in Mons in Belgium. His family name appears to have been Lassus, or, as some say, Lattre. Later on, probably during his travels in Italy, he assumed the Italian form, Lasso. The year of his birth cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty. Haberl decides in favour of 1532, on account of the inscription of a picture of Orlando, "*Aetatis suae LXII. A° 1594*;" and his epitaph which says, "*post lustra ac hiemes sena bis acta duas*," according to which Orlando lived sixty-two years; and, as he died in 1594, was born in 1532. Sandberger, however, thinks that there is so much evidence for 1530 as to justify the supposition that Lasso, towards the end of his life, when his mind became obscured, forgot the exact date of his birth, and thought himself two years younger than he really was.

The early history of Lasso is surrounded with myths, and we must hope for future investigations to clear up the time of his youth. He is said to have been choir boy at St. Nicolaus in Mons, and, on account of his beautiful voice, to have been stolen as many as three times, a thing not unheard-of in those ages. According to another version,

his father was sentenced to carry a chain of false coin round his neck, and thus to walk three times around the gallows, on account of his being a coiner; and Orlando in consequence changed his name and left his country.

In 1544, we find him with Ferdinand I. Gonzaga, the General of Charles I. and Vice-King of Sicily, who was then besieging the town of St. Didier. With this Ferdinand, then, Orlando travelled about a good deal. They first visited the court of Franz I., King of France, where Orlando had a first opportunity of acquiring that facility and ease in his intercourse with persons of high position which he displayed in his after life. Ferdinand then returned to Sicily, but soon afterwards left again for Milan. On this journey, his fleet, consisting of ten ships, was attacked by a band of pirates, having about thirty ships. Orlando, therefore, had ample opportunities to witness all sides of human life. In Milan, Orlando remained a few years; and, perhaps, continued his musical studies under Mathias Hermann Werrecorensis, the Cathedral choirmaster, a musician who occupies a high place amongst his contemporaries. In Milan Orlando is said to have left Ferdinand, and to have gone to Naples with Constantin Castrioto, a Neapolitan nobleman. There he came in contact with all the festivities and enjoyments of Neapolitan life. Being himself of a genial character, he became a universal favourite, and we can easily imagine how heartily he enjoyed the amusements of the merry Neapolitans.

It is historically certain that he was in Rome before the year 1555, although Baini's statement that he was, in 1541, choirmaster of St. John Lateran, is no longer tenable.¹ Whether he was so at a later date is, at least, very doubtful.

In 1555 Orlando was in Antwerp, where he finished a book of four-part Madrigals, and got it published. In the same year a book of five-part Madrigals appeared in Venice, where he seems to have left the manuscript on his way to the Netherlands. The reason of this journey, we are told, was the news of sickness of his parents, whom, however, he

¹ *Jahrbuch*, 1894, page 87.

did not find living on his arrival. In Antwerp Orlando remained about two years, enjoying again the intercourse with, and the intimate friendship of, eminent and famous men, especially that of the Bishop of Arras, who afterwards became prominent in history as Cardinal Granvella. To the latter he dedicated his first book of five-part motets, published in Antwerp in 1556. With the three works mentioned, Orlando had shown himself to the world as a master of the first rank, and with all the characteristics of his own style. Of one of the motets contained in the publication referred to, an entertaining story is told, which proves at once the esteem in which his compositions were held, and the popularity which they enjoyed.

It was in 1584, on the feast of *Corpus Christi*. The procession with the Blessed Sacrament was to be held with special solemnity in Munich on account of the Bishop of Eichstätt, who happened to be present, taking part in it. But early in the morning a great thunderstorm arose, and the rain fell in torrents, so that great doubts were entertained whether the procession could take place. The Duke of Bavaria sent a messenger to the wardens of the tower to inquire what was the prospect of the weather, but they gave very little hope. Still the Duke was not satisfied, and he called the master of ceremonies to his seat in the church, and inquired from him what was to be done. The master of ceremonies answered that the rain would do great damage, indeed; but, inasmuch as the Lord of the weather Himself was to be carried in the procession, and to Him, as the Almighty God, this honour was to be done, they might well trust that He would stop the rain, if that devotion was pleasing to Him. The Duke agreed to this view, and the procession was consequently formed, although to all appearance a violent shower of rain was on the point of breaking down. But behold, when the Blessed Sacrament was being carried over the threshold of the cathedral, and "Master Orlando began the chant, *Gustate et videte*," suddenly the sun burst through the clouds; and the master of ceremonies, in great delight, walked up to the Duke, and pointed out to him how beautifully the verse of Holy Scripture had been

verified: "Taste and see how sweet the Lord is to them that fear and trust Him." The nobility, too, who were present, remarking that the sun grew brighter and brighter whenever the *Gustate et videte* was sung by the choir, during the procession, sent to the master of ceremonies to call his attention to that wondrous fact. As soon, however, as the procession was over, the rain that had been threatening came down in terrible floods. In consequence of this fact, Orlando's composition came to be sung afterwards at all processions held for the purpose of obtaining good weather.

With this story we have anticipated the last stage of Orlando's life, namely, his stay in Munich. Towards the end of 1556, or early in 1557, he came there, invited by Duke Albert II., who was influenced in his choice, no doubt, by the name Lasso had made for himself by his publications; but, perhaps, also by the fame of his witty and humorous disposition. How much he very soon felt at home in the art-loving city on the Isar, we may infer from the fact, that in 1558 he married one of the ladies at court, "the honourable and virtuous" Regina Weckinger, with whom he lived in happy marriage for thirty-six years. In the following year he began, by order of the Duke, the composition of the seven penitential psalms—a work which secured him the greatest fame. In 1562 he became head master of the ducal "Kapelle." As such he enjoyed as agreeable a position as he possibly could desire for himself. He had under his direction the best choir and orchestra existing in Europe. The choir consisted of sixteen boy sopranos, thirteen altos, fourteen tenors, and twelve basses; the orchestra of about thirty instrumentalists, all perfect musicians. The choir sang daily at High Mass, on Saturdays and feast-days also at Vespers. On Sundays and feast-days, at Mass and Vespers, also the wind instruments were employed; while the stringed instruments were used, it appears, only for profane festivities. Whenever, at the ducal banquets, the fruit was served, Orlando, with his musicians, had to perform his new compositions, "which he wrote daily."

Orlando was on the best of terms with Duke Albert, as

may be inferred from the fact that most of his compositions were printed, in splendid folio editions, at the expense of the Duke. Still more familiar was he with Prince William, who succeeded Albert, in 1579, as William V. His letters to this prince, of which Haberl published extracts in his *Jahrbuch*, 1891, prove an intimate friendship between the two men. They also show his ready wit and humour, and a certain carelessness, allowable in a man of great genius, in the way in which he mixes up four languages—Latin, Italian, French, and German. Lasso was also on very good terms with his colleagues—a thing not easily to be accomplished. They were irresistibly attracted by his genial nature and superior gifts. He was honoured beyond measure by the people, and was fond of the life in Munich, which he calls “*Minichen la jolie*.” We cannot wonder, then, that he remained there permanently till his death, although he got several tempting offers to accept other positions. He left Munich only a few times for some journeys, for which he freely got permission, and even pecuniary subsidy, from the Duke. Thus, in 1571, he travelled to Paris, on an invitation from the musician and publisher, Adrian le Roy. He was introduced on this occasion to King Charles IX., who honoured him highly, and gave him rich presents. Orlando, in return, dedicated to the King a book of five-part *Chansons*. In 1574 he travelled to Rome, and presented to Pope Gregory XIII. a copy of the second volume of his *Patrocinium Musicae*, which had been published and dedicated to the Pope in January of that year. Gregory made him Knight of the Golden Spur. A similar distinction he had received, in 1570, from the German Emperor, Maximilian I., who raised him to the nobility of the empire, granting him an escutcheon representative of his mastery in music.

In 1585 he went to Loretto, to satisfy his pious desire of seeing the Holy House, as he long had wished to do. Soon after, in consequence of his incessant labours in composing music, Orlando became subject to a nervous disease. The Duke sent him his own court physician, who restored his health after a few days; but his mind remained weak and gloomy. He even asked for his dismissal, which, however,

on the interference of his wife, the Duke refused to give. It appears that the privations of his early youth were conjured up again before his mind, and heavy cares about his livelihood and the fate of his children tortured his soul. Towards the end of his life, however, he seems to have recovered his former vigour; for his last work, the *Lagryme di S. Pietro*, which he dedicated to Pope Clement VIII., on 24th May, 1594, is considered as one of his finest productions. He died on the 14th June, 1594, and was interred in the churchyard of the Franciscan monastery in Munich.

“*Hic est ille Lassus, lassum qui recreat orbem*,” are the words written under a picture of the year 1593, and in a magnificent edition of his *Magnificat* of 1581 it is said:—“*Qui noverit artem, novit et nomen simul tuum*.” These statements hardly hold at the present time. The tercentenary of his death was celebrated this year by a concert in the town where he spent most of his life, but the “recreation” of the audience took place only when the first part of the concert, containing works of his, was over—we dare say because of the character of the performance. In his native town, too, a celebration was held in his honour; but it is said to have been a farce. But there is hope that a time is coming again, when not only his name, but also his compositions, will be known by a considerable fraction of the musical world. The best possible monument is being erected to his memory by the complete edition of his works, which has been begun by that enterprising firm of Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel. It is anticipated that this edition will comprise about sixty volumes, about forty of which will be devoted to his sacred, twenty to his secular compositions. From this we see at once the enormous extent of his productivity and industry, and also the relatively large number of his secular works. We may believe him, indeed, when he says, in a letter of 1573, “*tant travaillé mon pauvre et debil esprit nuit et jour*.” His secular works are some of the best of that period. In all forms of compositions of that class which were used in his time he excelled. Particular praise is given to his drinking songs, which are full of humour and merriment. Whether these compositions

will ever again have more than historical interest, is a matter of great doubt. Unfortunately, we must state that many of his texts are very reproachable on moral grounds.

This is all the more surprising, as we know that Orlando was a really religious man. We mentioned already his pious desire to visit the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin at Loretto. This love for Mary he also expressed by his frequent composition of the *Magnificat*. No less than one hundred and eighty settings of this canticle by him have been published. In the preface to an edition of the "*Iubilus B. Mariæ Virginis*," his son Rudolf says:—"I am convinced that my father composed these songs in order to incite, by their lovely and pious harmonies, as many people as possible to veneration and love of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

If we compare Orlando and Palestrina, one thing strikes us at the outset: the difference in the number of their Mass compositions. Orlando, although his sacred works on the whole are more numerous than those of his great contemporary, has only fifty-one Masses against ninety-five of the Roman master. A close examination of their respective characteristics of musical writing shows that this is not by accident, or from some outward cause, but rather is founded on the diversity of their gifts. I shall try to explain this somewhat, though the matter is one that rather withdraws itself from description in words. First of all, Orlando had not so much of that contemplative spirit which seems to be necessary for the composition of a Mass. He was of a very lively disposition, and ever desirous to be occupied with something new. This may be the reason, too, that he sometimes is led away to use rhythmical formations which must be called bizarre. Then the Mass is the more perfect *form* of Church composition, and it is the perfection of the formal, the full and consistent development of the musical idea that is characteristic of Palestrina's style. Orlando's strength, on the other hand, lay principally in the power of direct and vigorous expression, in the invention of striking and characteristic musical ideas. And for this he had more scope in the form of the motet, in which, as I explained already, each phrase of the text was to receive a new musical

formation suitable to express the peculiar mood suggested by the words. In a word, Orlando possessed what we now call dramatic power, and he would have been greatest at the musical drama had that form existed in his time.

Haberl compares Palestrina with Raphael, Orlando with Albrecht Dürer. I should feel inclined to compare their relation to that of Bach and Handel. Lasso and Handel are both masters of the polyphonic style; they are able to move in the contrapuntal forms with the greatest ease; but they use them with a sort of liberty, they employ them to gain the most telling effects, but they do not care so much for logical development, and are always prone to follow the unrestricted flight of their imagination, rather than by long reflection to deepen their work. Like giants they proceed, and, in a few bold outlines, draw a picture overpowering us by the grandeur of its conception and the strikingness of its expression; but they do not stay to work out the details or minutely to balance the shadings of colours. Palestrina and Bach, on the other hand, no less fertile in invention or powerful in expression, constantly, like Gothic architects, try to give their conception a strictly logical form; they glory in carrying out a musical idea to its extreme consequences; they strive to explain the full meaning of their thoughts by following them out into their most profound depth; and, by carefully balanced gradations, to raise the expression to the most sublime heights, and widen it to the utmost capacity of human comprehension. The difference between the two is, that the Italian has more sunshine in his compositions, and that the lines of his design resemble more the round and gentle features of the olive tree, than the characteristic, but severe, forms of the German oak.

If we wish to ask the question whether Palestrina or Orlando is greater, we find a serious difficulty in the fact that Orlando's works are not all easily accessible. Judging from those which have been published recently in various collections, Father Nekes, choirmaster of Aix-la-Chapelle minster, pronounces his opinion in this way.¹ In the Mass,

¹ In a paper read at a meeting of the Cologne Diocesan Society of St. Cecilia in August, 1894.

he says, Palestrina is unquestionably superior. In the motet, many of Orlando's compositions are quite equal to the very best of Palestrina's; but, on the whole, also here Palestrina carries the palm. There is one branch of musical representation, however, where Orlando is unequalled. That is, in the expression of the affects of repentance and compunction. It is a very remarkable fact that the gay Orlando should have expressed these sentiments, in his *Penitential Psalms*, in such a way as no other composer, before or after him, has done.

Let us look, in conclusion, a little more closely at the question: Of what importance are Palestrina's and Lasso's works for the present day? Are they worth resuscitating, and can we promise ourselves any advantage from their being performed again? A large number of musicians will answer, No. There are some that maintain the ground pillars of our modern music are Bach and Handel, while all that lies before them belongs merely to the domain of history. Others may be found to say that real music was composed only in the nineteenth century. I stated already, and repeat emphatically, that their sacred compositions, at least, are not only worthy of being performed again, but are, if we abstract from the Gregorian Chant, the very best Church music extant, models that we must imitate if Church music is to recover that excellence of style which it ought to possess. No doubt music has progressed during the last three hundred years. The laws of harmonic relations, of tonality, as it is called now, have come to be much more clearly understood than they were in the sixteenth century. Our rhythmical sense, too, has been developed; while, three centuries ago, the semibreve note, as the unit of three or four pulses, was, theoretically at least, the largest measure of the rhythm, we now take the eight-bar period as the standard of our rhythmical judgment. Nor do I close my eyes to the fact that in the modern *forms* of music, in niceties of expression, in the development of the orchestra, we have factors which enhance the effect of music very considerably. But I hold that the harmony of the sixteenth century is sufficiently clear to satisfy even modern ears;

the fundamental principles of harmonic relation that hold even at the present day, were fully understood by those masters, if not theoretically, at least practically. And where their compositions deviate from the accepted ways of modern tonality, they produce peculiar aesthetic effects of great value. Take, for instance, the Mixolydian mode (the seventh and eighth Church modes), the peculiarity of which, according to modern ideas, is the resting on the Dominant. It is expressive of the feeling that we have no perfect rest in this world, of a longing for a future life. Palestrina often produces the most beautiful effects by the cadence Tonic-Dominant; it is like lifting one's eyes to heaven. The rhythm, too, of those masters, though free, shows great evenness and balance, like the cadences of a good prose writer. In addition to this, the best composers of that period, foremost amongst them being the two we are treating of, have æsthetic merits which render them unsurpassed models of Church music. I shall say a few words on these, barely pointing out the leading considerations, under three headings: their polyphony, their vocal character, and their religious spirit.

Polyphony, the melodic treatment of all the parts, has its fundamental justification in the essence of harmonic progression itself. Chord successions are produced by, and understood as, the simultaneous progression of several parts. Clearly, then, it is a higher form of art when all these parts are imbued with melodic interest, than when one part absorbs it all, and leaves the rest devoid of it. It is a necessary consequence, for the highest forms of art, that all the real parts should be treated equally, that all should participate in the rendering of the principal melody. This is particularly true of vocal composition. A part that is sung by a human voice, that appears as the direct expression of an intelligent being, ought to possess independence, and, to some extent, equality with the other parts. Moreover, by contrapuntal devices, such as imitation and *stretto*, effects are achieved, the absence of which cannot be compensated for by any other means. Space forbids me to develop this very important idea at greater length. I must confine myself to

stating that Palestrina and Lasso are supreme masters of this art, that have not been surpassed even by Bach and Handel.

The second reason why we should revive and imitate the works of the sixteenth century, is their vocal character. The development of music during the last three centuries has been influenced to an enormous extent by the practice of instrumental music. Composers formed their style by writing for instruments, and then subjected the voices to almost the same treatment as the instruments. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that pure vocal music is the highest form of musical art, and the best suited for the services of the Church. Richard Wagner, who certainly cannot be accused of any prejudice against the orchestra, says:—"If Church music is to regain its former purity, it must become purely vocal again." The proper method of writing for voices, then, we must acquire from the masters of the sixteenth century. From them we can learn how to write melodies suitable for voices and adapted to the proper declamation of the words. From them we can learn, too, how to produce purely vocal effects by a manifold combination of the different parts, and by efficient gradations.

Lastly, I mention the sublimity of thought and the religious unction that permeates the works of these masters. It is an undeniable fact that the music of the last three centuries was mainly used for the expression of profane sentiments, of secular enjoyments, and worldly passions. Composers poured out in tones all the manifold feelings of their heart, or illustrated dramatically the sentiments of imaginary personages. Sexual love is the subject of a great deal of our music, and dance music not only increased to a large amount, but also influenced considerably the development of musical forms. Far be it from us to blame music for the course it has taken. As a pure art it has achieved great things, which we most gladly enjoy. But we cannot overlook the fact that the expression of religious sentiments has been lost to a considerable extent; and to recover it, therefore, we must go back to a time when it was known; we must study the masters who wrote before it was lost.

The main difficulty in the way of reviving the old masters, however, does not arise from any doubts as to their real value and suitability for our time, but from the sad deficiency of our choirs. Were it not for that circumstance, we could have far better performances than those which delighted the listeners of the sixteenth century. With our splendidly printed parts marked with all kinds of indications as to expression; with the modern scores, unknown to choirmasters three centuries ago; and with the equally modern art of conducting, we have great advantages over Palestrina and Lasso. Our principal aim, then, if we wish to honour them, must be to educate our choirs. Let us train them so as to enable them to sing the works of these immortal composers, and they will live again, more gloriously than they ever lived.

H. BEWERUNGE.

THE FRENCH BISHOPS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION¹

THE Apostle lays it down that no one should take upon himself the episcopal office but he that is called of God, as Aaron was. This was hardly the view of the aspirants to that dignity under the old *régime*; or, perhaps, they would have maintained that noble birth was ordained by God as a sign of vocation, and that courtly influence was only a secondary cause, working under divine agency. However, it is a fact that not one of the hundred and thirty bishops at the opening of the Revolution was a plebeian. It needed no Voltaire to point out the scandal of a Church professing to have been founded by a Carpenter and a few poor fishermen, and yet admitting none but nobles to her most sacred offices. The great question, what to do with our sons, was not a difficult one in those old days, if only a man happened to be of good family. The eldest usually followed his father's profession, whether in arms or administration; the navy was

¹ 1. *L'Ancien Clergé de France: Les Evêques avant la Révolution*, par l'Abbé Sicard. 2. *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine: L'Ancien Régime*, par H. Taine. 3. *L'An 1789*, par H. Gautier.

open to the second son; but it was often the youngest who became the wealthiest and most distinguished member of the family, for at his disposal were the dignities and riches of the Church. True, this last career was not of so dashing a character as the others, and it involved more outward decency and self-restraint; but there was the chance of obtaining some brilliant position at court or some high administrative office; and, on the other hand, the difference between the life of a bishop and that of a lay nobleman need not be great.

Thus the future prelate's career was marked out for him from his very birth. His only education, such as it was, was much the same as that of his brothers. Book-learning had little to do with it. His mother's maid taught him to spell his way through his Catechism and prayer-book. It was in the drawing-room that he picked up most of what he knew. There he learnt to enter a room with distinction, to make his bow, to converse with ease and correctness. No amount of learning, still less of piety, could atone for *gaucherie*. St. Simon tells of one young levite, the son of the Duke of Beauvillier, who was brought up away from home, "like a perfect seminarist. Never was anyone so clumsy, so slow, so sanctimonious. I suggested to the Duke to get him a dancing-master, to teach him at least how to make his bow and enter a drawing-room." We read how the Abbé de St. Paulet used to give his nephew lessons in politeness while the child was in bed. He used to walk up and down the room, repeating the compliments usual among persons of good society; he took care to put him on his guard against blunders sometimes committed, and he showed him how to come into a room, what place he should take, how he should begin and continue a conversation. These accomplishments gave the young aspirant an air of distinction, which remained with him through life, and contributed in no small degree to his success. About the age of twelve or thirteen, if not earlier, the youthful nobleman must be tonsured, and a benefice must be procured for him. This was not a difficult matter, when we remember the number of abbeys, and priories, and canonries, and the influence

possessed by the family. Thus provided with a pension of some thousands of livres, the little cleric entered on his classical studies, and, it must be owned, pursued them with considerable ardour. The college of Louis-le-Grand and that of Plessis were favourite resorts of the scions of nobility.

In due course he would proceed to St. Sulpice for philosophy and theology. Here, one might think, he would certainly receive some training for his sacred office. But the St. Sulpice of those days, though containing and producing many excellent priests, was by no means famed for the austere discipline which is now insisted on. A De Broglie or a Rohan, a Loménie de Brienne or a Talleyrand, could hardly be expected to submit to drudgeries and restraints. The superiors easily overlooked any little irregularities on the part of such distinguished seminarists. Once again it should be noted that these young nobles were often hard-working and brilliant students. While at the seminary, indeed, they were not seldom surpassed by their humbler competitors ; but they were careful to go on to a higher course at the college of the Sorbonne, whereas their former victors usually had to betake themselves at once to parochial duties. Without a doctor's cap the young abbé's chance of promotion would be small. But theology by no means occupied the whole of his attention. Mindful of the important secular offices attached to the sacred dignities to which he aspired, he devoted much of his time to the study of philosophy, law, political economy, and even medicine. Locke and Bayle, Voltaire and Buffon, Leibnitz and Spinoza relieved Tournéy and St. Augustine. It was at St. Sulpice and the Sorbonne that the great Turgot, then known as the Abbé de Laulne, acquired those profound and benign principles of government with which he long ruled the generality of Limousin, and which he endeavoured, in vain, to extend to the whole of France. There, too, he had as companions of his studies Loménie de Brienne, his rival and successor ; while Louis de Rohan, the dupe of the necklace scandal, Maury, the champion of the royalist cause, Talleyrand, financier and diplomat, Siéyès, the pamphleteer and constitution-maker, Vergniaud, the fervent orator of the Gironde, were all more

renowned for their knowledge of politics than for their ecclesiastical acquirements.

When the critical hour of ordination arrived there was little hesitation on the part of the aristocratic young abbés to take upon themselves the tremendous responsibilities of the priesthood. Destined from birth to the ecclesiastical state, knowing that their prospects entirely depended on their entering it, seeing all around them without any scruples, they did not trouble themselves on the subject. It is difficult, indeed, to believe that free-thinkers like Morellet and Siéyès, dissolute worldlings like Loménie de Brienne, Rohan, and Talleyrand, could have been called of God as Aaron was. When Turgot, finding his faith gone, decided to refuse orders so as not to wear a mask all his life, his clerical friends gravely remonstrated with him for his folly. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the young abbé, Des Cars, could persuade his family to allow him to refuse to enter a calling for which he never had the smallest inclination.¹

After having finished his studies and received the priesthood the newly-ordained nobleman had no thought of wasting his time in the drudgeries of a parish. Such conduct would infallibly wreck all his worldly prospects. Arrangements had probably already been made with some relative or friend on the episcopal bench to secure for him an appointment as Vicar-General. This was much easier than we might now think. Each of the hundred and thirty bishops had a considerable number of these functionaries. No less than twenty of them were at Cambrai, eighteen at Chalons, eighteen at Bourges. The usual number was nine or ten. The chief meaning of this large number was the presence of a brilliant staff around the person of the bishop, to relieve the monotony of provincial life, and to console him for his enforced absence from the court and the capital. Their duties were not very arduous. They assisted the bishop, indeed, in the government of the diocese; but the prelate usually took care to nominate one or two able plebeian clerics, to whom the largest share of the labour was

¹ On the seminary life of fashionable young abbés, see the Memoirs of Talleyrand, Morellet, and the Duke Des Cars.

allotted. It was in this way that the Abbés Maury, Boulogne, and even Siéyès, were raised to the office. The worthy parochial clergy had much to suffer from the haughty manners of the aristocratic officials. We have only to turn over the list of grievances submitted to the National Assembly by the lower clergy, to see how deeply this insolence was resented.

It is but fair to quote here Edmund Burke's experiences:—

“ I spent a few days in a provincial town [Auxerre] where, in the absence of the Bishop [Mgr. de Cicé], I passed my evenings with three clergymen, his vicars-general, persons who would have done honour to any church. They were all well-informed, two of them of deep, general, and extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental and western, particularly in their own profession. They had a more extensive knowledge of our English divines than I expected; and they entered into the genius of those writers with a critical accuracy. One of these gentlemen is since dead, the Abbé Morangis. I pay this tribute, without reluctance, to the memory of that noble, reverend, learned, and excellent person, and I should do the same, with equal cheerfulness, to the merits of the others who, I believe are still living, if I did not fear to hurt those whom I am unable to serve.”¹

Family influence and the young vicar-general's own ability and energy would soon procure him a rich abbey, a canonry, and perhaps a court chaplaincy. Then after some eight or nine years the great promotion must be obtained. Some of the great sees had come to be almost an appanage of certain families. For more than a century none but a Rohan had occupied the see of Strasburg. The usual course, however, was to receive a nomination to some petty diocese away down in Dauphiné or Brittany, and then to be translated to one richer or more accessible. Thus, Mgr. de la Ferronnays passed from St. Brienne to Bayonne, and thence to Lisieux; Montmorency from Condom to Metz; his successor at Condom, Loménie de Brienne, soon passed on to Toulouse, and afterwards to Sens. One bishop, De la Roche-Aymon, was appointed to Sarept in 1725, Tarbes in

¹ *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Works, vol. ii., p. 417. (Bohn's edition.)

1739, Toulouse in 1740, Narbonne in 1752, and finally to Rheims in 1763!

Since the reign of Louis XIV. Paris and Versailles had absorbed the whole of the life of the nation. As the King was the state, so was Paris France. To make a figure at court a nobleman would sell his lands, let his ancestral chateau, squander his revenues, and load himself with debts. Ordination and consecration, while imprinting a sacred character and imposing new duties, by no means changed the disposition or destroyed the inclinations of the new prelate. A nomination to the see of Riez, or Acqs, or Lombez, or St. Papoul, was not a source of unmixed pleasure. However, there need be no hurry in taking possession. The Council of Trent, indeed, had decreed that the delay should not be longer than three months, or six months at the most. But that was all ancient history. Christophe de Beaumont, in many respects a model bishop, waited for more than a year before betaking himself to his good city of Bayonne. His predecessor also allowed a year to pass, and one of his successors more than two years. The chances were, that if the newly-appointed bishop stayed at court and managed to curry fresh favour, he might be translated, and so save himself a weary journey to the extremities of the kingdom. Then, again, even if the prelate so far did violence to himself as to tear himself away from the attractions of the court, he would take the earliest opportunity of making his way back; and once there, how could he resist the blandishments of his relatives and the numberless gaieties of the capital? As to loyalty towards the person and authority of the King, none could surpass the bishops. "The life of the King," Bossuet had written, "is the joy and the greatest good of the state. A good subject loves his prince as the commonweal, as the air that he breathes, as the light of his eyes, as his life, and even more than his life." On the occasion of the coronation of Louis XVI., Mgr. de la Luzerne's *mandement* says:—"We hold that our kings receive their authority immediately from God, and not from the Church, and that the sacred unction adds nothing to the power handed down to them by their

august ancestors." According to Cardinal Bernis, "The king is the master not only of the goods and the lives of his subjects, but also of their very thoughts." When the Duke of Normandy (afterwards the unhappy Louis XVII.) was born, one bishop made the announcement to his flock in the words of Holy Writ:—"I bring you good tidings of great joy. . . . Let us venerate the august infant, the child of our fatherland, in this new Bethlehem. . . . Already has his star summoned to his side the Wise Men of the East, that is to say, the members of the court; the incense has been burnt, the hand of renowned artists has woven the gold of his garments." The swaddling clothes and the manger are mentioned in due course, and finally the faithful are exhorted to cry out:—"Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck!" This sort of king-worship was difficult when the king was a monster like Louis XV.; yet the bishops were equal to the task. "I have two masters," said Cardinal Bernis; "one is God, the other is the King. I acknowledge no one else." Bourdeille calls Louis "the best of princes." Conzié goes so far as to speak of him as "this good king, this magnanimous monarch, whom the Lord in His mercy gave us. . . . A prince so much according to the heart of men must have been according to God's own heart!" When Walpole visited the royal chapel in 1769, Madame du Barri was present at the Mass. "An odd appearance," he writes, "as she was so conspicuous, close to the altar, and amidst both court and people. In the tribune above, *surrounded by prelates*, was the amorous and still handsome king. One could not help smiling at the mixture of piety, pomp, and carnality."

But it is time for us now, at last, to go down into the provinces, and to see what sort of life the bishop led there. And first we must be present at his solemn entry into his cathedral city. As late as the seventeenth century this event was accompanied with feudal mummeries that would have delighted the worthy Baron of Bradwardine. Although most of these had fallen into disuse, there was still much pomp left. The great bell of the cathedral tolled to the accompaniment of joyous peals from the belfries of the churches and

convents, the booming of the cannon, and the music of numberless bands. Through streets lined with immense crowds of the populace, through long files of soldiers, amidst flags and banners and rich hangings, the Prelate, escorted by the clergy, the nobility, and the consuls, all in their gayest attire, made his way into the cathedral to take possession, with the usual ceremonies. Not seldom the official account relates that the new bishop, still young and of high birth, charmed everyone by his graceful person, his distinguished manners, and his amiable language. The townspeople had, indeed, good reason to feel an interest in their bishop. For many centuries he was the leading personage in the city and surrounding country. His wealth and his domains, his feudal and political rights, made him truly a high and mighty *seigneur*. The see of Strasburg had a revenue of 400,000 livres, Cambrai 200,000, Narbonne 160,000, Auch, Albi, and Metz 120,000 each, Rouen 100,000. Paris (including the duchy annexed to the see) was worth 600,000 livres a year. Besides the large sums derived from his bishopric, the prelate usually drew a further revenue from the abbeys which he held *in commendam*. Thus Bernis received an additional 100,000 livres, De Brienne 106,000, Dillon 120,000, Rochefoucauld 130,000. The Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyau, were ecclesiastical peers, *pares*, of the King, taking part in his coronation. The Bishop of Autun presided over the States of Burgundy, the Archbishop of Aix over those of Provence, the Archbishop of Narbonne over those of Languedoc. The Archbishops of Besançon and Cambrai, the Bishops of Strasburg, Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Belley, were princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Many pages might be filled with the list of the titles and dignities of the hundred and thirty bishops.

Nothing is so striking in the clergy of France at the present day as their total abstention from public life. Very different was the conduct of their predecessors in the last century. The clergy, being the most enlightened body in the kingdom, were naturally at the head of the administration of affairs. Many of the bishops, indeed, became so absorbed

in secular business as to have no time or inclination for the sacred duties of their calling. These were popularly styled "administrators of provinces," in contradistinction to their brethren who were "administrators of the sacraments." No doubt it must ever be a matter of regret that an ecclesiastic should become a mere state official; but surely it is a great gain for the Church to be on the side of progress, and for men to look upon her as having a care for their welfare in this world as well as in the next. Surely, it was better for France, as well as for the Church, that, for example, the fiery inhabitants of Provence should deliberate at Lombesc under the wise and skilful presidency of Mgr. de Boisgelin, than be left to the mercy of ignorant and irresponsible demagogues. When there were no States General the States of Languedoc admirably managed that province. The nobles, the clergy, and the *tiers état* sat together in one chamber and voted by head, while the representatives of the people were equal in number to those of the other two orders. The assembly thus embodied the great reforms claimed in 1789. Its fame was celebrated throughout Europe. For well-nigh thirty years it was presided over by Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne. Writers of every party vie with each other in praising his profound knowledge of affairs, his breadth of view, his eloquence, his firm and dignified bearing in the chair. The great roads and bridges constructed at his instigation, the joining of the Mediterranean and Atlantic Canal with the Robine, the numberless encouragements given to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, bear witness to his able and enlightened rule. In honour of him Toulouse has given the name, "Cours Dillon," to the finest of her promenades; and his successor's memory is still preserved by the "Canal de Brienne." The "Canal Boisgelin" and the magnificent roads which traverse Provence were the work of the famous Archbishop of Aix. Bayonne owes to Mgr. de la Ferronays the "Avenue de Mousserole," and the noble trees with which it is still adorned. Mgr. Mongin constructed the bridge of St. Martin at Bazas, and Mgr. Maupéou a bridge and a splendid avenue at Lombez. Want of space alone prevents

me from enumerating the long list of temporal benefits conferred upon the various provinces by the lofty public spirit and noble liberality of their bishops.¹

Though the bishops spent so much of their time in secular affairs and delegated the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction to their numerous vicars-general, yet there remained ample scope for their energy in watching over the regulation of public worship, the administration of the sacraments, the education of the clergy, the management of religious orders of men and women, the control of public instruction, the defence of the faith, and the superintendence of works of charity. One may well wonder how a young aristocrat, brought up in the lap of luxury, with little or no real ecclesiastical training, would perform these arduous and solemn duties. What sort of an example could he be to the clergy and flock committed to his charge? Even if he wished it, how could he stoop to understand the position of a poor *congruiste*, whose tattered soutane and rustic manners would excite his ridicule and disgust? And, on the other hand, how could a country curé feel at home with a high and mighty nobleman visiting him in a gorgeous carriage, accompanied by scarcely less distinguished ecclesiastics, and followed by a train of lackeys in rich liveries? It was by no means rare for a bishop to allow none of the priests to sit at his table. Christophe de Beaumont, whose virtues are so universally acknowledged, refrained from making pastoral visits for fear of being obliged to associate with the curés. The audiences granted to the clergy were few and brief, and were marked by the haughty and overbearing manner of the bishops.² We must, of course, be careful to guard against the impression that such conduct was universal. Mgr. d'Uzès,

¹ For further information see Abbé Sicard, liv. 1^{er}, chaps. viii.-xi.

² It is related that Mgr. Camus, Bishop of Belley, one day met his match. He had summoned a curé, who was reported to be too ignorant for his position. When ordered by the Bishop to sit down, the poor priest begged to be excused as his lordship was still standing. "Oh, don't mind me," said Camus, "I am at home, and can do as I please. But tell me, where was God before the creation of the world?" "He existed in Himself," was the reply. "Yes, but what did He do?" The curé answered: "As he existed in Himself, He was at home, and so could do as He pleased."

Mgr. Vauréal, Mgr. Dulau, and especially Mgr. Juigné, were all renowned for their cordial and even affectionate relations with their clergy. But the real grievance was the fact that the parochial clergy were entirely debarred from the episcopate. No amount of affability on the part of the bishops could bridge over the hateful class-distinction between themselves and their priests. The *cahiers* of 1789 are filled with bitter complaints against the whole system. When the States General met, it was at once observed that, while the *noblesse* and the *tiers état* were each in their own way practically unanimous, there was hopeless division among the clergy. The bishops and dignitaries naturally sided with the aristocratic class from which they sprang; while, on the other hand, the parish priests looked for redress to their brethren among the *tiers état*. Had the clergy held together against the fusion of the three orders that eventful measure could hardly have been brought about. It is not too much to say that the action of the hundred and forty-nine ecclesiastics who joined the *tiers état* on June 22nd, was the turning-point of the Revolution.

In the momentous struggle against infidelity, the bishops utterly failed to beat off the attacks of the philosophers. A century earlier Bossuet had routed the sectaries with his pitiless logic, and had lighted up many a field of literature by the splendour of his genius; Bourdaloue had set forth the great truths of religion with equal reason and passion; Fénelon, appealing to the heart more than to the head, had won many by his gentle and persuasive writings and engaging manners. After them Massillon's brilliant rhetoric had been received with unbounded admiration. The great tragedies of Corneille and Racine, too, were eminently religious. And even Boileau's satires and Molière's comedies, while justly denouncing ecclesiastical abuses, carefully refrained from attacks on religion itself. The court and the people under Louis XIV. believed in the mysteries of the faith, and fulfilled the precepts of the Church. But at the dawn of the Revolution all this was changed. For well-nigh seventy years everything that was sacred had been exposed to the withering sarcasms of Voltaire. Rousseau's

influence had been even more baneful, for he had led astray many into the religion of "nature," and the practice of the sickly sentimentalism which he called "virtue." Besides these two giants there were a whole host of assailants, whose attacks were concentrated in the famous *Encyclopædia*. On the side of the Church no champion was found fit to cope with such foes. The truth was, that while the enemy was thundering at her gates all was confusion within. The number of downright infidels among the clergy was probably small. Of the bishops, only some five or six openly favoured Voltaire. But the influence of the infidel philosophy was certainly very widespread. If the clergy had not entirely lost the faith, they had, at any rate, lost its spirit. To make the sign of the cross, to quote Scripture, to mention even the name of God, were all considered out of place. At the most, some allusion might be made to "*le ciel*," or "*la providence*," or "*l'être suprême*." A simple curé, it was said, must believe a little, or he would be thought a hypocrite; a vicar-general might smile at a smart saying against religion; a bishop might laugh outright; but a cardinal might join in the joke. For more than a century Gallicans and Ultramontanes had turned against each other the weapons which should have been directed against their common assailants. Though the bishops were all nominated by the king, yet a large number of them were strenuous defenders of the rights of the Holy See. The parochial clergy were claiming a divine right to jurisdiction, and hence the bishops had to fall back upon the authority of the Pope to condemn these usurpations. But it was also during this period that the Gallican liturgy was substituted for the Roman in nearly all the dioceses; and the prelates used to address the Supreme Pontiffs in language which would not be tolerated at the present day. These disputes, however, were as nothing compared with the deadly feuds between the Company of Jesus and the partisans of Jansenius. Amidst the scornful derision of the unbelievers, the Jansenists were condemned by the Pope, and the Jesuits expelled by the King. Thus deprived of the services of their most able defenders, and at variance among themselves, the bishops

made a poor show in the conflict. When the most distinguished of their number, Christophe de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, attempted to refute the arguments of a poor copier of music, he was ignominiously defeated; when the Church was attacked in the Assembly, the bishops were obliged to crouch behind plain Abbé Maury, the son of a Provençal shoemaker.

There was, however, another field in which the bishops' labours were far more successful. It was once the fashion to accuse the old French church of standing in the way of the education of the people. But recent researches have triumphantly refuted this charge. In those days there was no budget or minister of public instruction; the whole work of superintending education was thrown on the bishops. The decrees of provincial councils, the diocesan statutes, and pastoral letters abundantly prove with what energy they discharged this duty. "Elementary schools" (*petites écoles*), says M. Taine, "were innumerable in Normandy, Picardy, Artois, French Flanders, Alsace and Lorraine, the Island of France, Burgundy, Franche-Comte, Doubs, Dauphiny, Lyonnais, Comtat, Cevennes, and Bearn; that is to say, in the best half of France. There were almost as many of them as there were parishes. Out of thirty-seven thousand parishes in France twenty-five thousand possessed well-attended and efficient schools." As regards secondary schools and colleges, it is well known that M. Villemain's report showed that the number of students was relatively greater in 1789 than in 1843; and it has lately been proved that his statement fell short of the truth, for at the earlier date the number of colleges was nine hundred, and the students nearly one hundred thousand. The activity of the bishops was especially displayed after the expulsion of the Jesuits. By that unjust decree more than a hundred of the largest colleges in the kingdom were deprived of teachers. The bishops at once stepped in, and by their wise and generous measures provided for the resumption of the excellent work which had been interrupted. To give a list of the benefactions of each bishop would weary the reader, and would take up more space than is allotted to

me. Let these instances suffice:—Mgr. de la Marche, the last Bishop of St.-Pol-de-Léon, spent 400,000 francs on his college; the college of Auch endowed and supported by the archbishops, had a revenue of 33,000 francs; 54,000 francs were given by Mgr. de Caulet, Bishop of Belley, to found a college and a seminary; his successor completed the buildings and provided ample funds for the maintenance. The teaching-staffs, even after the departure of the Jesuits, almost entirely consisted of ecclesiastics. We can easily understand that when these also were driven out by the iniquitous laws against the clergy, the cause of education suffered enormous injury. And we must remember, too, that the Revolution robbed the colleges of revenues to the value of 30,000,000 francs.

Another charge which lay upon the episcopate was fulfilled with even greater zeal. For fourteen hundred years the French Church had been building hospitals and other charitable institutions of all sorts, and had assured the gratuitous administration of them. In these good works the bishops had ever been foremost. No doubt there were some among the hundred and thirty who were deservedly reproached with avarice. But the great majority gave with a lavish hand out of the vast sums at their disposal. The revenue of the Archbishop of Paris was, as we have seen, enormous. So, too, were his charities. Out of his 600,000 francs a-year, 500,000 went to the poor; and in his last year, having gained a great lawsuit, he actually gave away 1,100,000 francs. During the winter of 1766 Cardinal de Bernis, Archbishop of Albi, devoted the whole of his property and incurred a debt of 150,000 francs for the succour of the poor. These are by no means solitary examples. Long lists of similar acts of benevolence may be found in Abbé Sicard's book. Even bishops who were not famed for generosity during their life-time made ample amends by their wills. Brancas, Archbishop of Aix, and Langle, Bishop of St. Papoul, were reproached for their wealth; but when they came to die it was found that the former had left everything to his seminary, and the latter had left everything to the hospital of his city. Such testamentary dispositions was

quite common during the eighteenth century. Thus Menou de Charnisary bequeathed his all to the hospitals at La Rochelle; so did Fumel at Lodève, Beauteville at Alais, Massillon at Clermont, Pérouse at Gap, Rochebonne at Carcassonne. Tilladet left them 800,000 francs; La Garlaye, Massillon's successor, 200,000 francs. Let the wills of the Protestant bishops of England be compared with these. But the old French prelates did not confine themselves to giving money. They maintained an admirable system of insurance against loss by fire, and provided gratuitous loans to those in temporary want. To check the evils occasioned by the indiscriminate suppression of begging, *bureaux de charité* were established everywhere at the instigation of the bishops. Here is the programme of one of these:—

“To succour those who are really poor, to support the aged and the sick in comfort according to their station by providing them with food, clothing, and lodging; to take care of the sick who cannot be admitted into the hospitals; to dry the tears of desolate widows, by procuring for them the means of keeping their children and of gaining their own livelihood; to put an end to laziness and idleness, by accustoming children to labour from an early age . . . to reward those who distinguish themselves by their industry and good conduct; . . . to continue privately to the poor of a better class, ashamed to beg, the assistance lately given by the parish priests; to forbid, once for all, begging of every kind, whether by those who are able-bodied or not, and to lock up without mercy all who infringe the orders of the police and the regulations made on the subject, but at the same time to provide for their urgent wants, and to afford them no pretext for opposing this necessary severity; and to extend charity to prisoners and travellers in need.”

What charity-society in the present enlightened age has a wiser or kinder programme than this?

The prolonged winter of 1788-89 brought intense misery on the poor. In the preceding autumn the crops had been destroyed by hailstorms. Bread was sold at famine prices; work was at a standstill; tens of thousands of families were perishing of hunger and cold. Nobly did the bishops come to the aid of their unhappy flocks. Pius VI. sent 261,000 decalitres of corn to his starving subjects at

Avignon. Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, gave all that he had, and further incurred a debt of 400,000 livres. At Arles, at Béziers, at Evreux, at Rheims, at Nevers, at Riez, and at countless other places, the bishops headed the subscriptions and devoted their energies to the judicious distribution of the funds. Here again it is only by perusing a long list that the extent of their benevolence can be realized. One instance alone will here be given and with it this already lengthy account of the old bishops shall be brought to a close. Owing to the influence of Monsignor Boisgelin, free trade in corn had been established at Aix some years before 1789, and had immediately relieved distress. But on the eve of the Revolution Mirabeau had stirred up the citizens to open revolt. The public granaries were plundered, the municipal authorities insulted, and the archbishop's palace was threatened. Then it was that the Archbishop's powerful and beneficent influence was felt. Summoning the terrified magistrates and merchants he revived their courage, reminded them of their duties, and undertook himself to provide 100,000 francs towards making good the loss. Next he called together the clergy, and bade them use their influence with the rioters to restore the plundered corn. Wonderful to relate, this restoration was actually made in a few hours. As the populace were bringing back their ill-gotten booty, the Archbishop happened to pass through their ranks. Amidst enthusiastic acclamation he was conducted in triumph to his palace, the crowd demanding that the event of the day should be celebrated by a solemn religious service. The request was immediately granted. A vast crowd assembled in the cathedral to express their repentance, and to return thanks to God for the restoration of order. When the great prelate ascended the pulpit, and referred in touching language to the magnitude of their crime, the whole multitude was transported with grief, and broke out with loud sobs.

Here, then, on the eve of their downfall let us take leave of the bishops of the old *régime*. Many faults they had which we may well deplore. But they did their duty to the poor and the suffering; and charity covereth a multitude of sins.

T. B. SCANNELL.

Liturgical Notes

A NEW FEAST OF OUR BLESSED LADY

FORTY years ago, on the 8th of December, Pius IX., to the joy of the entire Catholic world—*universo plaudente orbe*—proclaimed it a doctrine revealed by God, that by a singular privilege the Blessed Virgin Mary was preserved from the stain of original sin from the first moment of her conception. This definition of faith, “the first,” to quote the words of Monseigneur Dupanloup, “which was preceded by no dissensions, and followed by no heresies; which crowned the expectation of past ages, blessed the present century, called for the gratitude of future generations, and left behind it an imperishable memory,” has been the source of countless blessings. Ah, who can say what special graces the Church, the faithful, and the whole world have received in return for the solemn recognition of this singular prerogative of the Queen of Heaven! The intelligence of mere mortals is too weak and too circumscribed to know their extent, or to understand their effect; nay, perhaps, even the blessed spirits who see God face to face, and by the light of the Beatific Vision behold the mysterious workings of His love for man, cannot fathom the source of grace which this definition has opened up for the children of Adam. But though we can neither reckon the number nor measure the efficacy of these blessings, there is one which stands out so prominently, that we can, at least, contemplate its nature, and realize, to some extent, the effect of its operation on the human heart. This blessing consists in the wonderful revival of devotion to our Blessed Lady which has taken place during the past forty years, and which is so evident and, at the same time, so astonishing, that it cannot have escaped the notice of anyone who takes even a passing interest in the internal development of the Church, or in the devotional practices of the faithful. This revival of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, though its rapid development dates from the definition of the Immaculate

Conception, can be traced to a time nearly a quarter of a century more remote than that event; and if, going back to that more remote period, we seek to discover the means which God employed to give form and life to this revival, we shall find them in inseparable connection with this same doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and inaugurating, as it were, the immediate preparation for its reception as a dogma of Catholic faith.

The beginning of this revival was announced by the Blessed Virgin herself, when she appeared to Sister Catharine Labouré, on the 27th November, 1830, and told her to have a medal struck according to the pattern which she showed her; and this medal was the means by which both devotion to our Blessed Lady was propagated, and the time matured for the solemn definition of the Immaculate Conception. For, like the apparition of our Blessed Lady to little Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes, in 1858, this apparition to Sister Catharine seems to us to be intimately connected with the solemn act which took place within the walls of the Vatican Basilica on the 8th December, 1854. The former, in which the Blessed Virgin, in reply to the thrice-repeated request of the favoured Bernadette to tell her "who she was, and what was her name," said, "*I am the Immaculate Conception*," was at once a miraculous confirmation of the definition, a gracious return for the universal applause with which it had been hailed, and a guerdon of countless favours to all who invoke the aid of the Virgin conceived without sin. The latter awakened faith in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; and this faith, strengthened and intensified by the wonders which everywhere attended the distribution of the miraculous medal, not only prepared the way for the solemn definition of the doctrine, but also convinced the Holy Pontiff, Pius IX., that the time had arrived when this solemn definition should no longer be deferred. And as the apparition to Bernadette Soubirous has received the solemn recognition of the Church by the institution of a feast in honour of our Lady of Lourdes, and by the granting of a special office and Mass for this feast, so has the apparition to Sister Catharine

Labouré received a similar recognition and similar favours, as is testified by the decree which has called forth these remarks, and which is printed further on. We will now give a brief sketch of the history of this solemnly-authenticated apparition, and of the miraculous medal, which was its fruit.

Zoé Labouré was born in the year 1806, in the Department of Côte d'Or, and though from her earliest years she had an ardent desire to become a Sister of Charity, various circumstances interfered to prevent the fulfilment of her desire until her twenty-fourth year. At length, in the spring of 1830, having overcome all obstacles, she was received into the Mother House in the Rue du Bac, Paris, and was henceforth known as Sister Catharine. While yet in the world Sister Catharine had been favoured with supernatural visions, and she had not long donned the humble habit of a Sister of Charity when these visions were renewed. Always tenderly devoted to the Blessed Virgin—whom, on the death of her mother, when she was scarcely eight years of age, she had requested to be a mother to her—she had an intense longing to be permitted to behold her heavenly beauty; and, in the confiding innocence of her heart, she was accustomed to frequently beseech her angel guardian to obtain this favour for her. Her prayer was at length heard, her ardent longing gratified; on the night preceding the feast of St. Vincent, in 1830, she was awakened from sleep by a voice softly calling her name, and on opening her eyes she beheld a child—her angel guardian she always believed—of more than mortal beauty, who told her that the Blessed Virgin awaited her in the chapel. Sister Catharine followed her heavenly guide to the chapel, knelt at the rails of the sanctuary, and after a few moments was favoured with the sight of her on whom she had so long and so ardently desired to gaze. The Blessed Virgin seated herself in a chair,¹ and Catharine kneeling by her side heard in an ecstasy of joy and love the prophetic words

¹ This chair is still preserved with religious veneration in the chapel of the Rue du Bac.

which her heavenly Mother vouchsafed to speak to her.¹ In this interview, however, no mention was made by the Blessed Virgin of the miraculous medal, or of the commission with which she intended to honour Sister Catharine. The object our Blessed Lady had in view in this visit would seem to have been to satisfy Sister Catharine's desire, to win her confidence, and to prepare her for the work for which she was destined.

The second apparition of the Blessed Virgin to this chosen soul took place on the evening of the 27th November in the same year (1830). This is the apparition commemorated by the new feast, which is to be celebrated each year on the 27th November, the anniversary of its occurrence.

On the evening of that day, which was Saturday, and the eve of the first Sunday of Advent, at half-past five o'clock, she was, as usual, making her meditation in the chapel when she heard on the right side of the sanctuary a noise like the rustling of silk . . . and looking up she saw the Blessed Virgin, standing near the picture of St. Joseph. Her height was about the middle size, and her face indescribably beautiful . . . The feet of the Apparition rested on a globe ; and the hands which were on a level with the waist, held another and smaller globe . . . Suddenly the fingers became covered with brilliant rings in which were set most beautiful precious stones. From these stones darted rays of dazzling light, which enveloped the whole figure with such radiance that the feet and the dress were no longer visible. "It is beyond my power," said Sister Catharine in describing this vision, "to give an idea of the splendour and loveliness of those rays." The Blessed Virgin said : "They are a symbol of the graces I will bestow on those who ask for them." . . . After a while an oval frame seemed to surround the figure of the Blessed Virgin, and on it were written these words : '*O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee.*' This prayer was in the form of a semi-circle

¹ For a full account of this apparition, and of subsequent apparitions, as well as of everything connected with the apparitions and with the miraculous medal, see *The Miraculous Medal*, compiled by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and published in 1880 by Burns and Oates.

beginning on a level with the right hand of our Lady, and ending on a level with the left hand. Then it seemed as if the oval frame turned round, and I could see on the back the letter M surmounted by a cross, with a cross-bar beneath it; and under this monogram were the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the one surrounded by a crown of thorns, the other transpierced with a sword. As I beheld these things I heard a voice saying to me: "*Have a medal struck according to this pattern; those who shall wear it round their necks when it is indulgenced will receive great graces. Graces shall abound to those who have confidence.*"¹

Sister Catharine recounted this vision, as she had previous ones, to her director, M. Aladel, of the Congregation of the Mission, and told him of the commission she had received regarding the medal. But though, as M. Aladel himself afterwards testified, the vision was several times renewed during the following months, and the commission to have a medal struck each time repeated, it was not until nearly two years had elapsed that this prudent priest, after consulting Mgr. de Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, resolved to fulfil the commission entrusted to him by the Blessed Virgin through Sister Catharine. At length, in June, 1832, the first medals were struck, and their distribution committed to the Sisters of Charity, and to the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission.

These devoted children of St. Vincent were from the first aware of the miraculous origin of this medal, though neither then, nor until a short time before her death, were they, or anyone except her director alone, aware that Sister Catharine was the one so much favoured by our Lady. But, notwithstanding their knowledge of the origin of the medal, they were not prepared to behold the wonders which everywhere accompanied its distribution. Diseases that had baffled the skill of the most renowned physicians were instantly healed by the application of this little sign of our Lady's power, and pledge of her love. The blind, the deaf, and the dumb who received it in the spirit of faith, had their

¹ Adapted from *The Miraculous Medal*, and from the original French work, *La Médaille Miraculeuse*, Paris, 1878.

organs of sight, hearing, and speech perfectly restored; and the most obstinate sinners, who could not speak of religion unless to blaspheme it, were converted by having it secretly placed under their pillows, or attached to the clothes they wore. But even the briefest account of the authentic miracles wrought through the agency of the miraculous medal, as it soon came to be called, would fill a large volume. Hence we shall here confine ourselves to a brief notice of the wonderful conversion of Alphonse Ratisbonne, which has been thought worthy of special mention in the new office, referring our readers for interesting accounts of innumerable other miracles to the works already mentioned.

Alphonse Ratisbonne belonged to a wealthy Jewish family of Strasbourg, and while still a youth was, like St. Paul, "abundantly zealous for the traditions of his fathers." His hatred for the Catholic Church, which grew with his growth, was intensified by the conversion of his brother, Theodore, who became a priest. In the year 1841, Alphonse was engaged to a young and beautiful Jewess; but before settling down in life he determined to visit the East, and on his way thither to see the chief cities of Italy. While in Rome he made the acquaintance of M. de Bussière, a fervent convert from Protestantism, who induced him, much against his will, to wear one of the miraculous medals, and to prolong his stay in the Eternal City a few days longer than he had intended. But, though M. de Bussière contrived to meet him every day, and to press upon his attention arguments in favour of the divine origin of the Catholic Church, no other effect was produced on his mind but to harden him in his error. At length, on the 20th of January, 1842, the two friends went together to the Church of St. Andrea delle Fratte, where M. de Bussière had to make arrangements for the funeral of a deceased friend. Having occasion to speak to the Rector of the church, M. de Bussière stepped into the presbytery, leaving his friend standing in one of the aisles, gazing idly about him. But judge of his astonishment and joy when, on returning to the church, about ten or twelve minutes afterwards, he saw him on his knees in one of the side chapels, tears streaming from his eyes, and his

whole expression and attitude betokening the most intense devotion. The account of what had happened in the meantime to produce this extraordinary change is best given in the words of Alphonse Ratisbonne himself :—

“ I had been but a short time in the church when I felt myself suddenly seized with an extraordinary emotion. I looked up ; the whole building seemed to have disappeared, and the light was concentrated in one chapel. In the midst of this radiance, standing on the altar, appeared the Blessed Virgin, tall, bright, majestic, full of sweetness, exactly as on my medal. An irresistible force drew me towards her. She made a sign that I was to kneel down. It seemed to me that she said, ‘ *C’est bien.*’ She did not speak to me, but I understood it all.”

This striking miracle was forthwith subjected to a most rigid and searching canonical examination ; and on the 3rd June, 1842, Cardinal Patrizzi formally declared that it had been duly proved and established.

These remarks, which were mainly intended as an introduction to the decree establishing the new feast, have run to a much greater length than was foreseen. It is hoped, however, that they may contribute something to re-awaken interest in the miraculous medal. The following is the decree :—

“ CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS.

“ Rñus D. Antonius Fiat, Superior Generalis Congregationis Missionariorum a S. Vincentio a Paulo Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem Papam XIII. supplex exoravit ut benigne reputans mirabilem inter Christifideles propogationem Sacri Numismatis, quod ab Immaculata Deiparae Conceptione nuncupatur, nec non filialis pietatis augmenta et uberrimos sive temporalis, sive spiritualis salutis fructus omnibus perspectissimos, qui in Christianam Rempublicam exinde dimanarunt, dignaretur rem totam Sacra Rituum Congregationis examini concedere, ut, legitimis, quae supernaturalem tanti eventus originem apprimè comprobant, documentis data opera perspectis, solemne festum cum Officio et Missa propriis sub ritu duplici secundae classis in honorem Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Immaculatae a *Sacro Numismate* ab universae Congregatione sibi commissæ, de ipsius cultu et propagatione præcipue merita, celebrari posset. Quum vero ejusmodi preces, cum schemate Officii et Missæ, a me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto et Causae Ponente in Ordinariis Sacra ipsius Congregationis Comitibus subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis relatæ fuerint, Eñi et Rñi Patres Sacris

tuendis Ritibus Praepositi, omnibus maturo examine perpensis, atque audito R.P.D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt. Pro gratia, et quoad Officium et Missam, ad Eñum Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei, Die 10 Julii, 1894.

“Quae ejusmodi Officii et Missae a me ipso Subscripto Cardinali una cum eodem Promotore Fidei novo schemate confecto, prouti heic praejacet Decreto, Sanctitas Sua, ad relationem mei ipsius Cardinalis Praefecti, illud approbavit, simulque Festum sub titulo Manifestationis Immaculatae Virginis Mariae a *Sacro Numismate* quotannis, die 27 Novembris, ab Alumnis Congregationis Missionis sub ritu duplici secundae classis, et ab expetentibus locorum Ordinariis Religiosorumque Familiis sub ritu duplici majori celebrandum indulsit Die 23 iisdem mense et anno.

“✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

“ALOISI TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.”

This decree, as it will be seen, confirms the reality of the apparition, gives the sanction of the Church to the title “miraculous,” which popular devotion has for so many years applied to the medal, institutes a new feast, with the title of *The Feast of the Manifestation of the Immaculate Virgin Mary of the Miraculous Medal*, to be celebrated each year on the 27th November; and, finally, grants a special Office and Mass for the feast. This feast has been granted primarily to the two congregations founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and by these is to be celebrated as a double of the second class. But the same feast, with proper Office and Mass, will also be granted to any diocese, at the request of the bishop, and to any religious order or congregation, at the request of the superior. By these, however, it is to be celebrated as a double major, the usual rite of the secondary feasts of the Blessed Virgin. We hope soon to see it in the Irish Calendar, where it will displace the feast of St. Virgil, for which, however, the 5th December will serve as a *dies fixa*.

Since the publication of the above decree, various other decrees concerning the new feast have been issued by the Congregation of Rites. These supplementary decrees, together with the translation of the *Invito Sacro*, which we publish along with them, have been kindly forwarded to us by one of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission

The first decree grants a plenary indulgence, applicable to the souls in purgatory, to all who, having confessed and received Holy Communion, shall, on the 27th of November (from first Vespers of the feast—that is, from the afternoon of the 26th—until sunset on the 27th), visit any church, chapel, or oratory annexed to or connected with any house of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, or of the Sisters of Charity, and shall therein offer prayers for the usual intentions. This concession to hold for seven years.

The second decree permits all priests celebrating Mass on the 27th November in any church, chapel or oratory of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, or of the Sisters of Charity, to say the special Mass of this new feast, provided that in the diocesan calendar of the place there be not a feast of the rite of a double of the second class, when there is question of celebrating a low Mass; or of the rite of a double of the first class, when there is a question of celebrating a solemn Mass.

The third decree permits priests of the Congregation of the Mission, when at a distance from one of their own houses or churches on the 27th November, to celebrate the feast in any church, with the consent of the parish priest or rector of the church, and authorizes all priests celebrating in such church on that day, to say the Mass of this feast. In a word, every such church is granted for that day the privileges, regarding the celebration of Mass, granted to the churches, chapels, and oratories of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, and of the Sisters of Charity.

“ INVITO SACRO.

“ L.M. Cardinal Parocchi, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Albano, Vicar of His Holiness, &c.

“ Romans! the feast which we announce to you is new; but through its object it is old, and is already known and very dear to you. It is the feast of the Manifestation of the Immaculate Mary, called of the Miraculous Medal; it has become celebrated amongst you, by the prodigy of the conversion of Alphonsus Ratisbonne, which took place, in 1842, in the church of Saint Andrew *delle Fratte*, in which the memory of that event is annually solemnized.

“ This consoling and admirable manifestation of Mary Immaculate, which Our Holy Father Leo XIII. has kindly allowed to be celebrated this year, for the first time, was surrounded by all

the marks attaching to supernatural events: to the Church it presaged an era of glory and blessings corresponding to the trials which were to assail her without cessation.

"The manifestation with which the humble novice of the Mother House of the Daughters of Charity, at Paris, was favoured in 1830, is connected by the closest bonds with the dogmatic definition which occupies such an important place in the history of our age, viz., the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, which was proclaimed, twenty-four years later, on the 8th of December, 1854.

"The attitude of the Virgin, as she appeared to the happy child of St. Vincent de Paul, trampling under her feet the serpent's head, the beautiful prayer taught by the Virgin herself, and engraved by her order upon the Miraculous Medal: 'O Mary conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to you,' expressed a doctrine in harmony with the aspirations of all generations of Catholics, and was the solemn affirmation of a truth divinely revealed, and which was to become a dogma of faith later on; viz., the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

"The manifestation we are about to celebrate contributed in a marvellous manner to the definition of the dogma. This definition had, in truth, a character peculiarly its own; for, while in the history of dogmas no other definition can be found which has not been called forth by heresy, schism, or unbelief, the dogmatic bull relative to the Immaculate Conception of Mary has been called forth by the faith, piety, and ardent sighs of all true believers.

"With the Miraculous Medal, which bears the representation of the Immaculate, and upon which may be read the beautiful invocation, an expression of the dogma, 'O Mary,' &c., the pious belief spread so widely, that, at the time of the dogmatic definition, there was scarcely a place on earth in which recourse was not had with the liveliest faith and most ardent devotion to Mary conceived without sin. With an ineffable sweetness, she had turned all minds towards herself, destined to be the salvation of our age, which may well be called the age of the Immaculate.

"All these things show clearly the importance of this manifestation which the children of St. Vincent are preparing to celebrate with the liveliest transports of piety and joy; they redound also to the praise of the glorious saint, and the two congregations founded by him, viz., the Priests of the Mission, and the Daughters of Charity, and give them a place amongst those religious families which Pius IX., of holy memory, in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, declares to have deserved well by their worship of and devotion to the Immaculate Conception.

"The very special part which the Priests of the Mission and the Daughters of Charity have taken by the diffusion of the medal of the Immaculate Virgin, called the miraculous medal, a part entrusted by the Holy Virgin herself to Sister Catherine Labouré,

is a true mission from heaven, of which the children of St. Vincent may justly be proud, and which they may regard as one of their brightest glories, just as formerly their blessed Father looked upon the propagation of the worship of the Holy Virgin conceived without sin, as a very special honour, and a special object of his zeal.

“The confirmation of this sublime mission, which has been confided to them by God and the Virgin Mary, for the very noble end afore-mentioned, is found in the numberless prodigies of every order and kind, which, for the space of sixty-four years, have been wrought through the instrumentality of the miraculous medal, according to the promise of the Immaculate Virgin, our tender Mother Mary.

“In order, therefore, to render the thanks which are due both to God, whose glory shines in the Immaculate Virgin, and to Mary, who by the worship rendered to her most beautiful privilege, attracts to herself all hearts, and scatters the infinite treasure of graces, of which she is the merciful mother, our Holy Father Leo XIII. has granted the solemnity I announce to you.

✠ “L. M. CARDINAL VICAR.
“P. CANON CECCHI, *Secretary.*”

I.

LEO PAPA XIII.

Universis Christifidelibus præsentis Litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ad augendam fidelium religionem animarumque salutem procurandam cœlestibus Ecclesiæ thesauris pia charitate intenti omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis ac sacra Communione refectis, qui die festo Manifestationis Immaculatæ Mariæ Virginis a Sacro Numismate, videlicet die vigesima septima mensis Novembris, quamlibet Ecclesiam sive Oratorium piis donibus adnexum Presbyterorum Congregationis Missionis, sive Filiarum Charitatis, ubique terrarum existentibus, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis diei hujusmodi singulis annis devote visitaverint et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, hæresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiæ exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint; Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem, quam etiam animabus Christifidelium quæ Deo in charitate conjunctæ ab hac luce migraverint per modum suffragii applicari possint, misericorditer in Deo concedimus atque elargimur. Præsentibus ad Septennium tantum valituris. Volumus autem ut præsentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personæ in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quæ adhiberetur ipsis præsentibus si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Datum Romæ apud

S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXIV Augusti MDCCCXCIV.
Pontificatus Nostri Anno decimoseptimo.

Pro Dno Card. de Ruggerio,

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus.*

II.

CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS.

7 Septemb. 1894.

Antonius Fiat, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Missionis et Filiarum a Charitate S. Vincentii a Paulo, a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone XIII, humillimis datis precibus, efflagitavit, ut in omnibus ecclesiis sive oratoriis earundem Filiarum a Charitate quotannis die XXVII Novembris, a quovis Sacerdote in eis Sacrum facturo celebrari valeat Missa nuper ab Apostolica Sede approbata et Alumnis suæ Congregationis concessa pro festo Manifestationis Immaculatæ Virginis Mariæ a Sacro Numismate vulgo *della Medaglia miracolosa*. Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributis, annuit juxta preces dummodo tamen in respectivis Kalendariis Diocesum, in quibus præfatæ Filiæ a Charitate degunt, non occurrat quoad Missam solemnem duplex primæ classis, et quoad lectas duplex etiam secundæ classis: quo in causa Sacra eadem Congregatio idem privilegium ad aliam subsequentem diem liberam amandari concessit: servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 7 Septembris, 1894.

Pro Ilmo. et Rmo. D. Card. C. Aloisi-Masella Prefecto,

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

A. TRIPEPI, *Secretarius.*

III.

CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS ET FILIARUM CHARITATIS.

12 Novemb. 1894.

Ex Apostolico Indulto diei 23 Julii hoc anno Congregationis Missionis Alumnis concessum est, ut ab ipsis festum Manifestationis Immaculatæ Virginis Mariæ a Sacro Numismate vulgo *della Medaglia miracolosa* quotannis die vigesima septima Novembris sub ritu duplici secundæ classis recolatur, cum Officio ac Missa propriis, rite approbatis. Quum vere contigat, ut aliquibus locis memorati Alumni vel Filiæ Charitatis Ecclesia suæ domui contigua haud satis ampla untantur, vel careant omnino, Rmus Dnus Antonius Fiat, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Missionis et Filiarum Charitatis, Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem Papam XIII iteratis precibus rogavit, ut ab iisdem enuntiatum festum in aliena Ecclesia, de consensu respectivi Parochi vel Rectoris, recoli valeat; facta scilicet potestate singulis Sacerdotibus inibi Sacrum facturis, Missam propriam celebrandi nuper Alumnis suæ Congregationis concessam. Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro sibi specialiter tributis, benigne annuit

pro gratia in omnibus juxta preces : servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 12 Novembris 1894.

Pro Emo et Rmo Dno Card. C. Aloisi-Masella Præfecto.

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. ALOISIO TRIPEPI, *Secretario*.

Antonius SARDI, *Substitutus*.

D. O'LOAN.

Document

LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LEDOCHOWSKI,
PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA, TO THE MOST REV. DR. NULTY,
BISHOP OF MEATH.

[THE Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, felt it his painful duty, in February last, to warn the members of his flock against the reading of a newspaper which is published in the town of Mullingar, and which is called *The Westmeath Examiner*. In virtue of his authority as a Bishop and of the powers delegated to Bishops by the Holy See, he declared the reading of the newspaper in question to be sinful, and that all who should persist in reading it after his condemnation were not fit subjects for the reception of the Sacraments of the Church. Against this decision of the Bishop the editor and proprietor of the newspaper appealed to the Holy See. A statement of the case was, therefore, laid before the Congregation of Propaganda both by the Editor and the Bishop. The following letter was received by the Bishop from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, approving his action.]

“ ROMA, 24 *Septembris*, 1894.

“ ILLME. ET REME. DOMINE,—

“ Redditæ mihi sunt litteræ Amplitudinis Tuæ, datæ die 21 superioris Augusti, circa appellationem Directoris ephemeridis, cui titulus *Westmeath Examiner*, contra prohibitionem latam ab amplitudine Tua, in eandem ephemeridem. Amplitudinis Tuæ agendi ratio mihi quidem probatur; ac spero ut provisio contra diarium nominatum a Te facta, ab ejusdem periculosa lectione fideles arceat.

“ Ego vero Deum precor ut Te diu sospitet.

“ Amplitudinis Tuæ,

“ Addictissimus Servus,

“ M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

“ A., ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secretarius*.

“ Dno. THOMAE NULTY, Epo. Miden.”

Notices of Books

THE AUTOMATIC PAROCHIAL CIRCULATING LIBRARY. By
"An Irish Priest." Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

THE author of this little work expounds an ingenious plan for promoting the use of good books amongst the people. We have no hesitation in saying that the suggestions he puts forward ought to prove most useful to any priest who is working a "school" or "church" library in his parish. We cannot say whether the principle of action is an original invention of the author, or whether he has borrowed it from some of the enterprising agencies of England or America. It is plain, at all events, that he is a man of observation, as his introductory chapter proves. He seems thoroughly acquainted with all kinds of automatic machines, from those by which you may have yourself weighed at the railway station, by putting a penny in the slot, to those by which, having again satisfied the slot, and placing your handkerchief under the nozzle of a diminutive reservoir, you receive a copious supply of perfume upon it. The great advantage of the system seems to be that it is self-supporting, and, to a considerable extent what the author calls it, "automatic" or self-working. It saves the manager the troublesome work of keeping accounts of pence and half-pence paid by readers. It does away with the entries of borrower, book, and date of loan. It keeps the book in motion, going from one family to another in regular rotation, a great advantage in our opinion, as we have known cases where books of the kind remained in the same house for the greater part of the year. It secures a useful variety in the quality of the books lent. Each member of the society or circle in which this system works, has only to pay *one shilling* for the whole year, and receives in return the loan of one book each month, and at the end of the year gets for ever a book, value for one shilling or possibly more.

How all this is done is the secret of the author, and it would not be fair for us to divulge it. For a full exposition of the system, we refer our readers to the little work published by Messrs. Browne & Nolan, in which the author presents a complete exposition of his system. If this little book be extensively availed of, we feel confident that it will amply repay those who invest in it.

J. F. H.

ONTOLOGIA SIVE METAPHYSICA GENERALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Carolo Frick, S.J., cum approbatione Rev^{mi}. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi : Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder.¹

WE have great pleasure in introducing to our readers two more volumes of the *Cursus Philosophicus*. Like the two that have already appeared, these are admirably suited for their intended purpose, namely, to serve as class-books.

Father Frick's *Ontology*, like his *Logic*, is much superior to the ordinary scholastic hand-books. There is no striking originality or novelty of subject-matter, but there is a very agreeable freshness of treatment. The same fixed and unalterable principles are explained, proved, and defended in this, as in the other hand-books of philosophy ; but here they are presented in a manner that is more attractive—perhaps we should say less repellent—to the student. The definitions are adequate and lucid ; the divisions clear and distinct. The explanation of false as well as true doctrine is so full, that there can be no mistake about the point at issue. The arguments are always succinct and easily intelligible, and, in most instances, convincing.

In the controversies that have so long continued to divide orthodox philosophers, Father Frick always takes the view adopted by the majority, at least, of the members of his Society. The question as to the kind of distinction between nature and personality is abandoned to theologians ; the controversy about the distinction between essence and existence is examined at considerable length. The author's defence of his view is much better than his proof ; but, perhaps, in the case, defence is the best proof. Numerous objections are answered, while weak arguments are advanced in favour of his thesis. It is a pity that Father Frick ignored replies made by more than one previous writer to those same arguments. He draws conclusions from some sentences of St. Thomas that appear quite opposed to the views of the Angelic Doctor. If one were so disposed, there would be very little difficulty in collecting extracts from Father Frick's *Ontology* which would prove just as well that real essence and real existence are really distinct.

M. B.

¹ The work *Praelectiones Theologicae* of Fr. Pesch, S.J., reviewed in our last number, is also published by Herder. The publisher's name was accidentally omitted.

PHILOSOPHIA NATURALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Henrico Haan, S.J., cum approbatione Rev^{mi}. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi: Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder.

FATHER HAAN'S *Philosophia Naturalis* includes the ordinary treatise of cosmology, and that portion of psychology treating of life in general, of vegetative life, and of sensitive life. By this arrangement the human soul will be the exclusive object of the treatise on psychology.

The *Philosophia Naturalis* has for its object natural bodies. It consists of two parts—the first part devoted to the properties of bodies; the second to their nature or physical essence. The first part contains such interesting doctrines as the separability of quantity from substance, the nature of space and time, the metaphysical possibility of definitive, and even of circumscriptive multilocation, the possibility of miracles, the divisibility of the vital principle in plants and animals—not merely the imperfect, but even the more perfect animals. In the second part the scholastic or peripatetic theory of the constitution of bodies is proved, and defended against the rival theories of dynamism and atomism. We have seen it stated that Father Haan makes the concession to the Atomists, that what we regard as substantial change may, after all, be only a different collocation of atoms; but we could discover no evidence to warrant such a statement, except one obscure parenthesis—what Professor Huxley would call a quaquaversal proposition—which may be read backwards, forwards, or upside down, with about the same amount of signification.

In this, as in the *Ontology*, the definitions and divisions are clear and distinct, the arguments solid, and the supply of objections copious; but some of the paragraphs are so long and ponderous, that they would severely tax the courage and persevering energy of the student. On the whole, Father Haan's book is well qualified to take its place beside the others of this excellent series.

There is one deliberate omission, however, of which we cannot approve. We are told in the preface that the creation of this world will be explained and proved in natural theology. It seems that it should be done in the present treatise. If philosophy is the science of things in their ultimate causes, surely a philosophical treatise on natural bodies should not exclude an inquiry into their first efficient cause.



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